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SOMMARIO

FORUM ARTICLE

Responses

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THE KINGDOM OF AHHIYAWA: A HITTITE PERSPECTIVE

Trevor Bryce

Summary

While Ahhiyawa in Hittite texts can be roughly equated with the Late Bronze Age Greek or 'Mycenaean' world, it was most likely a generic term used by the Hittites for all lands lying beyond the western Anatolian coast, without clear political, cultural, or ethnic connotations. It probably originated from a tribal name in this region, which the Hittites applied to the 'western lands' as a whole. But some texts make reference to an Ahhiyawan king, ruler of a specific kingdom within this world, and accorded by the Hittite king a status equivalent to that of the Great Kings of the Near Eastern world. The article proposes that the kingdom is Pylos, and discusses the relevant information supporting this identification. It deals wth the significant role the kingdom played in the western Anatolian region, militarily and politically, and the possibility that for a time its ruler held sway over a substantial part of the region, where his sovereignty was acknowledged in what may have been a treaty drawn up with the current Hittite king.

Within a decade of Bedrich Hrozný's decipherment of the Hittite (Neshite) language during the First World War, the Swiss scholar Emil Forrer claimed that he had found Greeks in the Hittite texts. He based his claim on references in the texts to a land called Ahhiyawa, which he linked with 'Achaians', one of the three names used by Homer in the *Iliad* for the Greeks who participated in the Trojan War. They were also called Danaans and Argives. His Ahhiyawa-Achaian equation generated considerable debate in the decades that followed. Some scholars supported it, others regarded the name-similarity as purely coincidental. There is still no hard proof for the equation – for example, in the form of Hittite tablets found on a contemporary Greek site. But the majority of scholars now accept its validity, largely on the grounds that *circumstantial* evidence allows no plausible alternative.

The actual information provided by Hittite texts about Ahhiyawa is meagre. Of those texts which refer to it, many do so only in passing, and others contain no more than fragmentary details about it. A first comprehensive edition of these texts was published in 1930 by the German scholar Ferdinand Sommer (1930), one of Forrer's strongest critics who rejected his equation between Ahhiyawa and the contemporary Greek world. In 2011, a new edition of the texts was published by Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, and Eric Cline, with the title *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (*AhT*). This included several recently published texts which contain possible though disputed references to Ahhiyawa; notably, the identification of *hiyawa-men* with Ahhiyawans in two late thirteenth century Hittite letters found in Ugarit and designated as *AhT* 27A and B, and a Neo-Hittite Luwian hieroglyphic inscription of Warika, King of Hiyawa, dating to the second half of the eighth century (*AhT* 28) (see *e.g.* Gander 2012; Bryce 2016).

With the *possible* exception of these last three texts, the authors of *AhT* have concluded that a broad identification between Hittite-attested Ahhiyawa and what is commonly called the Mycenaean world is valid, and that is the assumption on which my discussion in this paper is based.

I will begin by listing those texts which have a particular bearing on this discussion. They are arranged in roughly chronological order.

1. *AhT* 6 (Letter from an Ahhiyawan king to a Hittite king, probably Muwattalli II) (early-mid 13th century BC), 134-139. The letter refers to an earlier time (probably late 15th-early 14th centuries) when the

"great-grandfather"[1] of the current Hittite king had seized control of some islands which rightfully belonged to the king of Ahhiyawa. At least this is what is claimed by the letter-writer, who now seeks their return.

2. *AhT* 1B (Extensive Annals of Mursili II) §1', 28-29. The Arzawan king Uhha-ziti had entered into an alliance with a king of Ahhiyawa at the beginning of Mursili's reign (*ca.* 1321) (thus also *AhT* 1B §10', 38-39). The kingdom of Arzawa was part of a complex of western Anatolian states collectively known as the Arzawa Lands. The land of Millawanda/Milawata (Classical Miletos), formerly a Hittite subject-state, had switched its allegiance to the king of Ahhiyawa, but was forcibly restored to Hittite control by an expeditionary force despatched by the Hittite king Mursili II (*ca.* 1321-1320).
3. *AhT* 1A (Ten-Year Annals of Mursili II) §§17', 18', 20', 25', 14-19, 22-23. In his western campaigns in the third and fourth years of his reign (*ca.* 1320-1319), Mursili captures Uhha-ziti's kingdom, but Uhha-ziti himself eludes his conqueror by fleeing offshore "to the islands" (*sic*), along with a number of his subjects. He remains there until he dies. After first offering resistance to Mursili's expeditionary force, Uhha-ziti's son Piyama-Kurunta also flees offshore, finally seeking refuge with the king of Ahhiyawa. The latter hands him over to the Hittites when Mursili sends a delegation by ship requesting his extradition.
4. *AhT* 4 (*'*Tawagalawa letter') (mid 13th century BC) *passim*, 102-119. The letter is written by a Hittite king, probably Hattusili III, to his Ahhiyawan counterpart (the names of both kings are lost), whom he refers to as a "Great King" and "My Brother". At that time, Milawata is subject-territory of the Ahhiyawan king, and his brother, Tawagalawa, is currently in residence there. He has quite possibly come to arrange the transport of local Hittite subjects, Lukka people, back to Ahhiyawa; some of them had appealed to him, probably for asylum from Hittite authority, others had appealed to the Hittite king, probably to save them from deportation (§1', 102-103). However, the letter is concerned primarily with the activities of an insurrectionist called Piyamaradu (Singer 1983), who is making serious inroads into Hittite subject-territory, with the connivance, if not the actual support, of the Ahhiyawan king. The letter-writer seeks the support of the addressee in bringing stability to the region, by curbing or stopping altogether Piyamaradu's activities. His letter refers to an earlier occasion on which there had been some form of dispute between the two kings over the country of Wilusa, generally identified with Homeric (W)ilios in the northwest of Anatolia (§13', 116-117).
5. *AhT* 11 (Offences of the Seha River Land. Decree of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV?) (late 13th century), 155-156. Tarhunaradu, Hittite vassal ruler of the Arzawan state Seha River Land, breaks his allegiance and becomes hostile, 'relying on' the king of Ahhiyawa. There is no indication of an Ahhiyawan response, and the rebel king is deposed by his overlord.
6. *AhT* 2 (Treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Šaušgamuwa, king of the Syrian vassal state Amurru, late 13th century BC) §§13', 15', 60-63. In the surviviving draft of the treaty, the king of *Ahhiyawa* is initially listed among the Hittite king's peers, along with the kings of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, but his name has a line drawn through it, erasing him from the list of Great Kings (§13'). In §15', Šaušgamuwa is told not to allow any "ship of *[Ahh]iyaw*a" to go to the king of Assyria. If the restoration indicated is correct,[2] then I believe that it refers to a ban on Ahhiyawa*n* ships being used to transport mercenaries to Assyria, via one or more of the ports on Amurru's coast (Bryce 2010, 50-51).

The common denominator of these six texts is that they all refer to a specific land called Ahhiyawa ruled by a king (for which the logogram LUGAL is used) who directly involves himself in western Anatolian affairs and its offshore islands, and in at least some of these cases is in direct communication with his Hittite counterpart. They correspond as equals, each addressing the other as "Great King" and "My Brother."

Two other Ahhiyawa texts will figure in our discussion:

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1 Without doubt, the first clearly attested king called Tudhaliya. There were at least three Hittite kings so called.

2 The proposed restoration by Steiner (1989) [*la-aḫ-ḫi]i-ya-u-wa-aš-ši* ^{GIŠ}MÁ ("warship") in place of [*Aḫ-ḫ]i-ya-u-wa-aš-ši* ^{GIŠ}MÁ ("ship of Ahhiyawa") has never gained traction among scholars.

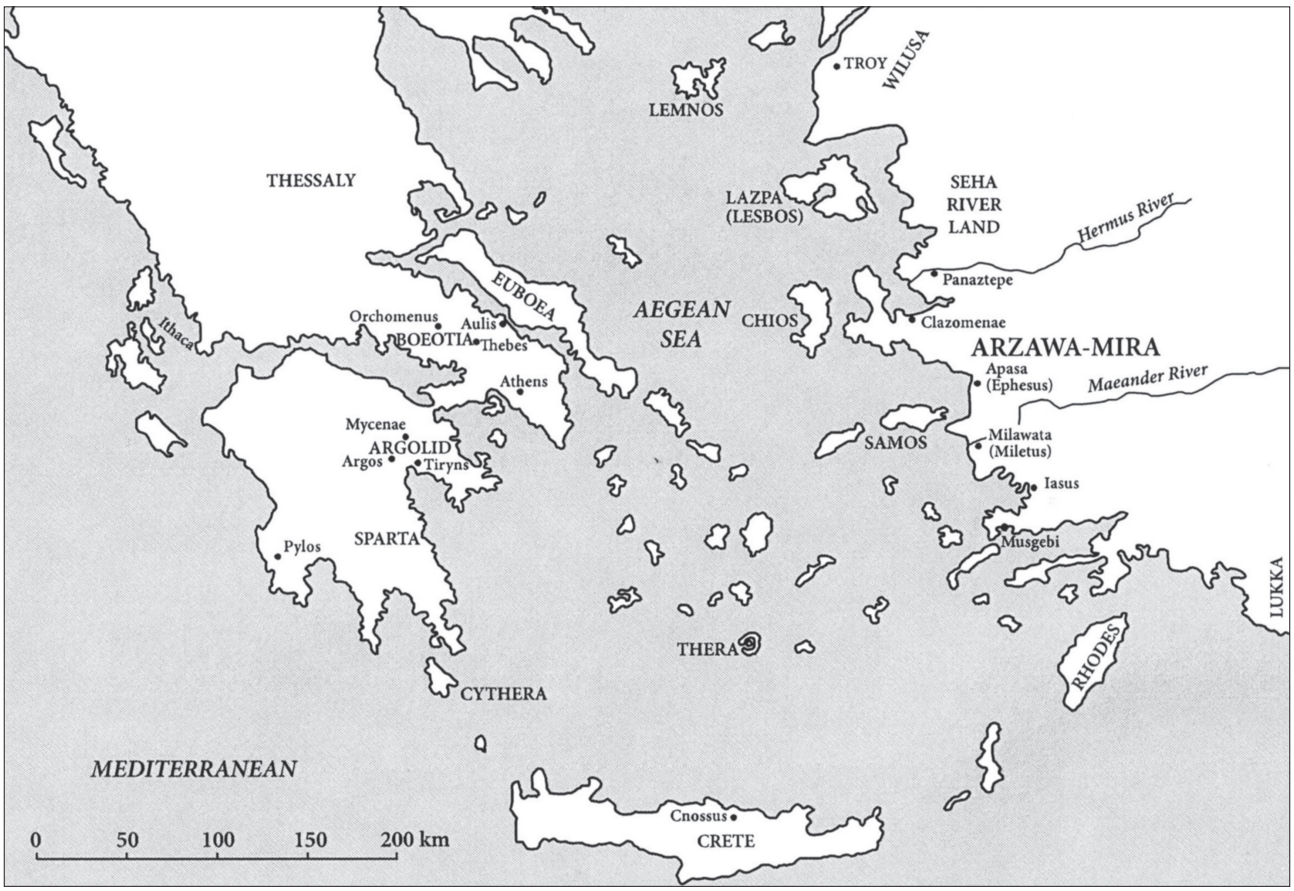

Fig. 1. Late Bronze Age Greece and Western Anatolia.

A. *AhT* 3 ('Indictment of Madduwatta') (early 14th century BC) obv. §§1',12', rev. §36', 70-71, 80-81, 94-95. Driven from his land by Attarissiya, ruler of Ahhiya (an early form of Ahhiyawa), a man called Madduwatta seeks refuge with the Hittite king Tudhaliya (almost certainly the same king attested in *AhT* 6, no. 1, above) who establishes him as ruler of a small Hittite subject-territory, possibly in south-central Anatolia. Subsequently Attarissiya attacks his land with infantry and one hundred chariotry. Though on this occasion a Hittite expeditionary force defeats him and drives him back to his own land, he later joins forces with Madduwatta for an attack on the island of Alasiya (Cyprus), claimed by Tudhaliya's successor Arnuwanda as Hittite territory. Attarissiya may also be the 'enemy ruler of Ahhiya' mentioned in the context of an oracle text *AhT* 22 (§1', 234-235), but no further information is given there about this person.
B. *AhT* 18 ('Boundary' List) (mid-late 13th century BC), 174. This fragmentary text, which lists what appear to be the boundaries of lands located in western and southern Anatolia names the southern land Tarhuntassa, the western Arzawan land Mira, and next to Mira, the land of Ahhiyawa.

In the first of these two texts, Attarssiya is designated by the logogram LÚ, which literally means 'man' but can be used of a leader or ruler, who may be self-appointed or chosen by his followers but lacks the status of 'king' (LUGAL). He may have been a renegade Mycenaean aristocrat who sought to build himself a power-base in western Anatolia, or the agent of an expanding mainland Mycenaean kingdom. (Forrer's equation of his name with that of the legendary Atreus is highly debatable and rejected by most scholars.) Whatever the nature and circumstances of his position, the text indicates that he had established a power base (probably) in western Anatolia, with the

support of an infantry and chariotry contingent. Though he is designated as a man from Ahhiya(wa), we cannot tell whether he had any connection with a specific Ahhiyawan kingdom. Nor can we tell whether his military force was recruited locally or was of Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean origin. It's possible that the bulk of his force was made up of mercenaries, local or Mycenaean. That may also have applied to the crews on the ships which he later mustered for his attack, in collaboration with Madduwatta, on the island of Alasiya.

The second text seems to indicate that at the time of its composition, the current Hittite king (Hattusili III?) formally recognised Ahhiyawan sovereignty over a part of western Anatolian territory.

In other texts , a king of Ahhiyawa is mentioned as the intended recipient of a gift from the Hittite king (*AhT* 8, 145-148), and the assistance of a deity from Ahhiyawa is requested in efforts to cure a Hittite king (*scilicet* Mursili II) of an illness afflicting him (*AhT* 20, §24', 192-195). The latter text is one of a number of oracle reports in which Ahhiyawa is mentioned. (Others are *AhT* 21-24, pp. 210-243.)

By way of general comment, I think it likely that while Ahhiyawa can be roughly equated with the Late Bronze Age Greek or 'Mycenaean' world, it was most likely a generic term used by the Hittites for all lands lying beyond the western Anatolian coast, without clear political, cultural, or ethnic connotations. It probably originated from a tribal name in this region, a name which, for unknown reasons, the Hittites applied to the 'western lands' as a whole. Similarly, the Egyptians used the name Tanaja for much the same region, as we know from the inscription carved on the fifth of the five statue-bases in Amenhotep III's mortuary temple at Kom el-Hetan (see most recently Cline 2014, 44-48). Apparently the generic name for a group of states and towns of the contemporary Greek mainland, including Mycenae and Nauplion, Tanaja seems also to have been derived from the name of a specific tribal group within the region.

Both these names lived on in Homer's *Iliad*, providing two of the three names used interchangeably by Homer for the prehistoric Greeks – Achaians, Danaans, and Argives. So too the Latin word *Graeci* for the Hellenes may have been derived from a group of colonists called the Graii in southern Italy. In later times, Deutschland was called Allemagne by the French, a name derived from a tribal group called the Allemanni in Roman times, and Germany by the English, a name derived from Germanic tribes also attested in the Roman imperial period. Compare the origin of the name England. First used, as far as we know, by Pope Gregory I ('the Great') around AD 600, 'England' was derived from one of the three tribes – Angles, Saxons, and Jutes – occupying various parts of the land that came to be called England, and then adopted as the name for the land as a whole.

We do not know whether the occupants themselves of what the Hittites called Ahhiyawa had a generic name for the region. But we do know from both Mycenaean archaeology and the Linear B tablets that the region consisted of a number of principalities contemporary with the Late Bronze Age Near Eastern kingdoms. We also know that while these principalities had close cultural and ethnic affinities, they remained politically independent from one another. It is quite possible, however, that they formed temporary coalitions, for trade or military purposes, as reflected in the coalition of Greek forces that fought against Troy in Greek legendary tradition.

