

MYCENAEANS IN WESTERN ANATOLIA

Jorrit M. Kelder

Abstract¹

Mycenaean pottery has been found in significant quantities in most coastal regions of the eastern Mediterranean. Most of the pottery was found in Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt. Despite its relative close proximity to the Greek mainland, Anatolia yielded only little Mycenaean pottery. The lack of significant amounts of pottery in this region has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Some have interpreted the lack of Mycenaean goods as a direct result of an alleged Hittite trade embargo, while others see it as a token of the insignificant role that Greece would have played in interregional trade and exchange. In this article I will focus on the corpora of Mycenaean goods (not only pottery) in western Anatolia. I will pay attention on the diachronic, spatial and cultural distribution of the goods. The patterns of distribution that will be distilled will be set against that what is known of the political situation in the Aegean and (western) Anatolia at that time in order to establish the role, both culturally and politically, of the Mycenaean in western Anatolia.

The problem

The 13th century BC was a time that saw both the height of Mycenaean civilization on the Greek mainland as well as its collapse and the subsequent spread of Mycenaean to the east. Whereas clear evidence for Mycenaean presence outside Greece is scarce during the palatial period, some have identified the Mycenaean as one – or more – of the tribes listed in Egyptian texts on the “Sea Peoples”. At any rate, Mycenaean participation in the Great Migrations has not been questioned and many held the view that some Mycenaean sailed to Cyprus and even settled in the southern Levant, entering history as the Philistines known from the Bible (Dothan 1998, 148).

¹ I use “Mycenaean” as a designation for those living on the Greek mainland and the isles; as such, it refers to bearers of Mycenaean culture, but not necessarily to inhabitants of that centre or its Kingdom. “Mycenaean” is used to refer to the culture of the Late Bronze Age Greek mainland. “Aegeans” is used to designate those living in Greece; the mainland and the isles including Crete, while “Minoans” is restricted to the bearers of the Cretan-based Minoan culture.



Fig 1. Sites with Mycenaean Pottery.

Whereas Mycenaean settlement in Cyprus during the final centuries of the second millennium BC is not in question, substantial presence of Mycenaean in the southern Levant, let alone the equation Philistines-Mycenaean, is much debated. Mycenaean activity on the Anatolian west coast has proven to be an equally troublesome topic. Now that the equation Ahhiyawa with at least parts of Mycenaean Greece seems no longer to be the point of debate (see Hawkins, 1998), the question whether or not Ahhiyawa united most of Greece still stands.

Some, like Mountjoy (Mountjoy 1998), suggested that Ahhiyawa should be situated mainly on the Dodecanese; others see it as an Argolid based Kingdom which spread its realm over the Greek isles (Hope Simpson 2003) and possi-

bly even over most of the Peloponnese (Kelder 2004; 2005)². All see the centre of Miletus as Ahhiyawa's foothold in Anatolia, and as such as the place known in Hittite texts as Millawanda. Indeed, Mycenaean dominance over Miletus is indicated by the abundance of Aegean features, ranging from pottery to tombs, found during the excavations of Niemeier and his predecessors (for example: Niemeier 1998, 27-41). The unsurpassed quantities of Mycenaean pottery at Miletus and other Aegean features at this site make it clear that this must have been the place of major Mycenaean interest. Still, the substantial amounts of Mycenaean imports show that Miletus was not the only place on the Anatolian west coast where the Mycenaean were prominent. Mycenaean influence is strongly felt in the area around Ephesus, but also at Müsgebi and several other sites Mycenaean imports were found in substantial quantities. To the north, Troy (Fig. 1) also was a point of Mycenaean influence, as large quantities of Mycenaean pottery were imported and locally copied.

Despite references to hostile encounters in Hittite texts, relations between the Mycenaean and the Anatolians seem not always to have been of hostile nature. Several Hittite texts show that the Hittites upheld diplomatic contacts with the ruler of Ahhiyawa, who, in at least one case, seems to have been regarded as an equal to the King of Hatti (discussion in Huxley 1960, 15-16; Güterbock 1984). The fact alone that these two parties corresponded with each other shows that the relation between them was relatively good. In the case of war any contact would have been severed (see discussion in Cohen & Westbrook 2000).

