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MYCENAEANS IN ANATOLIA AND AHHIYAWA OF HITTITE TEXTS: A RE-ASSESSMENT

ABSTRACT. *This paper discusses the textual and archaeological evidence for Mycenaean settlement in southwestern Anatolia in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Hittite texts dealing with Ahhiyawa and the finds of Mycenaean objects in western Anatolia have different informative value but do not contradict each other: If asked properly, they give a suggestive picture of the eastern outskirts of the Mycenaean world and its contacts with the Hittite empire.*

The topic put into the title of this paper combines two different categories of data. To paraphrase Jaan Puhvel's statement on Homer, the problem is too important to be left to single-track Aegeanists or Hittitologists.¹ When studying Mycenaean expansion in the eastern Mediterranean we are restricted to the position of examining archaeological evidence only because the Mycenaean civilisation is protohistoric. To date, the Mycenaean world has failed to provide us with any historical sources of information beyond what can be gleaned from Homeric tradition and the Linear B tablets. Consequently, we expose ourselves to the risks inherent in the interpretation of silent material remains. Looking for information in the Near Eastern written sources about what relations were maintained with Mycenaeans, the only archives of the countries where Mycenaean objects have been found are those of the Hittite capital Hattusa. Unfortunately, among more than 25,000 cuneiform texts from Boāzköy /Hattusa known to date there are at most 28² dealing with Ahhiya(wa), the toponym and ethnicon which is generally connected with 'Ἀχαιοί – 'Achaeans (i.e., (Mycenaean) Greeks'.³

¹ J. PUHVEL, *Homer and Hittite*, Innsbruck 1991, p. 29; reprinted in *Epilecta Indoeuropaea: opuscula selecta annis 1978–2001 excusa imprimis ad res Anatolicas attinentia*, Innsbruck 2002, p. 177 ("Homer is too important to be left to single-track hellenists").

² Cf. S. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Zu diplomatischen Kontakten zwischen dem Hethiterreich und dem Land Ahhiyawa*, in: E. AL-RAM-STERN, G. NIGHTINGALE (eds), *Keimelion: Elitenbildung und elitärer Konsum von der mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche / The Formation of Elites and Elitist Lifestyles from Mycenaean Palatial Times to the Homer Period. Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2005 in Salzburg*, Wien 2007, 195 with n. 48.

³ See, e.g., O. CARRUBA, *Ahhiyā e Ahhiyawā, la Grecia e l'Egeo*, in: TH.P.J. VAN DEN HOUT, J. DE ROOS (eds), *Studio*

Moreover, as we shall see, these texts are of no value in inferring on the situation in the Aegean itself.

It is not my purpose here to retrace the whole vast discussion concerning the sequence of historical events in western Anatolia in relation to Mycenaean involvement there. During the last three decades or so enough works have been published to discuss the question in a clear and objective way.⁴ There are also relevant interpretations

Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, Istanbul 1995, pp. 7ff. with references to earlier literature.

⁴ To the list of the most important publications in my paper of 2001 (P. TARACHA, *Mycenaeans, Ahhiyawa and Hittite imperial policy in the West: a note on KUB 26.91*, in: TH. RICHTER, D. PRECHEL, J. KLINGER (eds), *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*, Saarbrücken 2001, 418 n. 3) we may add now: M. BENZI, *Anatolia and the Eastern Aegean at the Time of the Trojan War*, in: F. MONTANARI (ed.), *Omero Tremila Anni Dopo. Atti del Congresso di Genova, 6–8 Luglio 2000*, Rome 2002, pp. 355ff.; O.R. GURNEY, *The Authorship of the Tawagalawas Letter*, in: P. TARACHA (ed.), *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 133–141; S. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Zur Erwähnung Šahurunuwas im 'Tawagalawa-Brief'*, in: S. DE MARTINO, F. PECCHIOLO DADDI (eds), *Anatolia Antica. Studi in Memoria di Fiorella Imparati*, Eothen 11, Firenze 2002, pp. 359–375; W.-D. NIEMEIER, *Hattuša und Ahhiyawa im Konflikt um Millawanda/Milet*, in: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der BRD (ed.), *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich. Das Volk der 1000 Götter; Ausstellungskatalog*, Bonn 2002, pp. 293–298; T. BRYCE, *Relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa in the Last Decades of the Bronze Age*, in: G. BECKMAN, R. BEAL, G. MCMAHON (eds), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Winona Lake, Indiana 2003, pp. 59–72; I. HAJNAL, *Troia aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht. Die Struktur einer Argumentation*, IBS 109, Innsbruck 2003, pp. 40–42; S. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Ahhiyawa – Land der homerischen Achäer im Krieg mit Wiluša?*, in: CH. ULF (ed.), *Der neue Streit um Troia. Eine Bilanz*, München 2004, pp. 194–214;

of archaeological evidence from competent scholars.⁵ In what follows I shall call attention to the weak points of the previous argument, based on the bits of information from both textual and archaeological evidence that, in my opinion, are a key to the problem. In other words, we shall see clearly what is the real value of the sources at our disposal.