But there was never a paramount king of the Mycenaean world, and thus never a paramount king of Ahhiyawa if we accept the Ahhiyawan-Mycenaean equation. Despite this, our Hittite texts refer specifically to a kingdom called Ahhiyawa and at least two kings of Ahhiyawa who had direct dealings with Hittite Great Kings. At times, the Ahhiyawan kings or their representatives had a tangible presence in western Anatolia, where they posed a significant threat to Hittite interests in the region. Most likely, however, the Hittites distinguished between a specific kingdom which they called Ahhiyawa and a generic Ahhiyawan world, the latter perhaps reflected in a number of Hittite texts which refer to a land of Ahhiyawa only in a very general way. But in their terminology, they made no distinction between their use of 'Ahhiyawa' as a designation for what they regarded as the Ahhiyawan world in general and 'Ahhiyawa' as a specific kingdom within this world.

In any case, it is clear that a Hittite-attested kingdom of Ahhiyawa did exist, and that while it could have been only one part of the world to which the label 'Ahhiyawa' applied, it was an extremely important part, important enough for its king to be accorded by his Hittite counterpart a status equivalent to that of all the Great Near Eastern kings of the age – Hatti, Egypt, Assyia, and Babylonia. Mycenae itself has long been assumed to be the

leading candidate for this kingdom, primarily on the grounds that since its excavation by Schliemann it has been the archetypal Mycenaean site, and because of the pre-eminence accorded it in Greek legendary tradition due to the hegemonic role exercised by its king Agamemnon as the leader of the Greek forces against Troy.

But other candidates have been suggested for the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. Thebes has been proposed by the Anatolian scholar Frank Starke. He based this proposal on his claim that in a letter written by, or in the name of, a king of Ahhiyawa to his Hittite counterpart (*AhT* 6, no. 1 above), the Ahhiyawan king names one of his forebears as Kadmos, well known in Greek legendary tradition as king of Thebes. This led to Starke's conclusion that Thebes was the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. He presented his arguments at a symposium held in Concordia University, Montreal in 2005, but failed to gain support from other symposium participants for his reading of the name Kadmos in the Hittite text. He has not since published a paper on this, though the Swiss scholar Joachim Latacz had already embraced his proposal in a new edition of his book on the Trojan War, published in 2004 (Latacz 2004, 244).

In my view neither Mycenae nor Thebes can be regarded as serious candidates for the kingdom of Ahhiyawa. Like most other so-called Mycenaean kingdoms, they seem to have been little more than pocket-handkerchief states, the size of comic opera principalities. Importantly, any candidate proposed for the kingdom needs to fit with the information our Hittite texts provide about it, as summarized in the list of Ahhiyawa texts above. Apart from the conclusion from these texts that this kingdom lay across the sea from western Anatolia, it is clear that it had a substantial seagoing capacity which enabled it to gain and maintain possession of islands, probably in the Aegean Sea, and also to occupy and supply at least one major base, Milawata, in western Anatolia (see *e.g.* Niemeier 2005). It also had the resources to threaten the security of Hittite subject-states in the region, either directly or through securing the allegiance of powerful local insurrectionists acting on its behalf, like Piyamaradu.

It seems to me that the only western state to be seriously considered as the kingdom of Ahhiyawa is Pylos in the western Peloponnese – *pu-ro* in the Linear B tablets. Covering some 400 square miles, and thus almost certainly the largest in area of all the Mycenaean states, it was still dwarfed by the Great Near Eastern kingdoms of the age. But of all the Mycenaean states, Pylos was the only one that clearly had a significant seagoing capacity, as reflected in the naval fresco recently discovered among the fragments from Hall 64 of the palace's Southwestern Building (see *e.g.* Brecoulaki *et al.* 2015). With the significant exception of the Thera ship fresco, marine iconography of any kind is scant in the material remains of other Mycenaean principalities.

Linear B tablets from Pylos indicate that the palace organized the building, maintenance and manning of fleets for military and probably other purposes, and list hundreds of rowers (An 1, An 610, An 724), with specific administrative, military and geographical functions (thus Brecoulaki *et al.* 2015, 288, citing Palaima 1991). They also indicate that Pylos's extensive coastline was patrolled by 800 coastguard watchers (calculated by Chadwick 1976, 175, based on the tablet series An 657, An 654, An 519, An 656, An 661). From the Linear B tablets too we learn that part of Pylos's workforces, for example for its textile industries, were acquired from the Anatolian mainland and offshore islands from places which included Milatos (Miletos), Knidos, Lamnos (Lemnos), and Assuwa (see Chadwick 1976, 80-81).[3] This provides a plausible context for a possible removal of Hittite subjects referred to in the Tawagalawa letter (*AhT*, no. 4 above) to Ahhiyawan territory. The king of Pylos and his subjects might well have called their land *pu-ro* (Pylos). But for the Hittites it lay in the region they called Ahhiyawa, and was thus designated in Hittite texts as the kingdom of Ahhiyawa.

If Pylos was in fact the kingdom called Ahhiyawa in Hittite texts, then these texts, though small in number and often fragmentary, add significantly to what we know about Pylos from its own records and archaeological remains. By at least the early 14th century, it possessed sufficient naval resources to exercise control over perhaps a number of islands off the western Anatolian coast, and by the end of the following century, its king had established his sovereignty over a significant swathe of territory in western Anatolia based on Millawanda/Milawata. If we can so judge from the fragmentary so-called boundary text referred to above (*AhT* 18, no. B), the territory under its

3 Assuwa is attested in Hittite texts as a region made up of a number of countries located within the western Anatolian coastlands and their hinterlands. It is perhaps the origin of the term 'Asia'.

control at the time the document was composed may have covered a relatively large area of southwestern Anatolia. It would have been essential for the kingdom to have a large, powerful fleet to supply the manpower and other resources necessary to maintain control over this Anatolian territory, particularly since it abutted Hittite subject-territory on one or more of its boundaries.

Not only this, but it clearly sought to extend its power and influence in the region, at the expense of Hittite sovereign territory, primarily through the support of local insurrectionists. We have no evidence that it actually engaged in military conflict in the region, with the Hittites or anyone else. But its capacity to do so may be implied in several of the *AhT* texts listed above. Its influence and importance in the region is acknowledged by at least one Hittite king who, as we have noted, accords it a status equivalent to that of the Great Kings of the Near Eastern world. Hittite knowledge of this 'western world' was almost certainly meagre, and the Hittite king may genuinely have believed that his 'Royal Brother' did rule a kingdom of great size and significance, even if he recognised that it was only one part of the world designated as Ahhiyawa. In any case, the fact that he was eager to restore peace and stability to the region, as is clear from the Tawagalawa letter, to protect his own and his loyal vassal rulers' interests there, coupled with the fact that military action against the Ahhiyawan was not a realistic option, may have induced him to accord the Ahhiyawan king peer status, even if only as a diplomatic fiction in an attempt to win his co-operation.

Hittite attempts at a diplomatic resolution of the problems in the west ultimately failed. The Ahhiyawan king apparently continued to support insurrectionist activity in the region, without, apparently, committing his own troops to direct military action. Ultimately, however, he appears to have lost his base in Milawata and correspondingly any influence which he exercised on the Anatolian mainland. We don't know the circumstances of how this happened. But it's the likely conclusion to be drawn from the erasure of the Ahhiyawan's name from the list of Great Kings in the treaty which the Hittite king Tudhaliya drew up with his vassal ruler in Amurru, probably *ca.* 1230 (*AhT* 2, no. 6 above). The kingdom of Pylos itself, however, was to survive for several more decades until its destruction *ca.* 1200.

Whether or not I have correctly identified Pylos as the specific Ahhiyawan kingdom referred to in Hittite texts, there can now be little doubt that Ahhiyawa in a broad sense is the Hittite designation for a region which was largely co-extensive with or included the Mycenaean world. For this reason, the information the Ahhiyawa texts provide about this world is, though limited, an important supplement to what we already know about it from Mycenaean archaeology and the Linear B tablets. For they contain our only contemporary historical information about this world. From them we learn that far from simply having trading contacts with western Anatolia and other coastal parts of the eastern Mediterranean lands, Mycenaean Greeks, and most notably a specific Mycenaean kingdom established for a time sovereignty over a significant part of western Anatolia and became a major political force in the region.

Let me conclude by drawing attention to one of the documents in the Ahhiyawa compendium which has a significance hitherto unremarked upon. This is the fragmentary letter *AhT* 6, listed as no. 1 above. Addressed by the king of Ahhiyawa to the king of Hatti, the letter, as we noted, refers to an unsettled dispute between Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings over the possession of islands which presumably lay off the Anatolian coast. The letter is written in Hittite and stored in the archives of the Hittite capital Hattusa. It is thus a Hittite translation of the Ahhiyawan king's original letter, or possibly a letter dictated in Greek but written in Hittite by a bilingual scribe. In either case, the actual name of the Ahhiyawan kingdom is obscured by the translation, which would naturally render the original Mycenaean name by what it was called in Hittite. Just as today an English translation of a letter from the President of Deutschland would substitute 'Germany' for 'Deutschland' whenever this word occurred in the letter.

Perhaps most significant of all, though the letter appears in a Hittite translation and was unearthed in a Hittite archive, it must count as the very first written document in the history of European literature.

Abbreviations

AhT Beckman G.M., Bryce T.R., Cline E.H. 2011, *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Writings from the Ancient World 28), Atlanta-Leiden.

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RESPONSES

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REACTION TO TREVOR BRYCE'S ARTICLE

Trevor Bryce's insightful and thought-provoking articles are always a delight to read. Here he brings together a number of known Ahhiyawa texts to produce a succinct commentary on the Hittite view of Ahhiyawa. He also suggests a specific role for the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos. Bryce is quite obviously correct that Ahhiyawa is, in the broad sense, the Hittite designation for the Mycenaean world as a whole (see the Introduction and Epilogue in Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, as well as previously in Cline 1994 and elsewhere). However, his suggestion that Pylos in particular was the kingdom called Ahhiyawa in Hittite texts is intriguing but must remain hypothetical. I find it no more nor less convincing than the suggestions that have been previously made for Thebes (*e.g.*, by Starke, which remains unpublished) and for Mycenae (see, *e.g.*, Kelder 2005; 2010; 2012), for the simple reason that all of our evidence thus far is circumstantial.

In favor of Bryce's suggestion is the fact, as he notes, that the Linear B texts at Pylos mention women from the Dodecanese islands and the western coast of Anatolia, including Lemnos, Knidos, and Miletos (see, *e.g.*, Cline

1994, 130-131 with references). These are the only such texts from anywhere on the Bronze Age Greek mainland to specifically mention more than one foreigner and any foreign places – a situation which I still find extremely surprising and which I anticipate will change some day with the discovery of additional Linear B texts. In addition, the Pylos tablets that mention rowers, and the newly-discovered naval fresco at the site, both mentioned by Bryce, also support the contention that Pylos had sea-going capacity, which is not surprising.

Against his suggestion is the fact that there are very few imported objects found in Bronze Age levels at Pylos, either from Anatolia or elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. This is the major stumbling block, in my opinion, for it suggests that Pylos was not in as much contact with those regions as were other Aegean polities, especially when compared to the number of such imports found at Mycenae and at Thebes (Cline 1994; 1995; 2010).

However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, we have not yet found, or excavated, the lower town at Pylos and so new excavations could change this situation – and our understanding – in an instant, as shown by the recent discovery of the Griffin Warrior Tomb, which has a possible imported Egyptian faience "melon" bead as the centerpiece of a necklace (Davis, Stocker 2016; 2018). Moreover, having even just one ship arrive – or fail to arrive – at Pylos from the Eastern Mediterranean could have changed this situation completely; Assaf Yasur-Landau and I have previously mused as to where the Uluburun ship might have been heading at the time that it sank *ca.* 1300 BC and concluded that Pylos was one of the possible destinations, particularly given the nature of the raw materials that were part of the cargo (Cline, Yasur-Landau 2007).

A second, and perhaps more fatal, stumbling block comes not from the Hittite Ahhiyawa texts, but rather from the so-called "Aegean List" of Amenhotep III highlighted by Bryce. This list, found on a statue base at Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in Egypt and dating to the first half of the 14th century BC, specifically mentions Mainland Greece (Tanaja) and Crete (Keftiu). It also names some fourteen separate polities in the Aegean region, including both Mycenae and Knossos, as well as possibly Thebes. However, Pylos does not appear, though there is a debated possibility that the region of Messenia may be present (Cline, Stannish 2011; previously Cline 1987; 1998). If Pylos were the capital of Ahhiyawa for the Hittites, as Bryce suggests, it should most likely also have been the leading polity of Tanaja for the Egyptians, and yet it is not on the "Aegean List" as far as we can tell. Despite his discussion of this list, Bryce does not tender an explanation for Pylos' apparent absence.

Finally, I return to the Hittite Ahhiyawa texts that Bryce highlights. As he and numerous others have pointed out, while they do provide clear evidence for contacts between the Hittites and Ahhiya(wa) over the course of several centuries, both hostile and friendly by turns (cf. Cline 1996; 1997), these texts do not provide any indication whatsoever as to where Ahhiyawa was actually located, apart from the fact that it lay somewhere overseas. This, of course, is precisely the problem and is part of the reason why the "Ahhiyawa Question" has tormented academics for the past century. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, all but a minority of scholars now accept that Ahhiyawa must be a reference to the Greek mainland.

However, there is no indication that the Hittites ever realized that they were dealing with an entity with a different political makeup than that found in Egypt, Assyria, or Babylonia, all of whom had a single "Great King" ruling over a (relatively) united kingdom. Such was not the case with the Mycenaeans, of course, for, as Bryce points out, "there was never a paramount king of the Mycenaean world, and thus never a paramount king of Ahhiyawa," regardless of the fact that Homer later described Agamemnon, the ruler of Mycenae, as "King of Kings."

For the moment, I personally still favor the site of Mycenae and its surrounding area as the most likely candidate for an area that would have produced an Ahhiyawan king, as understood by the Hittites (Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 4-6). I do so as an admittedly-biased observer, but only after having studied and considered the Ahhiyawa Question, and related topics such as the lack of Hittite imports in the Bronze Age Aegean and Mycenaean exports to Hittite regions of inland Anatolia, for more than three decades by this point (cf. Cline 1991a; 1991b; 1994; 1996; 1997).

In the end, I have no good reason to favor Mycenae over Pylos apart from a gut feeling, supported primarily by the finds of *orientalia* at Mycenae, especially those which I think might be linked to the "Aegean List" of Amenhotep III (*e.g.*, the fragmentary faience plaques with his cartouche found at the site; Cline, Stannish 2011, 10 with

earlier references), and a reluctance to sever what I see as the most likely connection between ancient and modern perceptions of the situation as it stood during the Late Bronze Age. Still, if future excavations and/or discoveries, especially in the tombs and lower town, show that Bryce is correct in his suggestion of Pylos as the specific kingdom designated by the Hittites as Ahhiyawa, I won't be surprised in the least.

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THE KINGDOM OF AHHIYAWA: FACTS, FACTOIDS AND PROBABILITIES

It is now widely accepted that the Hittite toponym Ahhiyawa must refer to a part, or parts, of the Mycenaean world. Various localities within the Aegean have been suggested as likely candidates, of which Mycenae and Thebes stand out in terms of material wealth, size, and evidence for foreign contacts. Professor Bryce's argument for Pylos in Messenia as the centre of Ahhiyawa thus is a stimulating new take on the matter. I will take this opportunity to review the available archaeological and literary evidence on which any identification of Ahhiyawa, including the one proposed by professor Bryce, must be based, and discuss the limitations and possibilities of these various different datasets.