Having said that Hatti and Ahhiyawa maintained official diplomatic contact with each other, contacts with western Anatolia and the Mycenaean may have been less firmly embedded within the diplomatic system of the Late Bronze Age world. Some degree of "free trade"; less specified by the wishes of the palace and more by the wishes of a "merchant class", may have occurred. At first glance, the distribution of pottery in western Anatolia indeed resembles distribution patterns in the Levant, where trading cities like Ugarit imported Mycenaean ware on a considerable scale but clearly with other aims than was the case in, say, centrally-governed Egypt (van Wijngaarden 2002; Kelder 2003), where the pottery generally remained confined to official, i.e. palatial use.

Although several sites in western Anatolia yielded substantial amounts of Mycenaean goods (primarily pottery), generally speaking Mycenaean elements in the region are very scarce – especially compared to regions such as the Levant or Egypt. While it is clear from the Hittite texts that at least parts of Greece stood in regular contact with areas in Anatolia – mainly under the

² While referring to Ahhiyawa I will follow the territorial composition as proposed in Kelder 2004.

control of Hatti –, the archaeological evidence for this is remarkably scarce. As Greece itself yielded only very little Anatolian material – only 12 imports were identified (Cline 1994, xvi) – one must assume that either the Hittite diplomats did not bring greeting gifts to the westerners (and this is unlikely) or that the Hittite goods simply have not been recognized as such or were of perishable nature.

The discrepancy between the situation as pictured in the texts and the impression gained by the archaeological corpus may have something to do with a trade embargo that seems to have been imposed during the reign of Tudhaliya IV (see the Šaušgamuwa Treaty), as proposed by Cline (O'Connor, Cline 1998, 249), but another explanation is that Mycenaean containers were considered unfit for transport overland (Bryce 2003a, 61). Also, the fact that overland trade routes through western Anatolia were insecure because of rebellion and anti-Hittite uprisings, surely did not further trade along these ways (Bryce 2003a, 62).

Some considerations

As noted above, several Hittite texts point towards direct contact between Mycenaean from the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa and the Hittites. This does however not exclude the possibility that Mycenaean from regions independent from Ahhiyawa were actively engaged in Anatolia, too. Therefore, one needs to be careful when attributing the presence of Mycenaean wares in Anatolia to Ahhiyawan activity: other Mycenaean may have played a part too, although I feel this must have been limited.

While examining the corpus of Mycenaean goods in Anatolia, one needs to be aware that this represents only a very limited part of what once was. This is clear in Egypt, where wall paintings in the tombs of the Theban nobility show Aegeans – though not necessarily Mycenaean – bringing their goods (Wachsmann 1987; Muhly 1991). Pottery, the most significant part of the archaeological corpus at our disposal, is only one of the export products; metals, whether worked or semi-worked (ingots), seem to have been important too. Swords, ingots, jewellery and metal vases are shown. Also, in many cases it seems that pottery was imported largely because of its contents, rather than because of aesthetic considerations. One could assume that similar principles may be applicable to Anatolia.

Textual evidence for actual Mycenaean presence on Anatolian soil other than at Miletus remains scanty at best. As for Miletus/Millawanda, Mycenaean must have lived at this centre at least during the mid 13th century BC – as attested in the so-called Tawagalawa letter. For other settlements, archaeology seems to be the only tool in establishing the degree of Mycenaean influence and presence. As the presence of pottery or other artefacts from a certain cultural background (in this case Mycenaean) does not necessarily mean the presence of the people bearing that culture, one has to be extremely careful when attributing the occurrence of certain alien features to non-indigenous

people. In this respect, it seems reasonable to consider the possibility of alien residents at a given site only when one is dealing with a combination of several, archaeologically attested, foreign features, *i.e.* changes in burial habits, changes in domestic or ritual architecture, or the occurrence of substantial amounts of imported artefacts – especially when used with apparent understanding of their original cultural connotation. Only when several of these aspects appear in a formerly “indigenous” cultural setting, one could assume physical presence of Mycenaeans in Anatolia, rather than cultural influence.