EADEM, *Anmerkungen zur Ahhiyawa-Urkunde KUB 31.29 (Bo 5316/AU XVIII)*, in: M. ALPARSLAN, M. DOAN -ALPARSLAN, H. PEKER (eds), *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan VITA. Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, Istanbul 2007, pp. 315–326; EADEM, *Zu diplomatischen Kontakten...*, pp. 191–207; and forthcoming, papers read at the workshop “Mycenaeans and Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age: The Ahhiyawa Question” (organized by A. Teffeteller) at Concordia University, Montreal, January 4–5, 2006, including F. STARKE, *The Ahhiyawa Letter KUB 26.91*; T. BRYCE, *Links and Relationships between Greece and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*; G. BECKMAN, ‘Ahhiyawa und kein Ende’: *The Battle over Mycenaeans in Anatolia*; I. SINGER, *Ahhiyawans Bearing Gifts*; H.C. MELCHERT, *Mycenaean and Hittite Diplomatic Correspondence: Fact and Fiction* (available online at <http://www.unc.edu/~melchert/montrealtext.pdf>); W.-D. NIEMEIER, *Millawanda/Miletus: Ahhiyawan Foothold in Western Asia Minor*; E. CLINE, *A Questionable Correspondence: The Case of the Missing Ahhiyawa Letters*; M. HALE, *The Author of KUB 26.91: Greek or Hittite?*; D. MENDELSON, *Conflict Resolution in the Late Bronze Age: Hittites and Ahhiyawans at War and Peace*.

⁵ See, e.g., CH. MEE, *Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.*, *AnSt* 28, 1978, pp. 121–155; L. RE, *Presenze micenee in Anatolia*, in: M. MARAZZI, S. TUSA, L. VAGNETTI (eds), *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo. Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica (Atti del Convegno di Palermo... 1984)*, Taranto 1986, pp. 343–364; S. SHERRATT, J.H. CROUWEL, *Mycenaean Pottery from Cilicia in Oxford*, *OJA* 6, 1987, pp. 325–352; K. KILIAN, *Mycenaean Colonization*, in: J.-P. DESCOEUDRES (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Sydney, 9–14 July 1985, Oxford 1990, pp. 445–467; J. VANSCHOONWINKEL, *L'Égée et la Méditerranée orientale à la fin du II^e millénaire. Témoignages archéologiques et sources écrites*, *Archaeologia Transatlantica* 9, Louvain-la-Neuve–Providence 1991, pp. 166ff., 319ff.; C. ÖZGÜNEL, *Mykenische Keramik in Anatolien*, *Asia Minor Studien* 23, Bonn 1996; CH. MEE, *Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age*, in: E.H. CLINE, D. HARRIS-CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*, *Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium Cincinnati, 18–20 April 1997*, Aegaeum 18, Liège–Austin 1998, pp. 137–148; P.A. MOUNTJOY, *The East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaeans and Their Kingdom of Ahhiyawa*, *AnSt* 48, 1998, pp. 33–68; W.-D. NIEMEIER, *The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origin of the Sea People*, in: S. GITIN, A. MAZAR, E. STERN (eds), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, in *Honor of Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem 1998, pp. 17–65; V.B. GORMAN, *Miletos: The Ornament of Ionia*, *Ann Arbor* 2001, esp. Ch. 1; BENZI, *op. cit.*, pp. 368ff.; E. KOZAL, *Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware, Mycenaean and Cypriot Pottery in Anatolia*, in: B. FISCHER, H. GENZ, E. JEAN, K. KÖROLU (eds), *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and Its Neighboring Regions: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8–9, 2002*, Istanbul 2003, pp. 65–78; H. GENZ, *Eine mykenische Scherbe aus Bozköy*, *AA* 2004, pp. 77–84; W.-D. NIEMEIER, *Zwischen Mykene und Hattusa – Westkleinasien und die Ägäis in der mittleren und späten Bronzezeit*, in: M.O. KORFMANN (ed.), *Troia. Archäologie eines Siedlungshügels und seiner Landschaft*, Mainz am Rhein 2006,

To begin with, there is no doubt now that the name Ahhiya(wa) in Hittite texts is used to identify, generally, the Mycenaean world and people living there, and not a political unit in Anatolia or elsewhere.⁶ All previous attempts to locate the ‘state’ of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia,⁷ including the old hypothesis of Paul Kretschmer and Ferdinand Sommer of Ahhiyawa as a city state in Cilicia,⁸ are not credible. In most of the texts dealing with Ahhiyawa the term has only a vague ethno-geographical connotation, although in the sources of the 13th century B.C. we also find references to Mycenaean king(s) (see below). The texts cannot therefore answer questions about Ahhiyawa such as: “Where was the seat of its power? How extensive was the kingdom? Did it involve a confederation of Mycenaean states, under the leadership of a single ruler – perhaps a *primus inter pares* as in Homeric tradition? Were there shifts in the center of power during the 200 years for which Ahhiyawa is attested in Hittite texts?”⁹ etc.