The Limitations of the Archaeological Data

The study of the Mycenaean palatial world is marred by a series of unfortunate misconceptions and a conflation of ideas with facts. One of the most problematic 'factoids' that has haunted the field is the notion that, as Trevor Bryce summarized in this volume, "We [..] know that while these principalities had close cultural and ethnic affinities, they remained politically independent from one another.[…]...there never was a paramount king of the Mycenaean world, and thus never a paramount king of Ahhiyawa...". I must be blunt here: there simply is no evidence whatsoever for such a notion of political independence, neither from the archaeological data nor from the Linear B texts. Yet this idea of political independence has been propagated by so many illustrious academics for so long and with such vigour, that it is now often taken as a point of departure for further, in-depth study of the Mycenaean world and interpretation of related data-sets, such as the Hittite 'Ahhiyawa Texts'. For the purposes of this forum, I will scrutinize this particular factoid and, in doing so, hope to propose an alternative view (which I first proposed in 2005 and elaborated upon in 2010 and 2013) of the Mycenaean world along far more cohesive, unified, lines.

As Bryce already noted, there are essentially two distinct data sets that have been used to support the notion of a politically fragmented Mycenaean world, namely the archaeological data and evidence from the Linear B texts. The archaeological data suggest that, from the 17th century BC onwards, Minoan material culture made a profound impact on various mainland communities, especially in the Peloponnese and in Boeotia. The emergence of mainland elites appears to have coincided with this 'Minoanization', most vividly illustrated by the marvellous objects discovered in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and in various roughly contemporary graves elsewhere, such as the recently discovered, 15th century BC, Tomb of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos (Davis, Stocker 2016). Over time, Minoan influence on mainland arts (and society) changed, doubtlessly according to local preferences and requirements, giving rise to what has been dubbed a 'Mycenaean koiné'. As is the case with any 'blanket designation', the concept of a Mycenaean koiné has attracted criticism, mostly because it fails to capture significant local variations in material culture, *e.g.*, in the production of pottery, in burial customs and in funerary architecture, such as tholoi, chamber tombs, pit and cist graves (for pottery, Mountjoy 1999, 822; for funerary costumes, Cavanagh, Mee 1998, 77).

As a result, some academics have rejected the notion of a 'Mycenaean koiné'. However, to argue that the "impression of uniformity is in fact a mirage" (*e.g.* Cavanagh, Mee 1988, 77) seems to overstress the available evidence and to ignore important general tendencies. Indeed, Petrakis (2009, 18) observed that regional features do not oppose but rather support the notion of a Mycenaean koinè: "Koiné appears to be an appropriate term to describe 'islands' of uniformity in a sea of heterogeneity." In my view, the existence of a Mycenaean koinè during LH IIIA-B1 (*ca.* 1400-1250 BC) cannot realistically be denied, and is especially evident in and around the Mycenaean palatial centres.

I agree with Oliver Dickinson (forthcoming) that this koiné was not always a deeply rooted phenomenon. Indeed, as I noted in my 2010 monograph, the fall of the palaces around 1200 BC appears to have coincided with a return to many older (Middle Helladic) traditions and the disappearance of many 'Mycenaean' features (pottery shapes [most notably the kylix], seals, frescoes and the iconography typical for these media), suggesting that these cultural trappings were closely related to palace life and not necessarily anchored in a broader (non-palatial) society. This could well be explained as an "imperial veneer" (Kelder 2010, 113-114), though I am quite willing to accept

that this is just one explanation (though, I contend, a very plausible one) and that other possibilities may also be entertained. In this context, Dickinson is quite right to point out that "while Mycenaean culture may look very homogenous in the Palace Period, it did not begin that way". Indeed, the funerary evidence from such sites as Mycenae and Thebes suggests a gradual emergence of elites (with tombs that "only slowly begin to be distinguishable from the ordinary Middle Helladic pits"), which would be hard to explain in the context of military conquest and the installation of a foreign elite in subject territories right at the beginning of the Mycenaean era. But then, I find it quite unlikely that anything like a supra-regional power emerged at such an early date (in the 16th or early 15th centuries BC), and I would be much more comfortable to situate the emergence of a larger Mycenaean state towards the end of the 15th century – close to the date, that is, of the events described in the Hittite 'Indictment of Madduwatta' (see Bryce, this volume), and coinciding with the spread of Mycenaean-style pottery beyond the Argolid, around the Saronic gulf, in Boeotia, and throughout the Peloponnese.

This, perhaps not coincidentally, is also the time when we have the first evidence for the construction of a palace, not only at Mycenae, but also at Tiryns – a development that is thought to (more or less) coincide with the Greek adoption of the Minoan word *wanax,* ruler (cf. Petrakis 2016, 139). Indeed, the year 1400 BC could be considered as a sort of watershed in the Mycenaean world, marking the rapid expansion of Mycenae's territorial ambitions and claims – probably with the initial aim to control the silver-mines in southern Attica. Around 1400 BC, sites such as Kiapha Thiti and Thorikos show a marked change in material culture that, I contend (Kelder 2016), is probably best explained in the context of an Argive (= Mycenaean) takeover. In a similar vein, there is a marked decrease of Aeginite material in the same region, suggesting that Aegina's previously dominant position in the Saronic Gulf was being curtailed by the rising power of the Argive plain, with Mycenae as its dominant centre. Further evidence for Mycenae's interest in – and its preparedness to invest in its dominance over – the Saronic Gulf is highlighted by the remains of an harbour-town[1] at Kalamianos, a site with direct overland access to Mycenae and apparently founded in the late 14th century BC (LH IIIA2).[2] It also demonstrates that Mycenae, despite the lack of evidence from the few Linear B tablets that have been recovered from that site (cf. below), must have had a fleet of some size. If one considers Tiryns and Nauplion, as well as a number of smaller sites in and around the Argive plain (most notably Asine) as Mycenaean dependencies (and, to my knowledge, most academics tend to agree with some sort of Mycenaean hegemony over this region from at least the 14th century BC onwards, cf. Crouwel 2008; Kelder 2005, but see Pullen 2013b for a different view), then there can be no doubt that Mycenae in the 14th and 13th centuries BC must have been a major maritime power. All of this, of course, runs counter to Trevor Bryce's claim that "of all the Mycenaean states, Pylos was the only one that clearly had a significant seagoing capacity." Moreover, it also raises the important question as to how far Mycenae's political influence extended, and whether one can, archaeologically, identify markers of Mycenaean control over outlying regions.

Based on my own experience in this field, I fear that the answer to this latter question is largely negative. Archaeological data are interpreted through the prism of an archaeologist's own predisposition and thus, some of the evidence that I presented in support of my (2005; 2010) argument for a greater Mycenaean state are also presented by those who argue for precisely the opposite. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this point, such as the remarkable absence of fortification walls at Pylos in the 14th and 13th centuries BC. In my 2010 monograph, I interpreted this feature as a sign of subjugation, by pointing out that the destruction of an earlier fortification wall and the failure to rebuilt it could be compared to the well-known Near Eastern practice of dismantling the walls of potentially rebellious vassal cities thereby rendering them defenceless against retaliation from their overlord. Yet the same thing is presented by others as a sign of confidence and independence (Blegen, Rawson 1966, 32; also J. Rutter's

1 Pullen (2013a) and Tartaron (2013) identify the site as a coastal settlement around two natural harbours. Eberhard Zangger (pers. comm., 8 November 2017) suggested that some of the architecture may best be interpreted as veritable harbour installations, including ship-sheds.

2 The distance between Kalamianos and Mycenae is some 50 km, thought to represent a 9 to 13 hour walk on foot (depending on one's fitness). Cf. Pullen 2013a; Tartaron 2013, 263.

online *Aegean Prehistoric Archaeology*, lesson 21). Similarly, I have suggested that the striking parallels between the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae and the magnificent tholos at Orchomenos in Boeotia are best explained in the context of Mycenaean overlordship, and that the tholos at Orchomenos may have been built for an important local vassal king, perhaps a member of the Mycenaean ruling dynasty, yet others (most recently Dickinson forthcoming) instead suggest that it would make more sense to see Orchomenos and Mycenae as independent states that were allied in their opposition to Thebes in Boeotia, and that the tholos may have been built by the same, itinerary, craftsmen. In a similar vein, the destruction and spatial rearrangements of important administrative centres has been interpreted in myriad ways. Thus, the destruction and complete abandonment in early LH IIIA2 (*ca.* 1400-1350 BC) of the monumental, two- or three storied, building (possibly built along remarkably 'Minoan' lines, including a central court) at Iklaina in Messenia and the subsequent construction of a megaron (Γ) in the north of the settlement, has been attributed by the site's excavator, Cosmopoulos (2012), to Pylian military conquest (although this hypothesis has meanwhile been modified; incorporation in the Pylian state is now thought to have taken place in mid LHIIIB [Cosmopoulos, lecture at Heidelberg, 2 Dec. 2018]). Yet a remarkably similar situation at Pylos, where a monumental structure of 'Minoan' character (cf. Nelson 2007) was superseded in the early 13th century BC by a *megaron* complex that was built along typically Argive / Mycenaean lines (although there are, of course, local peculiarities, such as the libation channel near the throne, and the floor decoration of the throne room; cf. Egan 2015, 302), is usually explained in terms of peer polity interaction (Cherry 1986, 24), or as the result of a shared concept amongst the palatial elites of how a ruler should manifest himself (Kilian 1988, 294). The same data are thus presented to support opposing views on the relation between Mycenaean palatial states, and accepting or rejecting either view remains a question of faith – of what one finds, *a priori*, most likely.

We may call into memory here that, prior to the decipherment of Hittite, most specialists (basing themselves on the Bible) situated the Hittite kingdom in northern Syria, whereas what turned out to be the capital of Hattusa was thought to have been a Phrygian or even later, Late Antique, settlement. Indeed, the sheer territorial extent of the Hittite kingdom, which included for most of the Late Bronze Age the larger part of Anatolia and large swathes of northern Syria, only became apparent once the cuneiform texts from Hattusa became intelligible. In view of all this, any argument regarding political structures of the Mycenaean world benefits from a thorough examination of the literary evidence. And for that, we will have to turn to two very distinct sets of data: the Linear B texts, and the evidence from the Hittite 'Ahhiyawa Texts.'

Linear B Evidence: Challenges and Possibilities

The Linear B texts undoubtedly tell us much about Mycenaean society, the production and distribution of goods, and even offer us a glimpse of the Mycenaean pantheon (if there was such a thing: some deities are attested at several centres, but others may well turn out to be site-specific). There are, however, also clear limitations to the material. Not only because numerous clay tablets are likely to have been lost to the sands of time (at Mycenae, for instance, it is likely that the palace archive slit into the adjacent ravine when the palace collapsed), but also because much of the Mycenaean administration was likely conducted on media other than clay, such as papyrus, wood, or even parchment (cf. Chadwick, Ventris 1973, 223-224, 441; now also Kelder 2013, 49). None of that remains, and what we are left with are essentially the receipts, dating to the final months (perhaps days) of the respective administrative centres, and detailing affairs that were probably meant to be summarized in more comprehensive (annual?) accounts of the respective administrations. More frustratingly, we lack all documentation regarding diplomatic affairs: no letters, no treaties – nothing comparable to the Hittite texts (where, interestingly, the situation seems to be almost the reverse, for we lack most of the Hittites' day-to-day administrative texts). We should, therefore, not take the absence of evidence from a given palatial archive, as evidence for absence: *in concreto*, this means that one cannot claim that Mycenae had no significant maritime power, simply because we have no Linear B evidence that suggests otherwise (*pace* Bryce, this volume). Any attempt to distil political structures, let alone state boundaries, from the extant Linear B texts is fraught with difficulties.

Despite these difficulties, it is widely accepted that the administrative purview of the 'archives' found at the various palatial centres may be roughly equated with the territorial extent of those palaces. These reconstructed polities are then presented on maps, and are now entrenched in academic debate as a given – and thus we find reconstructions of "the kingdom of Pylos" covering some 400 square miles, and encompassing the larger part of the modern province of Messenia. This would have been a significant realm, though certainly *not* "the largest in area of all Mycenaean states" (*pace* Bryce, this volume). Yet there is precious little evidence to support such a notion. Yes, there are lists of localities (towns, villages, sanctuaries?) in the archives from the palace of Pylos, and yes, a number of these localities are presented in the same or very similar order in various lists, that could be used to geographically plot the *attested* economic activity of the palace. Yet it should be borne in mind that none of these localities, with the exception of *pu-ro* / Pylos itself, has been securely identified (cf. Simpson 2014, for the latest attempt to reconstruct the political geography of Mycenaean Messenia), nor is there any reason to assume that economic activity as recorded in the texts necessarily equates to specific political ties (cf. Kelder 2008; Palaima 2011, 54).

There are, however, a number of peculiarities in the Linear B text that do seem to point to certain political structures, even though the precise contours of these structures remain ill-defined. The recurrence of personal names, almost certainly of members of the palatial elites, in texts from different palaces, for example, is intriguing. It has been proposed that the recurrence of names in these high social echelons could be the result of an 'upper class tradition', in which royal scions were only given names from a certain limited stock (Killen 1979, 177-178), though there are reasons to suspect that at least some of these names represent a single person – apparently operating at various palatial centres (Kelder 2008, 62-63; Kelder, Poelwijk 2016, 57). Other peculiarities are the references to activity in centres that seem to fall well beyond the administrative purview of the respective palace. A famous example is tablet An 12 from Pylos, which mentions the dispatch of some 30 rowers from various centres near Pylos to Pleuron; presumably the town in Aetolia known from Homer. The small number of rowers makes a military operation from one Mycenaean centre against another unlikely, but would make sense if the various Mycenaean palaces were, in fact, part of the same, unified state (Kelder 2008, 60-61).

This argument may find some corroboration in the "astonishing similarities among the centers, as revealed by the tablets" (Killen 2007, 114; cf. Simpson 2014, 46). According to Killen, the administrative records are "of a virtually identical type", and it appears that "all Mycenaean palaces organized their tax collection in a highly similar way." I agree with this observation, and have suggested that this may – yet again – be taken as a sign of a centralised, supra-regional, scribal tradition. Yet the importance and even the veracity of this observation has been criticized. Galaty and Parkinson (2007, 4-5), for instance, argued that "different Mycenaean states administered entirely different industries […] or, more often, administered the same type of industries differently (*e.g.* at Pylos, various steps in the production of cloth were centrally controlled and took place at the palace, whereas at Knossos, cloth production was completely decentralized, though still perhaps controlled by palace officials)." And although these observations are equally true to highly developed, better understood, states such as Middle Kingdom Egypt (Romer 2017, 467-469), and thus do not necessarily argue against a single overarching, supra-regional administration, one must concede that there is room for different interpretations. Similarly, the putative linguistic uniformity of the Mycenaean palatial administration has been interpreted in different ways. Chadwick (1976, 103) argued that despite the highly uniform nature of the texts, occasional mistakes and "slips of the stylus" seem to indicate that the language used for the palatial administration was not the language normally spoken by those that wrote it. If true, this would fit rather nicely with the concept of a supra-regional state, with an "imperial" language superimposed on local dialects (as I argued in Kelder 2010, 111-112). But other interpretations are possible, and Thompson (1996-97, 303-333, esp. 330) suggests that these very same mistakes are, in fact, indicative of regional dialects, although even Thompson admits that "the level of differentiation between the language at different sites is surprisingly low."

All of this serves to demonstrate the point that the evidence from the Linear B texts – much like the archaeological data – is very much open to interpretation: whether or not one considers the evidence sufficient to argue either in favour or against a larger territorial state, encompassing several, or perhaps all, palatial administrations, depends entirely on one's predisposition. There may be ways to proceed beyond the current academic deadlock. A detailed,

comparative, study of the morphology of the Mycenaean tablets is a major desideratum, especially in view of Postgate's (2001, 160) observation that the similarity in shapes and sizes of the Mycenaean tablets, to a Near Eastern archaeologist, seems to suggest political unity. Postgate's observation is an important one, I think, but has received remarkably little attention in academic discourse. Pending closer examination of the morphology of the Linear B tablets, it may be best to focus our attention to the corpus of relevant Hittite texts: the so-called Ahhiyawa Texts. These texts, after all, were diplomatic documents – meant to be read by the kings of Hatti and Ahhiyawa and their immediate circle of followers – and thus may be expected to reflect the political realities, real or perceived, of the Late Bronze Age world.