Earlier research

The first to present a comprehensive study was C. Mee (1978, 121-155), in his *Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the second Millennium BC*. Mee clearly largely depended on M. Mellink’s successive publications on the state of Anatolian archaeology in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Later publications on Mycenaean pottery and other goods in Anatolia all draw heavily upon Mee’s article and subsequent publications of Mellink. Therefore, it is worthwhile to consider briefly Mee’s 1978 conclusions, before proceeding to more recent finds in western Anatolia. Mee divided Anatolia into six geographical regions: the area north of the Gediz/Hermus (“North-West Anatolia”), the area between the Büyük Menderes (Maeander) and the Gediz (“Western Anatolia”), the region south of the Maeander (“South-West Anatolia”), the “south coast with the lakes”, “Cilicia” and “Central Anatolia”.

North-West Anatolia only knows one centre where a considerable amount of Mycenaean pottery was found. This site is the most famous of all: Troy, the mound of Hissarlık. Mee proposed sporadic contact between the inhabitants of the Troad and the Mycenaeans as a result of annual fishing expeditions to that region, related to mackerel and tunny migrations (Mee 1978, 148). LH IIIA2 seems to have been the period of most intensive contact³. However, even with locally produced Mycenaean pottery included, Mycenaean wares only comprise a fraction of the total assemblage of pottery. Therefore, Mee concluded that Mycenaeans are unlikely to have been residents in the region. The situation in Western Anatolia may, according to Mee, have been somewhat different. Although Old-Smyrna and Izmir (New Smyrna) both display some Mycenaean influence, finds of Mycenaean origin are too scarce to allow for Mycenaean settlement. In fact, only one site in the region, Clazomenae, may have been settled by Mycenaeans, be it on a limited scale. The chamber tomb at Ephesus is an interesting case, but was not considered enough evidence by Mee to argue for Mycenaean settlement. At the inland sites, Mycenaean artefacts are virtually absent.

South-West Anatolia, on the other hand, knew at least one Mycenaean settle-

³ 40% of the Mycenaean pottery then found was dated to this period (Mee 1978, 147; compare to LH IIA-14%, LH IIB-10%, LH IIIA1-9%, LH IIIA2-40%, LH IIIB-20%, LH IIIC-7%; see Fig. 2).

ment: Miletus (see below). At Iasos, Minoan and later Mycenaean influence is unquestionable, although there is no clear evidence for actual settlement. Müsgebi, being more or less inaccessible except from the sea, displays an abundance of Mycenaean elements, ranging from chamber tombs to pottery. However, some knowledge of Anatolian burial customs is implied by the incidence of cremation. As in Western Anatolia, the inland sites show virtually no sign of Mycenaean influence.

The south coast of Anatolia knew only a few sites during the Late Bronze Age. As a consequence, only few pieces of Mycenaean pottery have been found in this region. Mee concluded that the Mycenaeans probably never set foot in this region and that the pottery found its way here through trade.

Cilicia has yielded several sites with Mycenaean pottery, such as Mersin, Kazanlı and Tarsus. Sporadic contact must have occurred during LH IIA to IIIB, but it is during LH IIIC that a dramatic increase in import can be observed. The pottery of this period seems related to Mycenaean pottery made in Cyprus and some Mycenaean settlement in the area seems likely.

In Central Anatolia, Mycenaean pottery was found almost nowhere, with the notable exception of Maşat. Mellink (1981, 470) reports that the pottery was found in association with spindle flasks and libation vessels, indicating that the Mycenaean imports could have arrived in a Levantine-Cypriote context.

Since Mee's publication, new research has produced more evidence of Mycenaean-Anatolian relations. Especially Troy and Miletus continue to dazzle the archaeologists with an increasing corpus of Mycenaean ware, but also other sites have yielded more clues as for what role the Mycenaeans played in west Anatolian affairs. In this respect, I find especially the regions around Ephesus of great interest, since this site was the capital of Arzawa – a land that, according to Hittite texts, was allied to Ahhiyawa. We will return to that later. First, it is best to provide a catalogue of all sites on the Anatolian west coast thus far known that yielded Mycenaean artefacts. The sites are catalogued in geographical order: from north to south.