The Luwian form of this name shows an aphaeresis typical of certain Luwian dialects. In two newly published texts written in Akkadian from the House of Urtenu in Ras Shamra/Ugarit, RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523, which are letters sent to king Ammurapi of Ugarit by the Great King of Hatti, Suppiluliuma II (c. 1213–1185), and the Great Scribe Pentti-Sharruma respectively,¹⁰ the gentilicon Hiyau(wi, with the motion ending -i) denotes merchants or representatives of Ahhiyawa who, according to Singer’s interpretation, awaited the ingot-laden Ugaritian ships led by a representative of the Hittite king in some port of Lukka (Lycia).¹¹ (Ah)hiyawa was also the Anatolian/Luwian name of Achaeans who migrated to Pamphylia and Cilicia in the first millennium B.C.¹² The Çineköy

pp. 47–56; J. VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mycenaean Expansion*, in: G.R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Volume One, Leiden–Boston 2006, pp. 41–113.

⁶ See, already, M. MARAZZI, *Das “geheimnisvolle” Land Ahhiyawa*, in: H. OTTEN, E. AKURGAL, H. ERTEN, A. SÜEL (eds), *Sedat Alp’a Armağan . Festschrift für Sedat Alp / Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara 1992, p. 375.

⁷ For the hitherto proposed locations of Ahhiyawa, see NIEMEIER, *The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia...*, p. 20 Fig. 3 and p. 22 Fig. 4.

⁸ Recently HAJNAL, *op. cit.*, p. 41. For counter-arguments, see HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Zu diplomatischen Kontakten...*, p. 191 n. 2.

⁹ T. BRYCE, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford 1998 (New Edition, Oxford 2005, *non vidi*), p. 62.

¹⁰ S. LACKENBACHER, F. MALBRAN-LABAT, *Ugarit et les Hittites dans les archives de la «Maison d’Urtenu»*, *SMEA* 47, 2005, pp. 227ff.

¹¹ I. SINGER, *Ships Bound for Lukka: A New Interpretation of the Companion Letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523*, *AoF* 33, 2006, pp. 250ff.

¹² For these migrations, see, e.g., C. BRIXHE, *Achéens et Phrygiens en Asie Mineure: approche comparative de quelques données lexicales*, in: M. FRITZ, S. ZEILFELDER (eds), *Novalis Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag*, Graz 2002, pp. 50ff.; M. FORLANINI, *Un peuple, plusieurs noms: le problème des ethniques au Proche Orient Ancien. Cas connus, cas à découvrir*, in: W.H. VAN SOLDT (ed.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia. Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden, July 2002)*, Leiden 2005, pp. 111ff.

bilingual mentions Warikas/Urikki, king of Hiyawa/Adana (i.e., Cilicia), known also from Assyrian sources of the second half of the 8th century B.C.¹³ Hieroglyphic Luwian *Hiya(wa)* is equated here with Phoenician *Adana*.

Apart from the so-called Indictment of Madduwatta from the reign of Hittite king Arnuwanda I (first quarter of the 14th century B.C.), which reports on military enterprises of a certain Attarissiya, a “man of Ahhiya”, in south-western Anatolia and Alašiya/Cyprus in the late 15th century, the other mentions of Ahhiyawa in Hittite sources date to the 13th century. Most of the texts are oracles and inventories. Of 8 fragments of letters,¹⁴ only three may have belonged to diplomatic correspondence between the kings of Hatti and Ahhiyawa: KUB 26.76,¹⁵ KUB 14.3, the so-called Tawagalawa Letter,¹⁶ and KUB 26.91¹⁷ which has recently been the subject of much discussion among specialists (see below).

In the Tawagalawa Letter, Hattusili III (c. 1265–1240) addresses a king of Ahhiyawa as “my brother, the Great King”. The use of such terms would imply that at the time the Hittite king regarded the king of Ahhiyawa as his equal. The *terminus post quem non* for this period of diplomatic contacts between the Hittites and a Mycenaean state may be established on the evidence of the Shaushgamuwa Treaty (KUB 23.1++) signed between Tudhaliya IV (c. 1240–1215) and Shaushgamuwa of Amurru, where the Ahhiyawan king is again named as a Great King alongside with the kings of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria and subsequently deleted.¹⁸

Heinhold-Krahmer pointed out four passages from the Tawagalawa Letter in which letters of the Ahhiyawan king or requests for them are mentioned.¹⁹ In fact, Starke in August 2003 announced dramatically in a press conference at the site of ancient Troy with regard to KUB 26.91 that he “was able to present the first cuneiform letter in Hittite to be sent not from east to west ... but from west to east”, i.e. from the king of Ahhiyawa to his Hittite counterpart who, according to Starke, should be identified with Hattusili III. “The king of Ahhiyawā argues from *history*...: he explains that a forebear of his had given his daughter in marriage to the then king of Assuwa... and that conse-

quently the islands [discussed in the letter] had come into the possession of Ahhiyawā”.²⁰ Starke’s claim, however, that the name of this forebear can be found in the text – Kadmos, king of Thebes, is impossible.²¹ Consequently, the whole scenario is debatable as well. In my paper of 2001 I argued for an alternative interpretation of KUB 26.91, which has numerous adherents too, that the letter in question is *from* a Hittite king (actually Muwattalli II?) *to* an Ahhiyawan ruler²² and, like the Tawagalawa Letter, contains references to earlier letters of the Ahhiyawan king (Ro. 1, 5).