Ahhiyawa in Hittite Texts

So what do we know of Ahhiyawa or Ahhiya, other than that it was a geographical designation known from 30-odd Hittite texts dating to the 14th and 13th centuries BC? Trevor Bryce (this volume) suggests that it most likely was "a generic term used by the Hittites for all lands lying beyond the western Anatolian coast, without clear political, cultural, or ethnic connotations." This statement is unfortunately not supported by references, but to the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence whatsoever that supports such a notion. Indeed, when reading the Ahhiyawa Texts the overriding impression is one of a very specific locality, with a clearly identifiable leader who, at least at some point in the 13th century BC, attained a status equal to that of the Hittite king himself. It is useful to briefly review the relevant texts here; a task that is greatly facilitated by the recent (2013) publication of all the so-called Ahhiyawa Texts (*AhT*), complete with new translations, interpretations and historical discussions, by Gary Beckman, Eric Cline and Trevor Bryce himself.

From these texts, all dating to the 14th and 13th centuries BC, it is clear that Ahhiyawa was a major power over the course of those two centuries and that Ahhiyawan activity in western Anatolia occasionally clashed with Hittite interests in the region. In at least one letter (*AhT* 4), which may have been written by either Hattusili III or Muwatalli, the Hittite king addresses a king of Ahhiyawa as a "Brother" and "Great King"; thus signalling parity (at least from a Hittite perspective) between the king of Ahhiyawa and a select number of potentates in the Ancient Near East, such as the Egyptian Pharaoh, the kings of Babylon and Assyria, and of course the Hittite king himself. The texts also indicate that, whilst the king of Ahhiyawa exercised some degree of control over Millawanda (a city in western Anatolia which is generally assumed to have been the Bronze Age predecessor of Classical Miletos), Ahhiyawa 'proper' laid off the Anatolian coast and could only be reached by ship (*AhT* 4, §5, i 53–ii 8). In view this, it is now generally assumed that Ahhiyawa should be sought in the Mycenaean world. Bryce is correct in stating that there is no hard proof for this equation, in the sense that no Hittite tablet has been found at a Mycenaean site, though it should be noted that *a-ka-wi-ja-de* is mentioned, apparently as a destination for a shipment of goods, on a Linear B tablet (C 914) from Knossos on Crete. Ahhiyawa thus should be sought in the Aegean and most probably on the Greek mainland.

This realisation, however, does not necessarily mean that Ahhiyawa was a blanket designation for some distant land to the west of the Hittite realm, as Bryce suggests, nor are there any indications that the term originated from a tribal name. Indeed, the first reference to Ahhiya – an early version of Ahhiyawa – in the so-called 'Indictment of Madduwatta' rather suggests that it was originally the name of a city, seeing that it refers to Attarissiya as a LÚ ^{URU} *a-a*[*h-hi-y*]*a-a*, "a man from the city of Ahhiya". Whilst one may reasonably argue that the Hittites at this point in time (we are talking about *ca.* 1400 BC) may have had only a very vague understanding of the geography and political situation on the western edge of their world, the designation URU – to my mind at least – seems to suggest that the Hittites had quite a specific idea of where this Attarissiya had come from.[3] Nor is there any suggestion in the Hittite texts that Ahhiyawa (or Ahhiya) was merely a geographical designation. Whilst the earliest

3 It may, perhaps, be argued that this particular designation may have more generically been used as a designation for a particular geographical area, rather than a specific town (although I am not aware of a specific case where this has been established with certainty), but even then, the point remains that Ahhiya was clearly considered to be a specific place rather than a generic designation for a wider and unspecified region beyond the Hittite world.

references to Ahhiya, in the Indictment of Madduwatta, may identify it as a city, all subsequent texts designate Ahhiyawa as KUR, "land". To the best of my knowledge, Hittite, and indeed, other contemporary, references to a land, designated with the logogram KUR, virtually always equate to a specific polity.[4]

I see no compelling reason to assume that this must have been different in the case of *Ahhiyawa*, especially in view of the numerous references to a LUGAL, "king", and even – in the mid-13th century BC – to a LUGAL. GAL, a "Great King" of Ahhiyawa. Trevor Bryce is right in pointing out that, when Attarissiya first appeared on the shores of Anatolia around 1400 BC, the Hittites did not quite consider him to be a king (LUGAL), but rather a LÚ, which literally means "man" (but may perhaps best be translated as a more generic term for "ruler"). By the end of the 14th century BC, however, the Annals of Mursili identify a LUGAL, "king", of Ahhiyawa. A king, moreover, who had sufficient military power to be perceived as a valuable ally by the Arzawan king Uhhaziti. Throughout the 13th century BC, Ahhiyawa evidently was of sufficient importance to the Hittites to be ranked, at least occasionally (in *AhT 4*, the Tawagalawa Letter), as a Great Kingdom; indicating that its king was perceived as a peer to the Hittite king. Ahhiyawa's apparent involvement in royal gift exchange, as evidenced by Hittite texts (*AhT* 8; *AhT* 4), indicates that we are dealing here with a clearly defined state (and not a generic region). Archaeological and iconographical data corroborate the notion that a major Mycenaean state participated in diplomatic gift exchange, suggesting that either Thebes or, more likely, Mycenae was the focal point of such activity.[5]

The evidence thus strongly suggests that Ahhiyawa, much like the Hittite kingdom itself, must have had a clearly defined 'heartland' and a capital city; a place where its king (or his representative) could normally be reached, and where diplomacy (and diplomatic trade) could be conducted. The attribution of the title of Great King, moreover, suggests that, in the 13th century BC at least, Ahhiyawa must have comprised not only a heartland, but various subject states as well (I have previously suggested that the *wanax* attested in various Linear B archives refers to a single peripatetic Great King, rather than to various local rulers, cf. Kelder 2008). The Hittitte texts already indicate that Millawanda on the Anatolian west coast was one of these vassals. How does this tally with the archaeological and Linear B evidence?

Political Structures and Territorial Extent: Weighing Probabilities

Here we must return to the list of criteria that Trevor Bryce distilled from the Hittite texts. According to those texts:

1. Ahhiyawa had a substantial sea-going capacity which enabled it to gain and maintain possession of islands in the Aegean Sea and also to occupy and supply at least one major base in western Anatolia, namely Millawanda / Miletos.
2. *Ahhiyawa* had the resources to threaten, either directly or by proxy, the security of Hittite vassal-states in that region.

To these, I would like to propose two additional criteria – one distilled from the texts, the other based on comparisons with the "Great Kingdoms" in the Late Bronze Age:

3. Ahhiyawa engaged in diplomatic gift exchange;
4. its capital should be distinguishable from other, 'provincial' capitals because of its size, monumentality, and a number of institutions (such as major sanctuaries, 'ministries' or state archives).

Because of the apparent importance of Ahhiyawa and the ability of its kings to maintain control over Millawanda in spite of Hittite military and diplomatic activity in the Western Anatolia, most specialists suggest that Ahhiyawa's

4 The sumerogram KUR is frequently, but not necessarily, followed by the determinative URU "city", usually referring to the city from whence the respective land was governed. Thus we read both LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ha-at-ti*, "the king of the land of (the city of) Hatti", and LUGAL KUR *Ha-at-ti*, "the king of the land of Hatti".

5 Cf. Kelder, Cole, Cline 2018; Kelder, Cline 2018.

centre – its capital – must have been a major palatial centre. Mycenae in the Argolis and Thebes in Boeotia far outstrip the other palatial centres that are known thus far, first and foremost in terms of settlement size and monumentality – and here I fundamentally disagree with Trevor Bryce's statement that these centres "seem to have been little more than pocket-handkerchief states, the size of comic opera principalities." Pylos, though the exact nature and size of the settlement around the palace is not entirely clear, is estimated to have covered some 20 hectares, whereas the palatial complex on the Ano Eglianos hill is under one hectare in size. Compare this to the 2.3 hectares of the citadel at Mycenae and the (estimated) 32 hectares of that centre's lower town (Wardle, Wardle 1997, 17), or even the 2.1 hectares of the New Kadmeion at Thebes (which was surrounded by a walled settlement of approximately 19 hectares;, cf. Symeonoglou 1985, 26-32), and it is quite evident that to dismiss Mycenae and Thebes as opera principalities is unwarranted.

Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that indicates that Mycenae and Thebes stood out amongst the palaces of the Late Bronze Age world. A salient feature is that both centres were situated in close proximity to various other major palaces and fortified settlements (cf. Banyai, forthcoming). Mycenae is a stone's throw away from Tiryns and Midea, whereas nearby Nauplion – which boasts one of the largest Mycenaean cemeteries known to date – and Argos must have been major centres, too. In view of their proximity to Mycenae, it is almost inconceivable that these centres –and as a result, their manpower and resources – did not fall under its control. The same (though to a lesser extent) applies to Thebes, where there is evidence for various major centres in and around the Kopais basin, such as Halliartos, and Eutresis. Pylos, on the other hand, does not appear to have controlled any major centres in its immediate hinterland, nor is there evidence in Messenia for any large-scale agricultural projects similar to those that appear to have been undertaken by the palace of Mycenae (the drainage of the Nemea valley, cf. Cherry, Davis 2001, 154-156) or by the palaces in Boeotia (the drainage of the Kopais basin).[6]

The Hittite texts clearly indicate that the king of Ahhiyawa engaged in diplomatic gift exchange, and one would expect this to reflect in the archaeological record. But here again, Mycenae and Thebes are clearly on a different level than the other palaces. It surely is significant that at both centres, significant quantities of imported objects have been found, whereas at other centres – including Pylos – only very few imports have been identified. It is important to realise that not only are the quantities of *orientalia* at Mycenae and Thebes striking, but also the quality of some of these objects. Here, I should mention the cache of lapis lazuli Kassite cylinder seals that has been found at Thebes and, especially, fragments of a total of as much as 11 unique faience plaques with the royal cartouche of Amenhotep III that were found at Mycenae. Nothing even remotely comparable has been found at Pylos.

It thus seems reasonable to consider either Mycenae or Thebes as the likely 'core' of Ahhiyawa. Because of a string of unique features, including the 7 monumental tholoi, the Cult Centre and the adjacent Grave Circle A, the monumentality of the citadel walls, the Lion Gate (the only known piece of Mycenaean monumental sculpture and made, apparently, by using Hittite style equipment and techniques, cf. Blackwell 2014), the monumental Houses outside the citadel, as well as the sheer size of its lower town (which has now been demonstrated to have been surrounded by a wall with several gates), I consider Mycenae the most viable candidate. Thebes, in my view, is best seen as an important regional contender, whose exact position towards Mycenae is difficult to pinpoint and may, in any case, have shifted throughout time.

Based on all this, I feel one must reject the identification of Pylos as the centre of Ahhiyawa. The palace, though clearly of paramount importance to the region, is not only smaller than Mycenae, but lacks such features as monumental fortifications, or other architectural units (such as a Cult Centre) that would make it stand out amongst its palatial peers. The virtual absence of foreign objects are equally troubling and cannot be offset by the palace's apparent possession of slaves from the Anatolian west-coast: these could have been acquired through a variety of ways, not only through raiding, but also through trade. In fact, the reference to (slave) 'women from Miletus'

6 I note that the drainage of the Kopais basin is usually attributed to the palace of Orchomenos (cf. Iakovidis 2001). I have proposed (most recently, Kelder 2012) that the resources required for such an undertaking may have been more easily gathered by a larger polity, suggesting that Orchomenos may have been an important Mycenaean vassal (hence its remarkably tholos tomb (cf. *supra*), and the Cyclopean walls of its dependencies, such as Gla), but one could perhaps also argue for a regional collaboration between Thebes and Orchomenos.

(Parker 1999, 499; Chadwick 1976, 80) –which, the Hittite texts inform us, was an Ahhiyawan dependency and thus an unlikely target for Ahhiyawan raids – rather seems to point to this latter scenario. To conclude, I submit that Mycenae is, in view of the currently available evidence, the most likely candidate as capital of Ahhiyawa. In the absence of clear, literary evidence, its precise relation to Pylos and other palatial centres must remain conjecture.

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Abbreviations

AhT Beckman G.M., Bryce T.R., Cline E.H. 2011, *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Writings from the Ancient World 28), Atlanta-Leiden.

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AN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGIST'S RESPONSE

There now seems to be a general scholarly consensus that Egyptian *Tnj*, normalized as Tanaja, Tanaju, or Tanaya, was used in 18th Dynasty pharaonic texts as a toponym for a substantial portion of the Greek mainland during at least the first half of the palatial era (*ca.* 1440-1190 BC) of the much longer-lived Mycenaean culture (ca. 1675-1050 BC) that eventually flourished throughout much of the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age (Cline 1987, 2-6; 2014, 44-48; De Fidio 2008, 97-98; Kelder 2010, 36-39, 45-46, 86, 120; Bennet 2011, 159-161; Eder, Jung 2015, 125-126; Gander 2017, 278 n. 217). During this roughly 250-year-long era, administrative centers employing the Linear B script to write the earliest attested Greek texts operated at one time or another not only in the Peloponnese and in central as well as western Crete but also, perhaps starting somewhat later, in the east-central Greek mainland from Boeotia to coastal Thessaly.

Beginning at roughly the same time, in the later 15th or early 14th century BC, the Great Kings of Hatti used a different toponym for what is likely to have been much the same region, initially Ahhiya, but within two or

three generations the similar but nevertheless consistently distinct form Ahhiyawa (De Fidio 2008, 99-102; Kelder 2010, 21-34, 49-62; Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011; Bennet 2011, 161-162; Cline 2014, 37-40, 70-72, 96-99; Eder, Jung 2015, 126-129; Gander 2017, 275-278).

In his most recent discussion of the location of Ahhiyawa, Trevor Bryce notes that both the Egyptian and Hittite terms have long been recognized as corresponding quite closely to two of the three generic terms used for the allied Greeks besieging Troy in Homer's Iliad, namely Danaoi (cf. Tanaya) and Achaioi (cf. Ahhiyawa). Concerning the latter, he comments, "There is still no hard proof for the equation . . . But the majority of scholars now accept its validity, largely on the grounds that circumstantial evidence allows no plausible alternative" (cf. also Bryce 2005, 57-60; Eder, Jung 2015, 126-127). Likewise worthy of special emphasis is John Bennet's observation regarding Tanaya and Ahhiyawa: "A crucial point to appreciate in these references [in Egyptian and Hittite texts] is that both terms are geographical terms, not ethnonyms, or social terms . . . This is an important point, because it is possible that the phrase used [for persons from these places] may in theory refer to different actual groups within the same geographical area at different times" (Bennet 2011, 158). By extension, the same observation would presumably apply also to Egyptian Kf-tiw (normalized as *Keftiu*) on the same statue base of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan as does *Tnj* for Tanaya, but that is universally understood to refer to Crete (Cline 1987, 26, tab. 1; Cline, Stannish 2011, 6). As will become apparent below, Bennet's point about toponyms vs. ethnonyms means that during the Monopalatial era on Crete when one or more Greek-speaking mainlanders appear to have been the rulers of much of Crete for 70 years or more, Egyptians need not have identified them in any way as different from their Minoan Neopalatial forerunners.

Although this usage by neighboring cultures of two entirely different toponyms for what may well have been a single region or political entity may initially strike one as odd, both Bryce and other commentators (e.g. Eder, Jung 2015, 126 n. 63) have noted that the same phenomenon is common enough in other times and places, for example in the cases of both Germany and Greece. In the cases of historic instances, explanations for how two or more quite different terms may have come to be used for the same geographical space or ethnic group can often be readily supplied. In the case of the protohistoric Aegean, however, such explanations must remain speculative. Onofrio Carruba and Robert Drews have suggested that Tanaya may be connected specifically with the homeland of the Athenians (Carruba 1993; Drews 2005). Drews has also presented a case for an original homeland of Homer's Argives (Argeioi) in Thessaly (1979). Bryce suggests that the inspirations for Egyptian Tanaya and Hittite Ahhiyawa are likely to be tribal names, while by contrast Drews' discussion of Argos and Argives in the *Iliad* derives the toponym Argos from a word for "plain" that in his opinion must refer to the great Thessalian plain (1979, 119). Bryce notes that we still do not know with what generic labels Late Bronze Age Greek-speakers may have referred to themselves or indeed if they even did so. Why Homer and the bardic tradition to which he was heir should have chosen the three particular generic ethnonyms that they did for the Greeks who fought at Troy is an intriguing question that will continue to merit further investigation as more is learned about Aegean-Anatolian interactions during the Late Bronze Age.

Bryce's confident assertion that the political order of the Mycenaean palatial era consisted of a "number of principalities contemporary with the Late Bronze Age Near Eastern kingdoms" is unwarranted. The simple fact is that, after well over a century of archaeological exploration and more than sixty years since Linear B's decipherment, we continue to be quite uncertain about how even the central and southern portions of the Greek mainland, much less whatever larger geographical space is to be understood by "the Mycenaean world", were organized politically. We can, however, be sure that this political order changed substantially during the culture's six-century duration, first during the 15th century as its elite(s) developed (or occupied pre-existing) large-scale administrative complexes as well as both a script and a sealing system whereby to maintain records (Ruppenstein 2012; Maran 2015; Darcque, Rougemont 2015), and then again after all three of these developments were abandoned within a short space of time after 1200 BC when all existing palatial establishments were destroyed and not rebuilt.

Just within the past decade, after a half-century during which what we may call the 'multiple-principality' model of Mycenaean political organization was almost universally accepted, two quite different models of a 'single kingdom' model for at least the Mycenaean mainland have been proposed (Kelder 2010; 2012; Eder 2009; Eder, Jung 2015). In identifying an archaeologically based equivalent for the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa known from

the Hittite archives at Hattusha, we are therefore no longer constrained to argue in favor of this or that regional administration, whether located in the Argolid (centered at Mycenae), Boeotia (centered at Thebes), or Messenia (centered at Pylos), as Bryce's review of the most plausible candidates maintains, but rather are free to envisage a much large and more powerful western Aegean state that developed gradually over as long as two centuries prior to emerging in the later 15th century BC as a "Great Kingdom" to merit comparison with such longer-established and far better textually documented Near Eastern states as Hatti, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon.

Most authorities who have commented extensively on the Ahhiyawa texts have drawn attention to the political instability in western Anatolia that they reflect over the roughly two centuries that they span (e.g. Kelder 2010, 23; Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 3-6, 267-281). Political instability could also be said to have been a feature of the Hittite kingdom during the same period (Bryce 2005, 121-325) and indeed of all the Near Eastern "Great Kingdoms." It is thus likely that the Ahhiyawan political order was every bit as turbulent. We should therefore be prepared to recognize significant differences between this Aegean power as it makes its debut in texts reporting events of the later 15th century and what this state may have become by the later 14th or mid-13th centuries, the periods to which the bulk of well-dated texts mentioning Ahhiyawa can be assigned. From an archaeological point of view, the dominant economic, cultural, and presumably political power in the Aegean when Ahhiyawa is first mentioned in Hittite texts (in the form of the shorter toponym Ahhiya) was unquestionably centered at Knossos, where most specialists are inclined to identify a recently installed Greek-speaking administration in control of much of Crete during the so-called Monopalatial era that followed immediately after the relatively sudden collapse of Neopalatial Minoan culture ca. 1450 BC (Ruppenstein 2012, 54-55, 62). The hybrid Minoan-Mycenaean material culture emanating from Knossos reached its apogee of influence throughout Crete during the LM IIIA1 phase, shortly after the end of which the imposing palace at Knossos was destroyed in a violent fire dated to sometime in the second quarter of the 14th century (1375-1350 BC), never to be restored fully to its previous magnificence. Almost immediately after this disaster, what had in many ways been a remarkably uniform archaeological assemblage disseminated across much of Crete started to develop into a regionally more highly differentiated set of sub-assemblages during the LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB phases (ca. 1350-1200 BC) (Preston 2008; Langohr 2009; 2017). Of these sub-assemblages, only two are so far known to have employed, whether continually or occasionally, the Linear B script that had been in regular use at Monopalatial Knossos (Chania and Knossos itself).

In the meantime, but clearly beginning during the era of Knossos' Monopalatial dominance, a number of administrative complexes (or palaces) are for the first time documented on the Greek mainland, some of them evidently using the Linear B script for record-keeping as early as the 14th century (Ayios Vasileios in Laconia, Mycenae in the Argolid, and either Iklaina or Pylos or both in Messenia). Equally significant is the emergence on the mainland during Crete's Monopalatial era of a material cultural assemblage that was more widely shared than ever before and that now had its principal roots in the Helladic cultural tradition of the Greek mainland rather than primarily imitating (when not directly importing) Minoan Neopalatial products and presumably also artisans.

The nature of the political relationship between Knossos and Monopalatial Crete on the one hand and the emerging palatial centers of the Greek mainland in the late 15th and early 14th centuries BC on the other is as yet unclear. Equally uncertain is precisely how Greek-speakers managed to assume control of Knossos in the first place, although several plausible but necessarily speculative reconstructions of this takeover have been suggested (e.g. Ruppenstein 2012, 54-55). But with the destruction of Knossos between 1375 and 1350, cultural and political leadership within the southern and western Aegean clearly passed to the mainland. With this broadly sketched scenario and chronology in mind, might one suggest that the Monopalatial regime centered at Knossos may have been known by a name adopted into Hittite as Ahhiya, while a nascent single kingdom on the Greek mainland that had replaced Knossos as the western Aegean's dominant power by the later 14th century may have had a similar but nevertheless distinct name that became Ahhiyawa in Hittite?

As will be apparent from the outline presented above, I am persuaded that a single-kingdom model of Mycenaean palatial culture better fits the facts presently at our disposal than the multiple-principality model that has heretofore been dominant among Aegean prehistorians (Shelmerdine 2008; Shelmerdine, Bennet 2008).

I am also of the opinion that the earliest Mycenaean palatial administration must have been that centered at Knossos (Ruppenstein 2012, 54-55, 62), so that the earliest stages of this single kingdom are to be identified on Monopalatial Crete. Thus the omission of Crete from Jorrit Kelder's version of the proposed single-kingdom model is in my view a serious weakness (cf. Eder, Jung 2015, 130-131). The emphasis put on the LH IIB-IIIA1 periods by Birgitta Eder and Reinhard Jung as critical for the rise of the single "Great Kingdom" of Ahhiyawa in their version of the single-kingdom model (2015, 119-125; see also Ruppenstein 2012, 47-62) is altogether appropriate. But what the connection may have been between the emergence of mainland Greek palatial administrations at several different locales in the Peloponnese and the early-to-mid-14th century destruction of Knossos remains to be determined. In addition, such radical changes among the Peloponnesian palatial centers as the following will remain to be explained: first, the destruction of the Ayios Vasileios complex at some point during LH IIIA, or perhaps as late as early LH IIIB, and the failure to rebuild it; and second, the destruction of the Pylos complex at the end of LH IIIA2 and its subsequent rebuilding in LH IIIB as an imitation of Argive models (Nelson 2001; Rutter 2005, 23-32). Such destructive events need not imply a model of competing principalities, however, and may simply reflect the inherent instability of all "Great Kingdom" regimes during the Late Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern world.

I will conclude with a few observations on what I view as the formative period of the "Great Kingdom" of Ahhiyawa on the island of Crete in the later 15th and early 14th centuries, the era when it first appears in texts as Ahhiya in the Hittite archives but when it is still called Keftiu in Egypt on the already mentioned Kom el-Hetan statue base. These are drawn from my fifteen years of experience working with and on the pottery from the site of Kommos, the southern port of entry to the polity centered at Knossos in Crete's Monopalatial era of LM II-IIIA1 (ca. 1450-1375/1350 BC) (Rutter 2006a, 685-687). In their overview of the historical development of a single, dominating Mycenaean kingdom that would have merited the attention of such other "Great Kingdoms" in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean as Hatti and Egypt, Eder and Jung draw attention to the role played by the distribution of exotic goods along with aggressive military expansion during the LH IIB-IIIA1 periods when Knossos was the most powerful center in the southern Aegean and in all likelihood the place where the Linear B script was devised to write the earliest known Greek texts (2015, 118-123). They also make the point, following Jan Driessen, that "an archaeological correlate of Mycenaean political control emanating from Knossos is the LM II and IIIA1 pottery of Knossian style" (Eder, Jung 2015, 119 and n. 127). Thanks to the recent publication of a full LM IB through LM IIIA2 Early ceramic sequence from a single building at Kommos (Rutter 2017), a site located at quite some distance from Knossos in space but certainly under Knossian political control at this time, the process whereby Knossian dominance first manifested itself by way of ceramics at sites in south-central Crete in the immediate aftermath of the Minoan Neopalatial collapse has now been documented in some detail. The rich deposits of LM II and IIIA1 pottery in particular make abundantly clear that Knossian imports as well as Knossian stylistic influence played a novel and major role in establishing the nature of the pottery assemblage in use at the site in Monopalatial times, in marked contrast to their comparative insignificance at the end of the LM IB phase (Rutter 2017, 218-230, esp. 223-229).

Contemporary with the dramatic and pervasive growth in Knossian influence on this local pottery assemblage of the western Mesara is an almost equally impressive rise in the number of off-island ceramic imports from regions to the east including Egypt, the Syro-Palestinian litoral, and southwestern Anatolia (Rutter 2006a). What I find particularly striking is the chronological correlation between this sudden rise in Kommos' contacts with a wide range of foreign locales spread across the southeastern, eastern, and northeastern Mediterranean on the one hand and the initial appearance of the place names Tanaya and Ahhiya in Egyptian and Hittite texts on the other. The vast majority of imported Egyptian, Syro-Palestinian, and southwest Anatolian vessels recovered at Knossos from LM II to IIIA2 Early contexts are transport vessels, examples of which have also been found at other Minoan coastal sites of this period, albeit usually in much smaller numbers (Day et al. 2011; Rutter 2006b, 2014). But Kommos is thus far unique within the entire Aegean in having yielded examples of both Egyptian (Rutter 2006a, 649-649) and southwest Anatolian (Rutter 2006a, 659-660; 2006b, 144, figs. 6i, 12) open shapes (cups and bowls), forms that may perhaps reflect the presence at the site, however temporarily, of Egyptian and Arzawan traders or mariners (Rutter 2017, 172, 193, 205).

The fact that these foreign vessels were introduced onto the island of Crete for the first time in significant numbers during the Monopalatial period suggests that the Greek-speaking monarch resident at Knossos inferred by Driessen, Langohr, Ruppenstein, and Eder and Jung (i.e. arguably a majority of Aegean prehistorians by now) was pursuing what might be termed a foreign policy that was quite different from that of his Minoan predecessors. Syro-Palestinian amphoras (aka Canaanite jars) began to appear at sites on the Greek mainland, in the Argolid and Attica, during the very same period, but in far smaller numbers and usually in different kinds of contexts (as grave goods rather than in settlement deposits) and often at sites located at some distance from the coast (Rutter 2014, 57-62, tab. 5.2). These differences in their quantity, context, and spatial distribution indicate that mainland Greeks (and even some Minoans) may have received these containers and their contents by way of a secondary distribution network orchestrated by the rulers of Knossos rather than directly from the jars' Levantine centers of production (Rutter 2014, 64-65). The apparent replacement of Kommos and Knossos by Tiryns and probably Mycenae as the principal dispensers of Syro-Palestinian amphoras and their exotic contents to other Greek mainland sites by the later 14th and 13th centuries (Rutter 2014, 58-60, 65, tab. 5.3) may thus turn out to be a proxy for the change, alluded to earlier, from Ahhiya to Ahhiyawa in the Hittite sources, a change that occurred sometime between the destruction of Knossos ca. 1375/1350 BC and the end of the 14th century. This change would have marked the transfer of the center, or capital, of this powerful and dominant Aegean kingdom of the Late Bronze Age from north-central Crete to the Argolid.

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RESPONSE TO TREVOR BRYCE'S ARTICLE

For Aegeanists, when it comes to understanding the Hittites and their place in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world, Trevor Bryce's scholarship is essential reading. Bryce has produced seminal work on the Hittites in general (*e.g.* Bryce 2012) as well as numerous publications, such as this one, that address the uneasy relationship between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans (see Bryce 1989; 2003; Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011). In this essay Bryce builds upon his previous work that established the identification of the Hittite term Ahhiyawa with the Mycenaeans, pointing out that not only does the term refer to Mycenaeans in general, but that certain texts indicate a correlation between the term and a specific Mycenaean polity. While a number of candidates, Mycenae and Thebes most notably, have been proposed for "Ahhiyawa the polity", Bryce, in a novel argument, suggests that the polity referred to as Ahhiyawa in these texts is Pylos.

I am not convinced by this argument, and I shall provide my reasons shortly. But before doing so, it is important to highlight the fact that regardless of the specific identification of "Ahhiyawa the polity", and the overall merits of the current proposal, Bryce's attempt continues to push the field further. Given what we know about the state of peer-polity interaction during the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaeanists must move beyond framing their research in terms of, for example, 'the Mycenaeans and the East,' to examining contacts between specific Mycenaean polities and their foreign counterparts. Only then will we be able to make further progress in understanding interstate relations during the Late Bronze Age in the Mediterranean.

The argument Bryce presents here rests on two propositions. The first is that Mycenae and Thebes, heretofore the primary candidates for "Ahhiyawa the polity", were "little more than pocket-handkerchief states, the size of comic opera principalities" and thus too weak to be serious contenders for membership in the Late Bronze Age 'Great Powers' Club.' The second postulate is that Pylos was the only Mycenaean polity with the military capacity to be a thorn in the (west) side of the Hittite Empire and it is therefore the most likely designee of Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts. The former premise is a bit disingenuous while the latter one somewhat overblown.

Bryce's main points concerning the preeminence of Pylos relate to two main claims. The first is that the Palace of Nestor at Pylos controlled the largest territory among all the Mycenaean states and therefore must be the most significant among them. The second, which derives from the first and is promoted more firmly by Bryce is that "of all the Mycenaean states, Pylos was the only one that clearly had a significant seagoing capacity."

It does seem to be the case that the territory under Pylian sovereignty, both in terms of spatial extent and population was larger than that of the other contemporary Mycenaean states. However, size does not necessarily equate with power, prestige, or capacity. I will elaborate further upon this later, when I argue that Mycenae possessed equal if not superior ability to mobilize labor and more robust international contacts than Pylos. For now, let us turn to Pylos's naval might.

We can begin with the few Linear B tablets that concern ships. If we follow Chadwick (1987) and read An 1 as listing the crew of a single ship, then a typical Mycenaean oared vessel would require 30 rowers. Chadwick further extrapolates that, if complete, An 610 would list 600 rowers total, suggesting a naval force of about 20 ships at the time of the palace's destruction. These are tentative figures but broadly speaking they reflect naval capacity that may be adequate for a sea-bourne raiding mission, if not an invasion of conquest.

However, there is more to consider than the sheer size of Pylos's navy. The rowers were recruited from various towns in the same manner employed by the central authority to recruit the labor force assigned to chariot assembly (Schon 2007). Both follow the standard principles of Pylian tax policy (Killen 1983). The chariot recruits are most likely unskilled laborers and by analogy the rowers should be as well. However, Chadwick, citing KN C 902.11, prefers to see them as skilled warriors. The evidence for Pylos is ambiguous. Specialists, such as ship captains are listed by name or title on palatial records. Thus while the Pylian navy would have had skilled, perhaps full time officers, we cannot be certain about the rowers. Handling coast guard duty within one's home territory – the task actually documented on the naval records – is a different logistical matter than engaging in a long sea voyage.