Now then, if we agree with Starke’s interpretation, as most of the participants of the Montreal workshop (see n. 4) did, “we find in Hattuša a Hittite-language version of a letter from a king of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite king, responding to a letter sent to him by the latter, written in standard Boāzköy ductus and so far as the extant text is concerned in quite idiomatic Hittite of the Neo-Hittite period”.²³ Nevertheless, suppositions in Melchert’s how are we to imagine that this correspondence (being an accepted fact) was carried out are only tentative. It remains unknown whether “messages were conveyed in writing to the respective frontier outposts of each kingdom in its own language and script” where they were translated, or – as suggested by Gary Beckman – “the written correspondence was carried between the respective capitals by pairs of messengers, one from each side. ...Each side would have written the letters in its own language and script in its own capital... Translation took place at the receiving end, including preparation of a written version if it was desired for drafting replies or any other purpose”. Other speculations are possible as well.

In summary, the Hittite texts prove that the Hittite kings had stable friendly relations with the kings of Ahhiyawa, a formidable power influential in far western Asia Minor, for quite a long period in the 13th century B.C., but give no information on the Mycenaean Greek kingdom itself.

It is time now to turn to the archaeological evidence. There is substantial material evidence for Mycenaean trade in Egypt, Cyprus, the western and southern coastlands of Anatolia, and Syro-Palestine.²⁴ Yet, in contrast to trading enterprises in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean,

¹³ R. TEKOLU, A. LEMAIRE, *La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy*, CRAIBL 2000 (2002), pp. 960–1006; cf. also G.B. LANFRANCHI, *The Luwian-Phoenician Bilingual of Çineköy and the Annexation of Cilicia to the Assyrian Empire*, in: R. ROLLINGER (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer: Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, AOAT 325, Münster 2005, pp. 481–496; R. ROLLINGER, *The Terms “Assyria” and “Syria” Again*, JNES 65, 2006, pp. 284f.

¹⁴ For their list, see HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Zu diplomatischen Kontakten...*, p. 195f. n. 49.

¹⁵ Like the Tawagalawa Letter, the text deals also with the case of Piyamaradu; hence, both texts most likely come from the reign of Hittite king Hattusili III. Cf. *ibidem*, loc. cit.

¹⁶ F. SOMMER, *Die Ahhiyawā-Urkunden*, München 1932, pp. 2–194.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 268–274; cf. also TARACHA, *op. cit.*, pp. 418f. n. 4.

¹⁸ G. BECKMAN, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta 1996, pp. 108ff.

¹⁹ KUB 14.3 i 55, iii 63, iv 18, and 32; cf. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Zu diplomatischen Kontakten...*, p. 192.

²⁰ Quotations from J. LATACZ, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution of an Old Mystery*, Oxford 2004, pp. 243, 244. See also STARKE, *op. cit.*, and the independent arguments of GURNEY, *The Authorship...*, p. 135.

²¹ See J. KATZ, review of LATACZ, *Troy and Homer*, JAOS, forthcoming, available online at <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswp/pdf/katz/120503.pdf>; MELCHERT, *op. cit.*

²² See TARACHA, *op. cit.*, p. 419 with references to earlier literature.

²³ Quotation from MELCHERT, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Cf., e.g., F.H. STUBBINGS, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*, Cambridge 1951; W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979; E.H. CLINE, *Contact and Trade or Colonization? Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th–13th Centuries B.C.*, *Minos* 25–26, 1990–91, pp. 7–36; IDEM, *Sailing the Wine Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, BAR International Series 591, Oxford 1994; A. LEONARD JR., *An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine*, SIMA 114, Jonsered 1994; V.W. DAVIES, L. SCHOFIELD (eds), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, London 1995; E. CLINE, D. HARRIS-