Distance, therefore, is a concern. Pylos lies roughly 300 nautical miles from Miletos, to use one example from the Hittite texts. Adopting Broodbank's figures, taken from Best (1925), for Early Bronze Age rowers, it would take

weeks traveling at optimal cruising speed to reach the western coast of Anatolia from Pylos. Completing a return trip, with the captive women Bryce cites in the Linear B texts would be that much more difficult. A similar trip from the Argolid, Boeotia, or Attica ought to be far easier to accomplish. Add to this the fact that such a journey would also require multiple stops at friendly ports – something easier to attain from the eastern Peloponnese given prevalent currents and the configuration of the Aegean islands which promote island hopping – other candidates for a naval threat seem just as, if not more, likely. Given the indirect nature of the evidence marshalled by Bryce in his argument for Pylian naval dominance, a detailed consideration of these factors would have been warranted.

While the existing evidence for Mycenae's naval capacity is not on par with that preserved at Pylos, there is no question that the rulers of Mycenae had the ability to mobilize surplus labor for military purposes. Consider the labor involved in constructing the Treasury of Atreus. Wright estimates 2,400 person days for its construction *excluding the masonry* (1987). The citadel wall likely required 100 times as much labor. These tasks are at least on par with the labor force needed for a hypothetical round trip sea voyage by the Pylian navy to western Anatolia. Granted these activities may not be perfectly comparable, as there may be less of a time crunch in constructing a fortification wall or a tomb. However, it would be difficult to argue that the central authority at Mycenae lacked the labor recruitment power of Pylos.

Looking beyond capacity, we can examine experience. As the texts cited by Bryce indicate, the relationship between the Hittites and Ahhiyawans was not always acrimonious. Peer polity interaction can include economic relationships in the form of commerce as well as gift-exchange. Alas, the evidence in this realm is also ambiguous. There is a good amount of Mycenaean interchange with the western coast of Anatolia, but far less inland (see Kelder 2006 for a useful survey). The provenance of the pottery has yet to be fully documented. When studies of Mycenaean exports elsewhere do establish provenance, the vast majority of Mycenaean pottery exports appear to have been made of Argive clays. In Northern Israel, for example, pottery from a Mycenae/Berbati workshop is considered "dominant" (Zuckerman *et al.* 2010, 414) although one site, Akko, did yield a few samples of pottery of Messenian origin. In terms of imports, the few items of Anatolian origin at Mycenae, most notably for this discussion the silver stag rhyton, are admittedly problematic (see Cline 1991; Stos-Gale, MacDonald 1991; Koehl 1995) but no material objects found in Messenia dating to the Late Bronze Age have been definitively identified as Anatolian in origin. The two imports mentioned by Cline (1994), a Canaanite amphora and Egyptian porphyry bowl, are very likely earlier in date as well having arrived to their final resting spots via a more circuitous route than direct palatial exchange. Moreover, Susan Sherratt (2001) has argued that by the LH IIIB, Pylos had begun to be bypassed by the primary trade routes that it had participated in earlier. The evidence for secure LH IIIB long distance imports bears this out.

Aside from actual objects, the transfer of ideas attests to intercultural contact and here, Mycenae is on much firmer footing. Similarities between the Lion Gates at Mycenae and Bogazköy-Hattusa, both in placement and iconography, attest to compatible participation in an 'International Koine' (Feldman 2002). Wall building technologies are also similar, as noted by Wright (2005) for offsets, to name one example.[1] In contrast, the architectural technologies at Pylos, 'favor a Minoan legacy' (Nelson 2001, 189).

What remains to be discussed in terms of Pylian contacts with western Anatolia are a number of craftswomen listed on Linear B tablets by their place origin. The tablets of relevance here (*e.g.* Aa 1921; Ab 189; Aa 61; Aa 798 and Aa 1180) record groups of women from Knidos, Halikarnassos and Miletos. What we do know is that these women were attached craftspeople who worked in the textile industry. How they got to Pylos is less certain. Michailidou and Voutsa deduce that the most likely scenario is either warfare or trade (2005, 19), but the precise route taken by these women and the mechanism involved in getting them to Pylos remains murky. As they further note, certain women are designated as captives on some of the tablets, but they are not the same ones as the western Anatolian women discussed above. As Efkleidou writes then, "The preponderance of Eastern Aegean toponyms among adjectives employed to describe groups attests to a clear connection of Pylos with that part of the Aegean, although it is not possible to define more precisely the nature of these relations" (2002-2003, 283).

1 See Wiener 2009, 714 n. 81 for a list of other common features.

Ultimately, Pylos cannot be ruled out as the polity referred to as Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts, but neither can Thebes or Mycenae. Therefore, Bryce's dismissal of those centers is unwarranted. The arguments in favor of Mycenae and Thebes, on the other hand, are more plentiful and his manuscript does not address them adequately. For example, see the thorough arguments put forward by Wiener (2009). For a minority opinion such as this one to be more compelling, one would expect more data to be marshalled in its favor.

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HITTITE-AHHIYAWAN POLITICS AS SEEN FROM THE TABLETS: A REACTION TO TREVOR BRYCE'S ARTICLE FROM A HITTITOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The relationships between Mycenaean Greece and the Hittite Empire with its power-base in central Anatolia belong to the most controversial and intensely discussed themes of Late Bronze Age history. Sometimes associated with this discussion is a search for 'European' origins, which I have to submit that I find rather problematic. I do not think it makes much sense to project an alleged contrast much less an opposition between 'Europe' and 'Asia' to any time before the direct historical context of the altercation between the city-states of Greece and the Persian Empire which gave rise to such counterposition in the concrete context of a political and military conflict. Prior to this, the Mycenaean and Hittite worlds shared a great deal of similarities but also numerous differences. Whether these were fetishised as identities shaped by an East *vs* West dynamic is impossible to tell from the nature of the sources at our disposal, but my feeling is that it is rather unlikely that they were. Such an identity-founding narrative is clearly not what Trevor Bryce means when he seeks the earliest example of a written document in 'European' literature in a fragmentary letter written in Hittite found at the Hittite capital in central Anatolia (*AhT* 6, KUB 26.91). However, the naming of identities such as these demonstrates the febrile and dangerous background against which the debates concerning Mycenaean-Hittite contacts are played out. It is thus of the highest importance that these debates are conducted with the closest attention to the contextual peculiarities of the primary source material on both sides and that these sources are interrogated only for the information that they can be expected to give us from the perspective of their historical use-contexts.

Trevor Bryce presents us here with a novel proposal for the location of the "Great King" of Ahhiyawa, with whom the Hittite king communicated. The central crux can be stated as follows: some Hittite documents refer to a "Great King" of Ahhiyawa, which one would expect to correspond to a king to whom numerous other kings were subordinated over something approaching an imperial territorial framework. Such a territorial framework is however not to be found on the Mycenaean side, unless one follows the arguments of J. Kelder (2012) that the Mycenaean reality was in fact much more like a unified territorial state than assumed to be the case in most other Mycenological research. Bryce, who clearly does not think that the Mycenaean world was a unified state, therefore proposes that Ahhiyawa is a general term referring to various different polities which were sufficiently far away as to be considered homogeneous by the Hittites. This perspective allows us to suppose that various different Ahhiya(-wa)ns known from Hittite texts (for example Attarissiya, "the man of Ahhiya" known from the Madduwatta text, CTH 147) came from different polities. Furthermore, he exploits alleged references in Linear B tablets from Pylos to Anatolian coastal regions, as well as the apparently naval content of a series of tablets also from there, in order to suggest that within this patchwork of polities Pylos was at times an expansionist state with significant dependencies on the Anatolian land-mass, thus corresponding to the kind of set-up that might have a "Great King". This would be the specific reference of Ahhiyawa in Hittite texts that refer to such.

Testing these hypotheses is a difficult matter from the perspective of the Hittite sources. On the one hand the supposition concerning the general nature of the designation Ahhiyawa as possibly referring to all sorts of far away western and trans-marine polities cannot be verified in a yes or no fashion. The only methods lying open to us are a cumulative assessment of the references of the term and comparison to other sub-state or confederative areal

formations that are supposed to exist in Hittite sources. One might think here of Azzi and Hayasa, to the north east of Hattusa, with whom the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I made a treaty without their having a "Great King" with whom he could deal (CTH 42; Beckman 1996, 22-30). The figure of Attarissiya in the Madduwatta text (CTH 147; Beckman 1996, 144-151), however, appears to be a much more significant and uncontrollable enemy than Hukkana of Hayasa might have been, and not necessarily one with whom treaties could be made, due to his being separated from the Hittite central area at least by the regions over which Madduwatta's activities spread. This general conception of Ahhiya(wa) would undoubtedly be material enough for a book on a topic on which so much has been written already. The further and more specific hypothesis that the Ahhiyawa that was seat of a "Great King" is to be identified with Mycenaean Pylos can only really be tested by an assessment of the Mycenaean evidence for the reach of Pylos as expressed in Linear B tablets and material culture, which cannot be the topic of this contribution.

Instead, I will attempt to broach a few questions that arise from the treatment of the Hittite texts mentioned by Trevor Bryce in his article. The question of the conceptualisation of the term "Great King" is of course central, as is the notion of territoriality which the texts are interpreted as suggesting and to which Trevor Bryce refers to as being based around Millawanda/Miletos. These are the issues on which I will concentrate in the following brief remarks.

The "Great King" Issue

The term "Great King" (Akkadian *šarrum rabûm*, Sumerian lugal gal) is not used in cuneiform with any frequency until the Amarna Age (see Artzi, Malamat 1993; Yakubovich 2017, 46-47). According to the CDLI database, there appear to be four attestations of a LUGAL GAL on archaic texts from Ur, although at this stage in the development of cuneiform one cannot be sure of the reading of the signs, let alone the historical or social referent (UET 2, 68b ii 4; 70 iii 2; 145 ii 1; 185 ii 4, ED I-II, 2900-700 BC). Indeed the Sumerian word lugal appears to mean "lord" rather than necessarily "king." An interestingly early distinction between a lugal and a lugal gal might now appear on a Sumerian-language practice-tablet that may contain a fragment of a literary compostion from the Old Akkadian period (23rd century BC), in which Narām-Su'en is referred to as the dumu lugal gal (CUSAS 26, 270 obv. 4; Westenholz 2014, 202), where it may be that the Sumerian term lugal is being used in its Akkadian meaning of "king": "son of the great king." However, this is likely to be an illusion. As Westenholz (*ibidem*) points out, this is probably bad Sumerian for an underlying Akkadian *mara' sarrim rabium* meaning "the eldest son of the king." According to the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* the Sumerographic term LUGAL GAL for *šarrum rabûm* is used a handful of times for king Samsī-Addu at Mari (ARM 7.62, 4; 81, 2; 85. 3; ARM 5.28, 31). In these cases it is possible that the texts, which deal with deliveries in ARM 7 and a letter from an official to Samsī-Addu's son Yasmah-Addu in ARM 5, are not referring to any particular political status, but to the over-arching or elder king as opposed to the local ruler, Yasmah-Addu. Yasmah-Addu is referred to as lugal, "king", in other documents from Mari (Sasson 2015, 21 n. 3). The use of the term is thus contrastive rather than descriptive.

In earlier and near contemporary texts from Kültepe similar terms are attested sporadically. The usual term referring to the local Anatolian "kings" in the documents from Kültepe is *rubā'um*, literally "prince", which echoes the usual terminology at northern Mesopotamian Ešnunna. A *ru-ba-im* G[A]L "great prince" of Purušḫattum occurs in a text from Kültepe level II (TTC 27, 7; Kryszat 2008, 202-203). A further document from Kültepe Level II (Kt 92/k 309, 7-9) mentions an apparent city-assembly (*a-lu-um ip-ḫu-ur-ma*) swearing an oath to a great king (*iš-tí ša-ri-im* / GAL), where the Akkadian word for "king" is actually used instead of "prince" (Albayrak 2003, 351; Dercksen 2004, 30 n. 96). This letter is in fact considerably earlier than the Mari attestations of Samsī-Addu as "Great King" and J.G. Dercksen argues it must refer to a Mesopotamian or even further removed political figure rather than an Anatolian one and that the assembly mentioned in the letter must be an assembly in the city of Assur (Dercksen 2004, 30, with the interesting implication that the title might even refer to an Elamite ruler when compared with its use in a further text from Larsa a few decades later, Rowton 1967, 269).

In later Old Assyrian texts Anitta is a *ru-ba-im* GAL-*im* in OIP 27.49, 25 from Alişar, and the king of Harsamna is referred to as *ru-ba-im* GAL *a-hi-ka* "great prince, your brother" in an extract from an address to

Samsī-Addu by the envoys of Assur. This address is cited by them in their letter to Hurmeli king of Harsamna after the death of Samsī-Addu (1775 BC) that was found at Kültepe (Kt 01/k 217, 34, Level Ib, Günbattı 2014, 17). This letter is all the more interesting as it contains the address form *šamšum* "sun" directed to both the king of Harsamna as addressee of the letter and to Samsī-Addu in the cited address to him. This anticipates the Hittite royal appellation ^{d}UTU-*ŠI* (*šamšī* "My Sun"). I have also argued that Akkadian *šarrum* (*rabium*) should lie behind the attestation of LUGAL GAL when it occurs with the name of Zuzzu, "great king" from the late period of Kültepe Ib in Kt 89/k 369 (Weeden 2011, 60 with n. 266).

A LUGAL GAL, as opposed to a LUGAL, is referred to in administrative documents from Alalah Level VII, referring to a king of Yamhad (*e.g.* AlT 376 obv. 4, also featuring references to a LUGAL; Lauinger 2015, 13 n. 6), which may be from around the same time as or a little later than the late Kültepe Ib tablets. In these as well as all of the above cases it could be argued that the use of GAL indicates that the referent is not the local king or ruler, but one who had a superordinate authority, without reference to the size of the polity over which he was supposed to have control. Thus Anitta would not be the "prince" at Alişar, where the document OIP 27.49 was found, but at the larger site of Kültepe. The references to Samsī-Addu as LUGAL GAL in the letters from Mari would also appear to refer to the superordinate ruler rather than the local one. The terminology may be derived from the notion of the elder sibling in the family.

After Alalakh VII there is a significant hiatus before the next evidence appears. A tablet with Old/Middle Hittite palaeography, possibly dating to the 15th century BC and concerning the exploits of Anitta king of Nesa (Kaneš) refers to him as LUGAL GAL (KBo 3.22 obv. 44, Otten 1974 obv. 12). This is interesting given that a historical figure with the same name was *rubāim rabîm* in OIP 27.49, 25 from Alişar. However, the use of the epithet in the Hittite Anitta text is clearly motivated by its position in the middle of the narrative, where Anitta is in the process of returning "our god" from its captivity under Uhna of Zalpuwa (Singer 1995) and it cannot thus be excluded that the use of the title reflects the political exigencies of the time in which the tablet was written (for an opposing view regarding the antiquity of the Anitta text see Archi 2015). Similarly palaeographically Old Script/Middle Script, probably to be dated to the earlier 15th century BC, is the treaty between Zidanza (II?) and Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (KUB 36.108, CTH 25), by which time the Hittite king is without doubt calling himself a "Great King" by contrast to Pilliya. One Old Hittite tablet of the treaty between Telipinu and Isputahsu of Kizzuwatna is likely to be slightly earlier than these, possibly contemporary with Telipinu himself, and also refers to the Hittite king as LUGAL GAL (KUB 31.81, CTH 21). It is also around this time, or just before, that Land Donation tablets are attested, the earliest being the so-called İnandık document (Rüster, Wilhelm 2012). In these the Hittite king disposes of lands that are sometimes quite far from the Hittite capital and also refers to himself as a LUGAL GAL.

The political meaning of "Great King" thus unsurprisingly varies according to the historical circumstances in which it is used. Its older meaning, however, is that of the elder of a group of kings usually used contrastively to indicate the greater of two in local vs regional contexts. A recent attempt to interpret the hieroglyphic Luwian MAGNUS.REX has seen it as a type of compound based on the Luwian word *-ura-* "great" giving us the unattested **hantawatt*(*an*)*-ura-* "great one of kings" comparable to formations such as *tuppalanura-* "great of scribes" (Yakubovich 2017). This is certainly possible and does not exclude the observations made here, although Yakubovich sees the use of LUGAL GAL in Hittite texts as a re-calqued form from Babylonian rather than as a continuation of a previous usage also seen in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. The calque of the use of GAL meaning contrastively "greater" than others does not need to be motivated by Luwian, in my view, as Yakubovich seems to imply. It is already present in the Akkadian, as for example in the use of the adjective *rabûm* for an older sibling, and this can easily be transported into Hittite by means of the straightforward translation into Hittite as **sallis hassus*, "great king." I would re-affirm that this is what is represented by the spelling LUGAL GAL-*uš* already in an OS/MS tablet KBo 16.45, a writing that does not need to be explained as simply spelling *hassus* "king", as Yakubovich proposes (Yakubovich 2017, 46 n. 44, contra Weeden 2011, 571), but in a more straightforward manner as spelling what it says it spells: **sallis hassus*.

Given that the use of "Great King" is contrastive, there can only ever be one great king among a certain group, who is the greater towards the other members of that group. Then we reach the situation in the Amarna period where we have a group of great kings in their respective areas, who can address each other as "Great Kings" internationally: Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Hattusa and, occasionally, Ahhiyawa in some Hittite texts. In those Amarna letters which are directed from one great king to another, there is no contrast any more between the "king" and the "great king" between sender and addressee, and the use of the terms mutually becomes an expression of equality. This equality is also expressed through their calling each other brothers. Compare also the letter to Hurmeli found at Kültepe above, where Samsī-Addu and Hurmeli are referred to as Great Princes and as brother to each other. The Amarna usage presents a continuation of this style of thinking although on a larger territorial scale. But when the term is used internally, within the Great King's individual sphere of influence, there can only be one great king, as the contrastive sense of "great" or "elder", as given for Akkadian *rabû*, is primary.

Kub 14.3: The Indictment against Piyamaradu

Such a situation of equality between the Hittite king and the king of Ahhiyawa seems to pertain for the so-called 'Tawagalawa letter' (KUB 14.3), where the Hittite king refers to his addressee, the king of Ahhiyawa as a "Great King", and also talks about him specifically as if he is his equal, particularly by contrast to the troublemaker Piyamaradu (*e.g.* ii 13-15 §6, iii 44 §10, iv 56), who seems to be the main focus of the whole text, of which we only have the third tablet. This is in fact no letter in any sense, but a text of a genre difficult to classify, a series of accusations against a third person malefactor expressed in the form of an address to an equal in the second person, with whom one has had a long history and a complicated relationship. This is a rhetorical device which allows the Hittite king to make apparently quite intrusive or hostile-sounding allegations, such as that Piyamaradu is apparently allowed to attack Hittite lands from areas under control of Ahhiyawa (iii 55-62 §11). These belong to the discourse level of a frank exchange between close friends. As such, the stylisation of the recipient as a "Great King" and equal can be seen as part of a rhetorical strategy rather than as a designation of an actual rank and status, let alone as a reflection of a particular form of state organisation or hierarchy in the territories inhabited by the letter's recipient. The trope of calling the Ahhiyawan leader a "Great King" is thus part of the rhetorical strategy employed by the Hittite king to persuade his addressee to do what he wants: *i.e.* to give up Piyamaradu and stop offering him protection. Trevor Bryce in fact espoused a somewhat similar view of the use of the term "Great King" as a diplomatic fiction in his contribution to the Festschrift for H.A. Hoffner (Bryce 2003, 67), although for different reasons.

I agree that at the time of writing of KUB 14.3 Millawanda is part of the territory of the Ahhiyawan king. Some of the events of the text, such as the 7,000 refugees belonging to the Hittite king who come to the coast, or the proposed sending of Dabala-Tarhunda as a high-status hostage-guarantee for the safety of Piyamaradu, only make sense if we understand the Ahhiyawan territory as being very close to the place where the text was supposed to have had its *mise en scène*, which must have been close to Millawanda, and not abroad over the sea. Where I must take issue with Bryce's interpretation of the text is his assertion that Tawagalawa, the brother of the Ahhiyawan king, is in residence at Millawanda at the time of the letter's composition. The relevant passage from which I believe he is taking this interpretation of events is highly controversial and has a long research history, which will be extensively summarised in the new edition of KUB 14.3 (Heinhold-Krahmer *et al.* forthcoming; see also Miller 2010). The text, collectively established as part of a working group dedicated to this tablet and led by S. Heinhold-Krahmer over a number of years, reads as follows:

71 [*U*]*L* **m*[*e*-]*ma***-aš* ^{m}⌜Ta⌝*-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí* LUGAL.GAL
72 [*I-NA* ^{U}]^{RU}*Mi-il*$_5$*-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-*⌜*et*⌝
73 […*-I*]*A*-*ma* $^{m\,d}$LAMMA*-aš ka-a e-eš-ta nu-ut-ta* LUGAL.GAL
74 [IGI*-an-d*]*a u-un-né-*⌜*eš-ta*⌝ *Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš* LUGAL*-uš e-eš-ta*

71 [Ab]gelehnt hat er! Damals als Tawagalawa, der Großkönig, selbst
72 an die Küste [nach] Millawanda gekommen war,

73 war me[in? …] Kurunt(iy)a hier. Dann fuhr dir (dem Adressaten) ein Großkönig
74 (hierher) [entgeg]en. War er (etwa) kein mächtiger König?

All editors and translators have been at pains to make this passage not say what it seems to say on first inspection: that Tawagalawa, the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa was a Great King at the same time as his brother. This would be impossible from the perspective of the discourse of Great Kingship as pursued in this document. F. Sommer, who was followed by several other scholars, used some scratched possible traces in the intercolumnial space to read the word *uwanun* at the end of i 71, giving the sense "when I as Great King came, Tawagalawa too came over to Millawanda" (Sommer 1932, 6; Singer 1983). This gives a wonderful symmetry: Tawagalawa came here, I came here, you came here, Kuruntiya came here, but Piyamaradu did not, or did depending on one's interpretation of the specific phrase concerning the boat in i 61-62. However, the reading *uwanun* unfortunately cannot be reconciled with the visible traces. Beckman, Bryce and Cline's 2011 translation of the passage also tries to avoid having more than one "Great King":

> He refused. When Tawagalawa himself, (as representative of?) the Great King, crossed over to Millawanda, Kurunta was (already?) here. The Great King drove to meet you. Wasn't he a mighty king? (Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 105)

Inserting "(as a representative of)" before Great King is a drastic measure and it is unclear if this is grammatical. Not inserting it means that Tawagalawa must have been a Great King, if he is still alive at the time of writing the Tawagalawa-document. From a Mycenaean perspective this might have been conceivable, in that various confederations of small polities could have had "Great Kings". However, it is not the Mycenaean reality that is being reflected or described here, but a pragmatic Hittite rhetorical device is being used which frames the Ahhiyawan counterpart as a "Great King". We also saw in the letter to Hurmeli cited above from the Old Assyrian period that it was possible to refer to someone as a "Great Prince, your brother", even when the person is not actually your brother. Tawagalawa is referred to as "your brother" and as "Great King" in KUB 14.3. However, the Hurmeli letter dates some 500 years before the Tawagalawa-text, and belongs to quite a different political framework, where the number of state formations where Great Kings could have existed was much larger. Again, the rhetorical strategy of the Tawagalawa-text rests on there only being one great king in one area at one time.

One solution is to suppose that Tawagalawa had died at the time of the composition of the Tawagalawa text, and that the references to him allude to events in the past (Miller 2010). This appears to satisfy a consistent rhetorical strategy within the text whereby the Hittite king repeatedly invokes relations with and comparisons to Tawagalawa in order to persuade the recipient of the appropriateness of his proposed course of action: the men of Lukka called on Tawagalawa, and he came over to these lands; similarly they called on the Hittite King, and he came over (i 3-5). That does not have to have been at the same time as when Tawagalawa came to the area, Tawagalawa is merely being held up as an exemplar of why it is permissible for a king to come into this area when asked to help. Here Bryce's account of the significance of the men of Lukka further seems slightly inconsistent, characterising them on the one hand as refugees and on the other as deportees. Tawagalawa came to a meeting at Millawanda (i 71-74). The Hittite Great King also did the same, namely to meet the Ahhiyawan Great King, depending on one's interpretation of the passage. Finally, Tawagalawa used to ride on a chariot with Dabala-Tarhunda, the proposed hostage-guarantor of Piyamaradu's safety, and so did the Hittite Great King when he was young (ii 59-61). Therefore Dabala-Tarhunda must be a legitimate and reliable person to send to the Great King of Ahhiyawa's court. The symmetry of the comparisons between proper behaviour exhibited by people of rank is important.

A further possible interpretation of this passage, which would avoid having two contemporary Great Kings of Ahhiyawa could involve reviewing and questioning the restoration [IGI-*an-d*]*a* in i 74. If one were to have a different restoration here, it would not be necessary to construe *nu=tta* in the dative in i 73. This would open the way to understanding LUGAL GAL as a nominal apposition to *=tta*, "you", namely the present king of Ahhiyawa.

[*pár-ra-an-d*]*a* "over (spatially)" is possibly slightly too long to fit in the gap, but not impossible: (i 73-74) "and he (Kuruntiya) drove you, (as) Great King, over here. Was he (Kuruntiya) not an eminent king?" The contrast would still be between the time when Tawagalawa was Great King and the time when the addressee is Great King. Kuruntiya would be performing the same function (charioteer as ambassador) for the current Ahhiyawan king as previously Dabala-Tarhunda used to for Tawagalawa (ii 59-61). The question concerning Kuruntiya's status appended in i 74 ("Was he not an eminent king") touches on the rank of the ambassador, the same topic as is addressed in the discussion of charioteer/ambassador Dabala-Tarhunda's social rank in ii 72-74. Unfortunately for this reconstruction of the sense, the restoration of *parranda* produces an otherwise unattested phrase, which makes the whole interpretation very doubtful.

Bryce's interpretation that Tawagalawa was residing in Millawanda at the time of the composition of the 'Tawagalawa letter' (or rather the 'Indictment against Piyamaradu' as it should better be called) thus requires that one supply extra information that is grammatically difficult to accommodate to the text, such as that Tawagalawa is the representative of the Great King, rather than being Great King, which is what the text says. Other interpretations require that extra information is also supplied, such as that Tawagalawa had finished being Great King (*i.e.* died) by the time of the composition of this text and that his being mentioned in his capacity as Great King belongs to a review of the past. In my view it is difficult to avoid an understanding of the passage in which some further information is supplied, but we should try to make sure that this is grammatically compatible with what is in the text.

One conclusion that seems to derive from our analysis of the passage, which in both variations has presented the view that Tawagalawa belongs in the past from the perspective of the speaker, is that the history of the relations between rulers of Ahhiyawa, wherever it was, and the author of the Tawagalawa-text, was quite well established and could survive changes in ruler. At the very least, this Ahhiyawa was a stable state with which one could at certain times in history have continual relations. However, the idea that an Ahhiyawan king was residing in Pylos, with Tawagalawa being a representative of his who was visiting Millawanda while the Hittite king had also come into the area, does not receive any support from the text itself. If the idea of Pylos being the seat of the Ahhiyawan Great King is to work, then that Great King will need representatives in Anatolia. Bryce does not say this explicitly, but it fits his reconstruction very well if Tawagalawa, an Ahhiyawan, is performing the role of just such a representative. If this support is taken away, then the model does not work so well, as long distance manipulation of events does not work without representatives. However, the same objection could be made against any localisation of the seat of the Ahhiyawan "Great King" on mainland Greece, even if Pylos is further away from the Anatolian coast than Mycenae, Tiryns or Thebes. On current evidence it seems difficult to choose between these options. From my subjective Hittitological perspective, it would be preferable for the Ahhiywan king who is addressed by the Tawagalawa-document to be located much closer to the coast of Anatolia, possibly on the islands somewhere. Again this is a question which needs to be best answered by archaeology and it currently seems rather unlikely on those grounds as palatial settlement is not well attested archaeologically on the islands to my albeit limited knowledge (but see Mountjoy 1998, proposing Rhodes).

The Territory Issue

The Tawagalawa-text does indeed require, as Bryce also posits, that Ahhiyawa had holdings of some kind in western Anatolia, as the multiple comings and goings between the two that the text assumes would not be feasible if the edges of their territories were too far away from each other. Whether these holdings extended beyond Miletos/Millawanda, however, is unclear both textually and topographically. Again, the precise distribution of Mycenaean pottery over the western Anatolian littoral is something for others to discuss with the proviso that it does not necessarily mean that wherever such pottery was found was all Ahhiyawa. Ceramics can be spread for all sorts of other reasons than settlement, and individuals can settle in places for all sorts of other reasons than establishing a bordered state there. However, Miletos in the Late Bronze Age had a peculiar topographic position, only reachable by crossing or circumventing the massif of Mt Latmos. Otherwise it was perched on a promontory extending into the now silted up ancient extent of the Gulf of Latmos. This makes it a very good candidate for a defensible posi-

tion that could be held outside of Hittite control, which was notoriously patchy in the region anyway, and was also importantly accessible to the sea.

Bryce invokes the evidence of what he refers to as a "boundary text" (KUB 31.29) as indicating that Ahhiyawa was bordering Mira and Tarhuntassa. There are many problems with the use of this fragment as evidence. This is a tiny fragment, which mentions borders three times in consecutive lines, and then Tarhuntassa, Mira and Ahhiyawa in consecutive lines. The fragment has been the subject of an in depth study by S. Heinhold-Krahmer (2007), who also looked into the formal characteristics of its layout, an extremely important factor in the consideration of any clay document. The piece is characterised by pre-rulings for which see now W. Waal (2015, 116-118, 210-213), who lists 123 pre-ruled (*vorliniert*) tablets from the Hittite corpus. The motivation for the application of these pre-rulings remains obscure, but they cannot be used as evidence for the fact that this was a treaty or related text. The interpretation that this is a fragment from any kind of document that was meant to lay down the borders of the respective areas is now to be regarded as unlikely (Heinhold-Krahmer 2007). As to what kind of document it was, that is also unclear. My feeling is that an oracle text is a likely option for the genre of this document. In this case, with oracles being asked for example about campaigns in different directions, the text would do no more than indicate that one could decide to go to one or to the other of these different places. This example of a contextual interpretation, which makes no claim to being more or less correct than many others, shows the danger of using such a fragment as evidence for geographical proximity.

KUB 26.91: A Letter from Ahhiyawa?

The issue of Ahhiyawan territory along the western Anatolian littoral as well as the continuity of Ahhiyawan-Hittite relations is further problematised by the alleged letter from a king of Ahhiyawa to a Hittite king which is KUB 26.91. A thorough review of the literature regarding this intriguing fragment and an in-depth assessment of the claims made by F. Starke concerning it, to which Trevor Bryce refers in his contribution, are to be found in the as yet unpublished Zurich Ph.D. dissertation of M. Gander (2017). The letter concerns "islands", which were given by the storm-god either to the sender or the addressee depending on one's interpretation of the distribution of quoted speech, and to the Ahhiyawan or to the Hittite king depending on one's interpretation of which way the letter was going. It should be noted that not all scholars are convinced by the argument that this is the text of a letter of the king of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite king rather than the other way round, and it seems difficult to decide one way or the other (Hagenbuchner 1989, 320; De Martino 1996, 30-33). I will also give grounds for a different view to the prevailing one below, based on the material evidence provided by the tablet in as far as this can be accessed without direct collation.

All presentations of the text up until now include considerable restorations of broken passages, which can easily slip into the historical reconstruction of events without being recognised as such. It is therefore salutary if we present the main part of the tablet, the obverse, on which most of the interpretations are based, in transliteration and translation without any restorations at all other than those of broken but partially visible signs, in order to give the reader an impression of just how slender the evidence is. In preparing the transliteration I was much aided by a 3D photogrammetric model made available to me by Gerfrid Müller of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, which should be available at www.hethiter.net, but which I was unable to access unaided (Feb 7th, 2018). Cases where a different reading to previous versions is included are marked with a star.