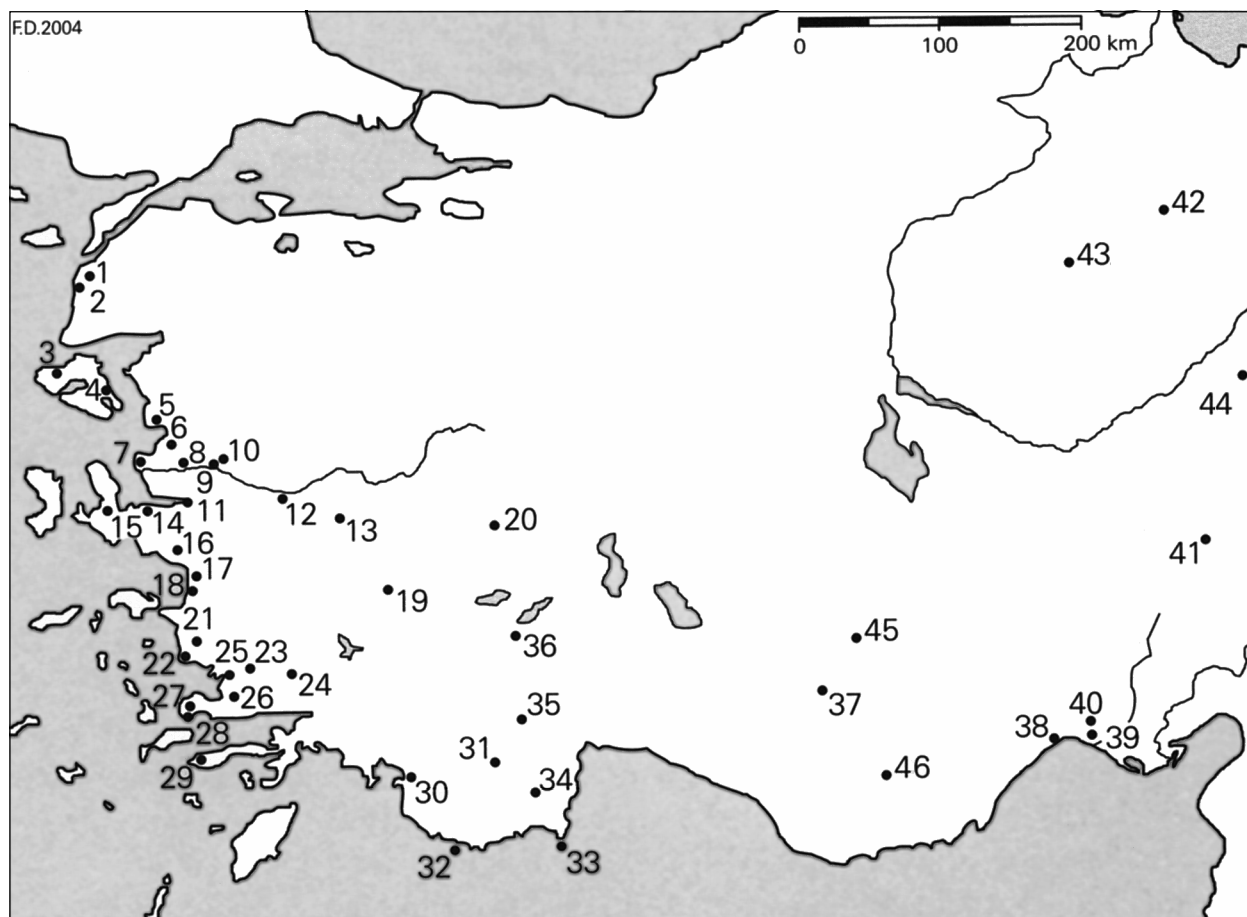


Fig. 1. Distribution of Mycenaean objects in Anatolia (after VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mycenaean Expansion*, p. 44 fig. 1; GENZ, *Eine mykenische Scherbe...*, p. 79 fig. 2). 1. Troy, 2. Beşik Tepe, 3. Antissa, 4. Thermi, 5. Pitane, 6. Panaztepe, 7. Phocaea, 8. Larissa, 9. Çerkes Sultaniye, 10. Eğriköy, 11. Smyrna, 12. Sardis, 13. Gavurtepe, 14. Clazomenae, 15. Erythrae, 16. Colophon, 17. Ephesos, 18. Kuşadasi, 19. Sarayköy?, 20. Beycesultan, 21. Miletos, 22. Didyma, 23. Mylasa, 24. Stratonicea, 25. Iasos, 26. Çömlekçi, 27. Assarlık, 28. Müşgebi, 29. Cnidos, 30. Telmessos, 31. Beylerbey, 32. Ulu Burun (Kaş), 33. Cape Gelidonya, 34. Lymira, 35. Dereköy, 36. Düver, 37. Gödelesin, 38. Mersin, 39. Kazanlı, 40. Tarsus, 41. Fıraktın, 42. Maşat Höyük, 43. Boğazköy, 44. Kuşaklı, 45. Üç Höyük, 46. Kilise Tepe

there is virtually no evidence for commercial contacts between the Hittite and Mycenaean worlds. According to Cline, of the 942 artifacts identified as imports into the Late Bronze Age Aegean and found in LH/LM I–III contexts, only 12 were of Anatolian origin, including at most six coming from central Anatolia.²⁵ Similarly, the finds of Mycenaean pottery in central and southern Anatolia are still very few (Fig. 1).²⁶

How do we account for this? Bryce states²⁷ that “there are quite cogent reasons for concluding that Hittites and Mycenaean Greeks did not in fact have, nor ever saw the

need to have, direct trade relations with each other – without assuming that this was due to a longstanding, Hittite-imposed trade embargo”, as suggested by Cline and others.²⁸ Further, Bryce points out two fundamental prerequisites for regular, direct commercial contacts between two regions to occur: (1) suitable routes between the two regions, and (2) demand for goods that each trading partner must be able to provide.

In my opinion, however, the lack of material evidence for Hittite–Mycenaean trade relations is rather due to the commercial models that at the time were current in these societies and to the specific run of goods which appealed to both sides. For Bronze Age trade, “a host of theoretical considerations and speculative discussions tends to be superimposed on top of meager factual evidence”.²⁹ And

CLINE (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*. Aegaeum 18, Liège–Austin 1998; H.G. BUCHHOLZ, *Ugarit, Zypern und Ägäis. Kulturbeziehungen im zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* AOAT 261, Münster 1999; J. BALENSI, J.-Y. MONCHAMBERT, S. MÜLLER-CELKA (eds), *La céramique mycénienne de l'Égée au Levant. Hommage à Vronwy Hankey*, Lyon 2004, *passim*; VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mycenaean Expansion*, pp. 42ff. with references to earlier literature. See also n. 5.

²⁵ CLINE, *op. cit.*, p. 68; cf. also GENZ, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

²⁶ GENZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 77ff.

²⁷ BRYCE, *Relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa...*, p. 61.

²⁸ E.H. CLINE, *A Possible Hittite Embargo against the Mycenaeans*, *Historia* 40, 1991, p. 9; IDEM, *Sailing the Wine Dark Sea...*, pp. 71ff. Cf. also SHERRATT, CROUWEL, *op. cit.*, p. 345; KOZAL, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁹ F. KOLB, *Troy VI: A Trading Center and Commercial City?*, *AJA* 108, 2004, p. 581.

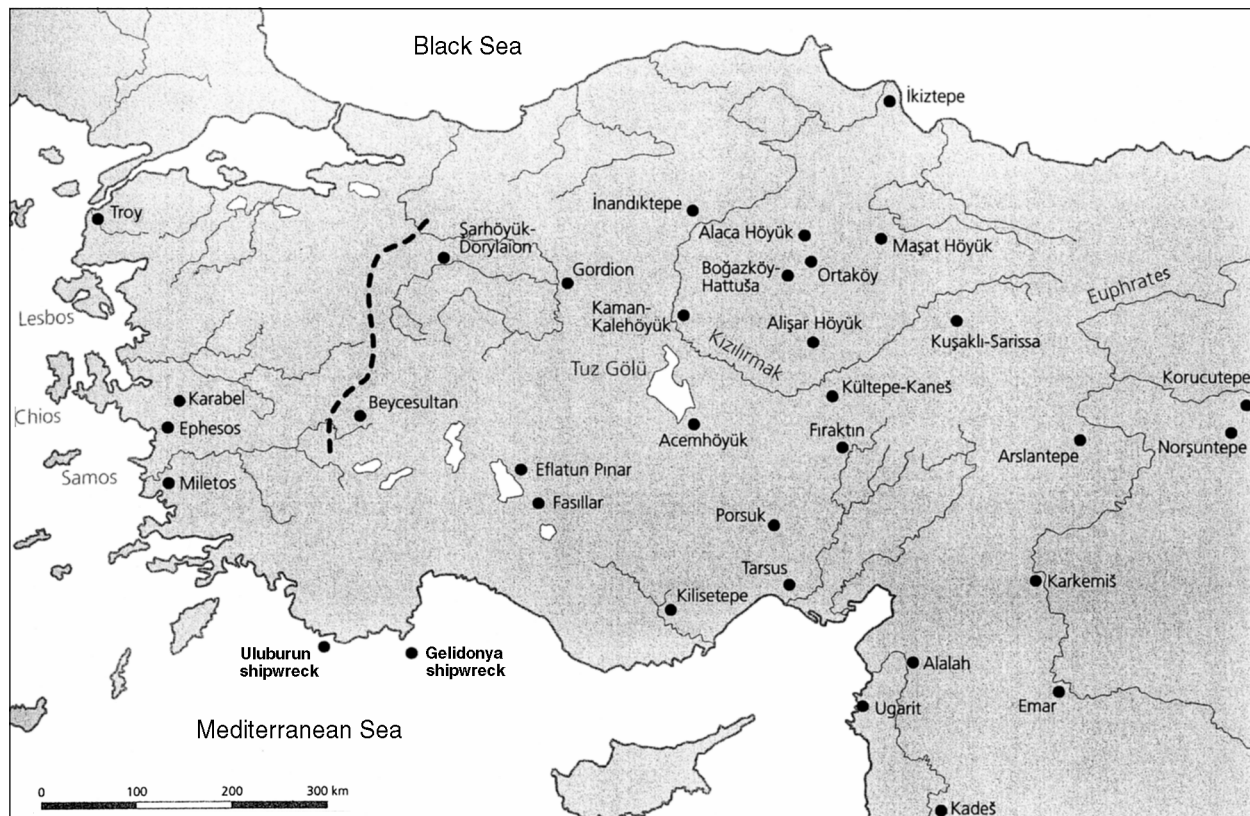


Fig. 2. Western border of the Hittite material culture (after SCHOOP, *Assyrier, Hethiter und Kaškäer...*, p. 45 fig. 15)

as Rehak aptly complains: "There is an unfortunate tendency in much recent work on interconnections to transform hypothesis into established fact".³⁰

Most specialists concur that Late Bronze Age trade was largely palace- and elite-directed,³¹ comprising gift exchange and organized trade providing important raw materials. Bachhuber, in his recent article on the Uluburun ship, has argued that the cargo of the shipwreck, which was composed of bulk metals, raw ivory and ivory carvings, glass ingots, ebony, terebinth resin, etc., is a manifestation of elite exchange networks.³² The ship, which sank off the Lycian coast in the late 14th century B.C., likely called at Ras Shamra/Ugarit on its last journey.³³

Another instance of the palace-directed transport of metal ingots to be delivered to a single destination in some Lycian port is recorded in the above mentioned letters from Ras Shamra/Ugarit, dating to the last years of the Hittite empire. The cargo was to be transported by Ugaritian ships

but still under supervision of the Hittite palace. On the textual evidence the Hittites, whose homeland was landlocked, engaged in sea commerce through their own merchants or through intermediaries operating in the ports of southeastern Anatolia and the Levant. Both documentary and archaeological data indicate that Ugarit became the most important port of call in the region.³⁴ The city delivered also the abundance of Mycenaean pottery. The archives of Ugarit document the existence of a class of merchants and, additionally, provide ample information about Hittite merchants accredited by the king.³⁵ Some texts report on the activities of merchants of Ura (Cilicia) who acted as agents of the Hittite king in organizing the shipping of goods from Ugarit to Ura, and the subsequent transport of these goods into the Hittite homeland.³⁶ All the evidence indicates that the bulk of commercial contact between the Mycenaean world and the Hittite Anatolia was of a rather indirect nature, going via northern Syria and Cilicia. Despite the suggestions of Cline,³⁷

³⁰ P. REHAK, *Interconnections between the Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.*, AJA 101, 1997, p. 401.