01' x [K]UR *ah-hi-ia-w*[*a* ...]
02' x-x-*ša-an* x[...]
03' [...]x *K[UR]? x x x-a *ku-ru-ur iš-tar-na* [...]
04' [...] *ki-ša-at nu ak-kán-ta-aš .ar-*[...]
05' [*pa*]-*ra-a-an-ni* MU.KAM-*ti-mu* ŠEŠ-*IA ha-at-r*[*a*]-*a-*[...]
06' [*t*]*u-e-el-wa .gur-ša-wa-ra ku-e* x[...]
07' ^{d}10 ÌR-*an-ni am-mu-uk pa-iš* LUGAL KUR *a-aš-*[...]

08’ x-*a-ka-ga-mu-na-aš-za-kán A-BA A-BA A-B*[*I-*
09’ *pe-ra-an ha-ma-ak-ta nu-za* ^{1}*tu-ud-h*[*a-*
10’ *na-an-za-an* ÌR-*na-ah-ta nu* x[...]
11’ *še-er ha-at-ra-a-nu-un* x
12’ *GUL$^{?}$-*ah$^{?}$* LUGAL KUR *ah-hi-*[...]
13’ *an-ni-ša-an-ma* [...]
14’ LUGAL KUR *a-aš-šu-w*[*a-*
15’ *nu-kán* LUGAL [...]
16’ *me-na-ah-ha-*[*an-da* ...]
17’ *ke-e* x [...]
18’ *A-NA* [...]

... Land of Ahhiyawa. [...] emnity among [...] became. For/of the dead [...]. In the previous year my brother wro[te] to me (saying) “your islands which [...] the storm-god gave to me to subjugate. The king of Assuwa [...]”. x-akagamuna [... my/his] great-grandfather [...] bound in front (i.e. contracted with/excluded?). Tud[haliya ....]. And he subjugated him. And me$^{?}$ [...] I wrote about [...] smash! The king of the land of Ahhi[yawa ...] previously [...] king of the land of Assuwa [...]. And the king [...] towards [...] these [...] to [...].

The main problem here is that we have little idea how big the tablet was. It is very difficult to tell this without holding it in the hand, measuring the thickness and the taper towards the top, and even then it is not always possible to gauge the size of the original. According to the 3D model the transverse diameter (thickness) is 29.81mm at line 12 and 21.61mm at line 5. This could therefore conceivably have been a relatively big tablet tapering to something like 10mm in thickness at the top, perhaps comparable to the one-columned tablets of the Assyro-Hittite correspondence (KUB 23.99, KUB 3.74, KUB 23.88, KUB 26.70, KBo 1.14 for example). If the tablet thickness is tapering some 8.20mm over 7 lines, although the rate of taper is likely to increase towards the top of the tablet, it is quite possible and even likely that one further line was accommodated above the first preserved one. The top of the tablet does not seem to be preserved according to the 3D model, but this would need to be checked on collation.

A number of reconstructions assume that the address is restricted to the first preserved line, starting with the the name and title of the king of Ahhiyawa, who is the sender, and ending with the name and title of the king of Hattusa, the addressee (Hoffner 2009, 291; Beckman, Bryce, Cline 2011, 134). This would require the first line to contain some 30 or more signs and for the first line to be the only line in the first paragraph. This amount of signs per line is theoretically possible. The letter of Puduhepa to Ramesses II (KUB 21.38), for example, is a large single column tablet of which the beginning is missing, but which contains 44 signs, for example, in obverse line 15. It is clear that if there are this many signs missing in every line, then we have no hope of understanding the content of KUB 26.91. However, it would also require that the address would be contained on one line, which would be rather unusual for such a wide tablet size in a royal letter (contrast KBo 1.10, KUB 23.99, KUB 3.74, KUB 23.88, all royal letters, all with two line addresses). In fact letters from or to the Hittite king with one line addresses are quite rare. Only two out of 49 of the Maşat letters addressed to or from the king, for example, have a one line address. From the Assyro-Hittite correspondence I register only KUB 57.8 and VSNF 12.130+ with a one line address. If this is a two line address in KUB 26.91, with the paragraph line coming right after the mention of the king of Ahhiyawa, then the recipient is indeed the king of Ahhiyawa. There is nothing observable on the 3D model to suggest that the tablet does have a single line address, in fact there is every suggestion on the basis of the thickness and rate of taper towards the top that the tablet was somewhat taller than preserved.

If the tablet is actually smaller than the letter of Puduhepa to Ramesses II, then it is further unlikely that the king of Ahhiyawa is the sender, as his title would appear in the position where a vassal’s name is expected if

sending a letter to the Hittite king: [*A-NA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI QÍ-BI-MA UM-MA* LUGA]L [K]UR *ah-hi-ia-w*[*a-MA*], as restored by A. Kammenhuber (as per Gurney 2002, 135 n. 13). This is not presumably how an Ahhiyawan king would refer to himself in a letter to the Hittite king. O.R. Gurney (*ibidem)* thought that the identity of the sender was established as the Ahhiyawan by the addressee referring to the storm-god in a quoted citation from previous correspondence in line 06' regarding the gift of the storm-god. He thought that an Ahhiyawan would not have referred to Zeus in this way, the quoted correspondence must therefore be Hittite and the sender of the letter thus the Ahhiyawan. However, the question is rather how a Hittite scribe or diplomat would have rendered his recollection of what the Ahhiyawan had said and transmitted it to the Hittite king, than how an Ahhiyawan would have expressed himself. This therefore does not seem to be a convincing argument for the identification of the sender of either the previous correspondence or consequently of this text, KUB 26.91. Furthermore, the later iconographic representation of the storm-god in the Gaziantep region seems to have been equated with Zeus/Jupiter Dolichenus quite easily (Wagner 1982, 148-155; Blömer 2015), so it is unclear that such an identification would have been problematic at this earlier point in time in western Anatolia.

As S. de Martino has pointed out (1996, 32), somewhat similar words regarding a gift of the storm-god are attributed to Piyamaradu in the Manapa-Tarhunda Letter (KUB 19.5+, 22; Hoffner 2009, 295), where the topic is Piyamaradu's attack on Lazpa, which, if correctly equated with Lesbos, is clearly an island. They are thus words that belong in the mouth of an enemy of the Hittite king, or at least someone with an equivocal relationship to him, and do not have to indicate that they must originally have been spoken by the Hittite king. Therefore it seems more convincing to accept the formally more attractive solution, paralleled by other royal letters, that the restoration of the first lines of KUB 26.91 should be something like: [(1) *UM-MA* ^{D}UTU-*ŠI-MA* x x x x x (2) *A-NA* x x x x x LUGA]L [K]UR *ah-hi-ia-w*[*a* ŠEŠ-*IA QÍ-BI-MA*], with the Hittite king's titles first and the Ahhiyawan's second (cf. *e.g.* Freu, Mazoyer 2008, 105). The Hittite king's titulary may also have been more extensive (LUGAL GAL, LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*HATTI*, for example) and the address spread over two lines, which would be a more usual arrangement from the point of view of Hittite epistolary conventions. In this case the Hittite king is the sender, and it is the Ahhiyawan king who has previously claimed that the storm-god has given him "your islands."

Concluding Remarks

Even if we decide that KUB 26.91 is not a letter from an Ahhiyawan ruler, which loses us the excitement of a communication from Greece being preserved at Hattusa, the letter still shows the Hittite king addressing the Ahhiyawan counterpart as "my brother", which invokes the same level of diplomatic convention as seen in the Tawagalawa-document. It also still demonstrates that interactions have been ongoing with Ahhiyawa regarding territory for a very long time, back to the time of great-grandfathers or ancestors in the 15th century BC. This longue durée of Ahhiyawan-Hittite affairs necessitates a consistent and identifiable counterpart with whom the Hittite dynasty could communicate whether peacefully or in hostility. Thus Ahhiyawa needed at times to be something more than a general term for an undefined conglomerate in a faraway area.

From a Hittitological perspective I have no theoretical objection to the Hittite vision of Ahhiyawa having a centre located in Pylos which the Hittite king dealt with, but also no particular inclination towards that location as against others. Partly this is a problem that remains for all the proposed locations of a specific Ahhiyawan power centre in mainland Greece. The suitability of Pylos as a seat of a Mycenaean power that engaged with the Hittites is difficult to motivate from the Hittite texts, as aside from Millawanda-Miletos with its topographical peculiarities and further squabbles over islands through the generations, we do not have strong textual evidence for the presence of representatives of an expansionist power rooted in the Peloponnese on the Anatolian mainland. The Hittite central authority had little power over western Anatolia, and none at all over Ahhiyawa. Having little or no control over is a different phenomenon to being engaged in a power-struggle against a neighbouring great power, which is what the Hittite royal rhetoric sometimes seems to suggest. Documents such as those mentioning Tawagalawa and Piyamaradu rather point to sporadic contacts and encounters, with much of the business being conducted by local intermediaries and largely independent stakeholders (Atpa, Awayana, Piyamaradu) and occasional meetings

between the highest representatives. At the same time they seem to indicate Ahhiyawan activity on the Anatolian mainland, although it is difficult to quantify to what extent. Ahhiyawa seems to be quite close from a Hittite perspective, but just far away enough to be out of reach. It is unclear whether it needs to be as far away as Pylos, but this is one more perfectly reasonable option to consider.

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Abbreviations

AlT *Alalah Texts*
ARM *Archives royales de Mari*
CDLI Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative
CTH *Catalogue des textes hittites*
CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy*
KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi*
OIP Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
TTC G. Contenau, *Trente Tablette Cappadociennes*, Paris 1919
UET Ur Excavations Texts
VSNF *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler Neue Folge*

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POSTSCRIPT

When Trevor Bryce's article reached our editorial office, we decided that we could launch the first *SMEA NS* forum around it. Though it began almost a hundred years ago (Forrer 1924a; 1924b), the debate on Ahhiyawa still remains open in many respects and deserves to be kept alive. Five distinguished scholars, who cover some of the areas involved in the debate, were thus invited to write a response to Bryce's article. As expected, the collected texts, published in this volume of *SMEA*, represent an excellent overview of the achievements of the past twenty years and the questions that still remain unanswered. At the same time, they have the merit of introducing into the debate new lines of research that deserve to be widely known. It is thus worth providing a brief summary highlighting the knowledge gained and, above all, the new perspectives that have emerged thanks to this Forum.

Today the idea that in the Ahhiyawa Texts (Beckam, Bryce, Cline 2011) the term Ahhiyawa was used in reference to the Mycenaean world, or at least to a part of that world, is widely accepted. It is also prevalently considered a toponym (Bryce in this volume; Bennet 2011, 158; Gander 2017, 275), and not an ethnonym (*pace* Yakubovich 2010, 79 n. 2; Bendall 2014, 152).

By contrast, it is less clear that the term Ahhiyawa does not allude to any specific political structure (Bennet 2016, 169). The debate over the geographical location of Ahhiyawa has reactivated that over the political organization of Mycenaean Greece, which goes back to the 1970s (cf. Desborough 1972, 17-18; Dickinson forthcoming a), and has led to the reformulation of the hypothesis that the Aegean too had a single political system, comparable to the Near Eastern states of the Late Bronze Age (Kelder 2010; 2012; Eder, Jung 2015; Kelder in this volume). However, the existence of a single Mycenaean state is not universally accepted. Most scholars of the Aegean agree that the Mycenaean states were very different to one another and played different roles in the international political contexts to which they belonged (cf. for example Shelmerdine 2008; Galaty 2018; Dickinson forthcoming b).

The geographical location of Ahhiyawa remains uncertain, but based on David Hawkins' reconstruction of the political geography of western Anatolia (1998), it is unanimously agreed that its heartland should not be sought on the Anatolian mainland. Various places have been suggested, to which Trevor Bryce (in this volume) adds Pylos, "of all the Mycenaean states, the only one that clearly had a significant seagoing capacity." However, none of these suggestions have met with unanimous acceptance. According to many scholars, Mycenae seems, if not the most probable then at least the least problematic during the period of time covered by the majority of the Ahhiyawa Texts, from the late 14th to the late 13th centuries BC. However, the corpus of Ahhiyawa Texts covers around two centuries, from the end of the 15th/beginning of the 14th to the end of the 13th century BC, and makes reference to different geographical and political contexts.

As Jerry Rutter clearly states, "the dominant economic, cultural, and presumably political power in the Aegean when Ahhiyawa is first mentioned in Hittite texts (in the form of the shorter toponym Ahhiya) was unquestionably centered at Knossos" (Rutter in this volume; see also Girella 2011; Ruppenstein 2012, 54-55, 62). In this phase, corresponding to the LM II-IIIA1 (1440/1430-1370/1360), a multicultural, Greek-speaking ruling group, with specific Argolid connections, was settled at Knossos and dominated the island in the area between Chania to the west and the isthmus of Ierapetra to the east. But the political role played by these newly-formed Knossian elites in the transformations taking place at the same time in the southern Peloponnese – where sites such as Ayios Vasileios near Sparta emerged, with Linear B administration and remarkable Cretan features – remains an open question. Even in this formative phase of the Mycenaean kingdoms, culturally dominated by LM II-IIIA1 Knossos, it appears difficult to envision a unified political entity in the Aegean.

The holdings of Ahhiyawa in western Anatolia must certainly have included *Millawanda*/Miletos, whose material culture incorporates significant Mycenaean elements from the late 14th century BC (= Miletus V, cf. Kaiser, Zurbach 2015). To quote Mark Weeden (in this volume), "Ahhiyawa seems to be quite close from a Hittite perspective, but just far away enough to be out of reach." As such, a suitable location for the ruling centre of Ahhi-

yawa on the eastern side of the Aegean could be the island of Rhodes, with the islands of the southern Dodecanese, a hypothesis previously advanced by Penelope Mountjoy (1998; see more recently Eerbeek 2014).

In general terms, the most intriguing issue is the significance to be assigned to the language used in the so-called 'Tawagalawa letter', of the mid-13th BC, on the subject of the repeated attacks of the "redoubtable" (to quote Oliver Dickinson, forthcoming a) Piyamaradu against Hittite lands. In this text, the Hittite king refers to the king of Ahhiyawa as his equal and as a "Great King". To evaluate this definition, it is worth recalling that the existence of different lexical and narrative conventions used in the different genres of documents, such as royal inscriptions, letters, administrative records, has long been recognized (Liverani 1990; 1994; 2000; Zaccagnini 1990; see also the anthropological approach applied by Avruch 2000). To give an example, "in international treaties, the striking majority of which is issued by the Hittite court, the use of the 'war' and 'peace' factors is intentionally dosed according to the aims of the agreements that are concluded" (Zaccagnini 1990, 46).

If Weeden (in this volume) is correct in stating that the use of the epithet "Great King" does not have absolute value and that the ideology of equality in the 'Tawagalawa letter' takes on ironic overtones – because the Hittite king wishes to flatter his interlocutor to induce him to contain Piyamaradu's disruptive action –, this might also call into question the idea that the Ahhiyawa polity was of significant political stature *per se* (cf. Marazzi in this volume). Equally, the ships of Ahhiyawa are referenced in the Hittite texts essentially as responsible for coastal raids and the transfer of prisoners (Wachsmann 1998, 129). Furthermore, in the surviving draft of the treaty between Shaushga-muwa, king of Amurru, and Thudaliya IV (1265-1235 BC), more or less contemporary with the 'Tawagalawa letter', the designation of the king of Ahhiyawa – described as equal to the king of Hatti, the king of Egypt, the king of Babylonia, the king of Assyria – is first written and then erased (Beckmann, Bryce, Cline 2011, 67-68). The reason for this cancellation remains unknown, but it can be considered evidence of the fact that Ahhiyawa, regardless of its geographical location, never truly belonged to the Late Bronze Age 'Club of Superpowers' in the unstable geo-political context of the time (Liverani 2000).

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