³¹ See, e.g., KOLB, *op. cit.*, pp. 579ff. with references to earlier literature.

³² CH. BACHHUBER, *Aegean Interest on the Uluburun Ship*, AJA 110, 2006, pp. 345–363.

³³ C. PULAK, *The Uluburun Shipwreck*, in: S. SWINY, R. HOHLFELDER, H.W. SWINY (eds), *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium "Cities on the Sea"*, Nicosia, Cyprus, October 18–22, 1994, Atlanta 1997, p. 252; BACHCHUBER, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

³⁴ See now M. YON, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra*, Winona Lake, Indiana 2006.

³⁵ M. LIVERANI, *La ceramica e i testi: commercio miceneo e politica orientale*, in: M. MARAZZI, S. TUSA, L. VAGNETTI (eds), *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo. Problemi storici e documentazione archeologica (Atti de Convegno di Palermo... 1984)*, Taranto 1986, pp. 409ff.; B. KNAPP, *Spice, Drugs, Grain and Drogs*, in: N.H. GALE (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. SIMA 90, Jonsared 1991, pp. 48f.

³⁶ RS 17.130, 17.461, and 18.03. Cf. BRYCE, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁷ CLINE, *Sailing the Wine Dark Sea...*, p. 71.

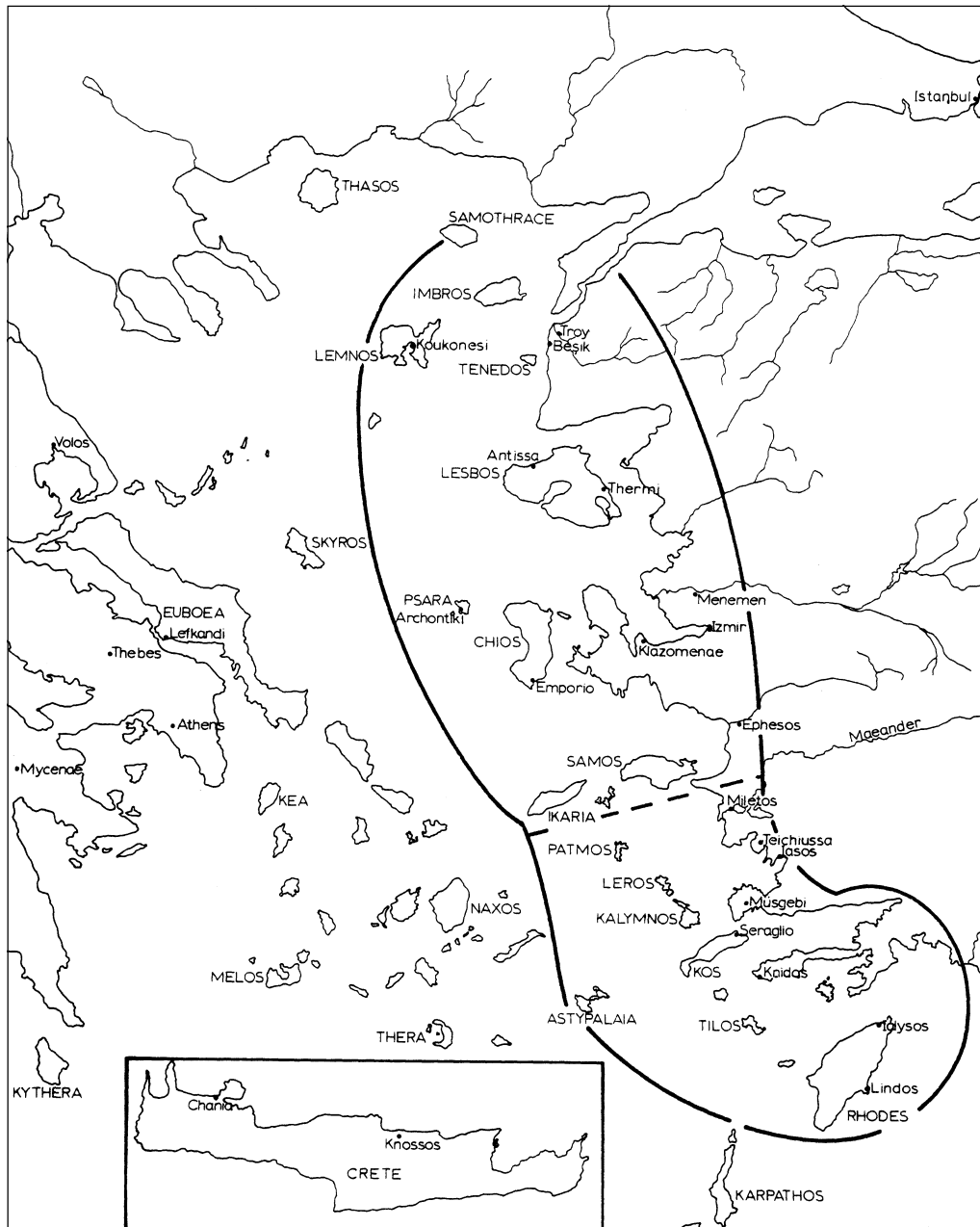


Fig. 3. Mycenaean settlement in the eastern Aegean: LH IIIA2-IIIB. Upper and Central Interface: predominantly Anatolian wares; Lower Interface: higher proportion of Mycenaean pottery (after MOUNTJOY, *The East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface...*, p. 38 fig. 1)

Korfmann³⁸ and others, there is no evidence for overland trade routes from the Hittite homeland to the west coast of Anatolia.³⁹

Significantly, the Hittite material culture is only attested as far as the western outskirts of the central Anatolian plateau (Fig. 2). The local archaeological traditions of the

western coastal region, the East Aegean–West Anatolian Interface,⁴⁰ are entirely different from those of central Anatolia, without any traces of acculturation or commercial contacts with the Hittite homeland.⁴¹

³⁸ M. KORFMANN, *Troia als Drehscheibe des Handels im 2. und 3. vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, in: *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 355–368.

³⁹ Cf. KOLB, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ For the characteristics of the Interface, see MOUNTJOY, *The East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface...*, pp. 33ff., 53.

⁴¹ Cf. U.-D. SCHOOP, *Assyrer, Hethiter und Kaškäer – Zentralanatolien im zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus*, in: M.O. KORFMANN (ed.), *Troia. Archäologie eines Siedlungshügels und seiner Landschaft*, Mainz am Rhein 2006, p. 43 with references to earlier literature.

The archaeological investigation based essentially on pottery has some drawbacks.⁴² In the analyses of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery all listed sites are usually placed on an equal footing, but that may provide a misleading picture. Some sites have been excavated much more extensively than others, and in the majority of them only single potsherds were identified (Fig. 1). The presence of local imitations illustrates the influence exerted by Mycenaean civilization, but the historical implications of this phenomenon are yet to be comprehensively researched. Admittedly, "there is no logical ethnic link between a type of vase and its owner or even maker, such a vessel cannot give information about the racial, linguistic, cultural or geographical identity of its user".⁴³ Most important is the ratio of Mycenaean pottery to local wares. When evaluating the presence of Mycenaeans in western Anatolia we cannot also dispense with other categories of data, including such typically Mycenaean pieces of evidence as chamber tombs and figurines.⁴⁴

All in all, the predominant presence of Mycenaean pottery – both imports and local products – at some sites and other elements of material culture such as chamber tombs, point in favor of Mycenaean settlement in western Anatolia, generally in the southern part of the Aegean coast (Fig. 3).⁴⁵ Miletos was a genuine Minoan colony, with

98% cooking ware Minoan in type, as early as MM II through LM Ib/II.⁴⁶ In the Late Bronze Age the city (Hittite Milawa(n)ta) became the most important base, subject to the Ahhiyawan kingdom of the Hittite texts, for Mycenaean activity in western Anatolia. Niemeier found seven pottery kilns producing Mycenaean wares which make up over 95% of the ceramic material from the site, while farther to the north, for instance, in Troy the proportion is only 2% and in Panaztepe less than 1%. It is also interesting to contrast Miletos with Ayasoluk near Ephesos, which should probably be identified with Apasa, capital of the kingdom of Arzawa, where the Late Bronze Age site has produced no clear Mycenaean material.⁴⁷

In summary, the Hittite texts dealing with Ahhiyawa and the relevant archaeological evidence are of different informative value with regard to the problem of Mycenaean presence in southwestern Anatolia. If asked properly, however, both categories of data do not contradict each other and give a suggestive picture of the eastern outskirts of the Mycenaean world.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AnSt – Anatolian Studies
AOAT – Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF – Altorientalische Forschungen
CRAIBL – Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
IBS – Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft

JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KUB – *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin
OJA – Oxford Journal of Archaeology
SIMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

⁴² The following remarks concur with VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mycenaean Expansion*, pp. 91ff.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ For their distribution in southwestern Anatolia and the Dodecanese, see, e.g., NIEMEIER, *Zwischen Mykene und Hattusa...*, p. 52 fig. 5.

⁴⁵ MOUNTJOY, *The East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface...*, pp. 34ff. and fig. 9. A similar picture of Mycenaean settlement in southwestern Anatolia emerges from a map in KILIAN, *Mycenaean*

Colonization, fig. 3; cf. also VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mycenaean Expansion*, p. 96 fig. 16. *Contra* MOUNTJOY (*op. cit.*, pp. 50f. and fig. 7), however, the archaeological evidence cannot be used as an argument for the location of the Ahhiyawan kingdom known from Hittite texts on the islands of the southeastern Aegean with Rhodes as center.

⁴⁶ B. NIEMEIER, *Milet 1994–1995*, AA 1997, pp. 189–248.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 244ff.