Sites in western Anatolia

TROY – HISSARLIK (Fig. 2)

A large amount of Mycenaean pottery was found at Troy. In Van Wijngaarden's thesis (1999, 498) it is listed as a "class 5" site, which means that more than 500 ceramic units were found. For the majority of the Mycenaean pottery at Troy, Mountjoy (1997a, 259-267) suggested a local Trojan origin or an East Aegean-West Anatolian provenance. This no doubt led to her positioning of Ahhiyawa on the Dodecanese (Mountjoy 1998, 33-67). However, some of the pottery at Troy probably came from the Greek mainland. Chemical analysis suggests that the imported pottery mainly came from Boeotia, whereas a small number may have been imported from other regions, such as Attica, the region around Dimin and Aegina (Mommsen, Hertel & Mountjoy 2001, 173 ff.). A substantial amount of imported pottery at Troy showed strong

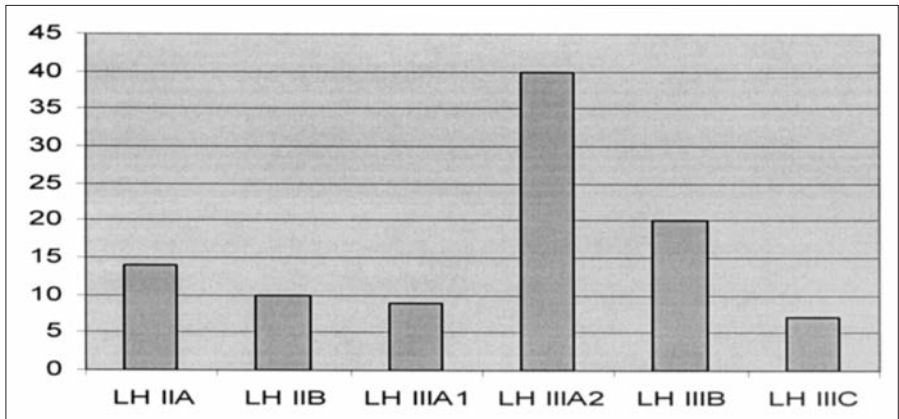


Fig. 2. Chronological distribution (in %) of Mycenaean Pottery at Troy (after Mee, 1970).

chemical resemblance with Argolid ware, but on stylistical grounds was assigned a local provenance (Mommsen, Hertel & Mountjoy 2001, 173). Mycenaean pottery is first attested at Troy in Troy VIId, contemporary with LH IIA (Mountjoy 1997c, 292). Troy VIe should be LH IIB, Troy VIIf late LH IIB and Troy VIg LH IIIA1. Blegen estimated that the 1000 or so sherds recovered by the Cincinnati expedition represented 700-800 pots, from the layers Troy VIIf-h. From Troy VIIa, then still considered a sad survivor of the sixth settlement, Blegen published 310 sherds, of which over 75% were locally made. From Troy VIIb only a 150 or so sherds were found by the Cincinnati expedition, of which less than 20% were imported (Blegen, Caskey & Rawson 1953). Most of the pottery at Troy has a linear or patterned decoration. There is one notable exception: a LH IIIC krater with pictorial decoration (Mountjoy 1997b, 296-274), *i.e.* a lion and a bird. Contacts between Troy and Mycenaean Greece may have continued until Troy VIIb2 times (Mee 1981, 54). Mycenaean pottery at Troy ranges from open to closed shapes, including cups, kylikes, goblets and bowls.

BEŞİK TEPE

Listed as a class 2 site in van Wijngaarden's catalogue, the site of Beşik Tepe should have yielded 10 to 50 pieces of Mycenaean pottery. The site was the burial ground of Troy. Also, it functioned as its ancient harbour and, consequently, one should take into account some disturbance caused by the sea. Indeed, Korfmann (1986 20) reports that sherds have been found rolled and washed by the water. At least part of what once was has been taken by the sea, making the archaeological picture incomplete. The cemetery is known to have been very rich and is characterized by a variety of burial types. Pithos graves,

clay-lined structures, stone circle designations, cist graves and a chamber tomb were found at the site. The pottery found here is comparable to that from Troy's "Pillar House" (Korfmann 1986, 21). Shapes range from open to closed: from krater to bowl and from kylix to alabastron.

PITANE – ÇANDARLI / KOCABAĞLAR

Mycenaean sherds are reported from Kocabağlar, east of Çandarlı (Mellink 1963, 189). West of the site, pit graves yielded locally made monochrome pottery, as well as one LH III C1 Mycenaean stirrup jar, decorated with an octopus (Mee 1978, 143; Mountjoy 1998, 60) and apparently resembling examples from Kalymnos. Mee also remarks that a LH III C (Attic) stirrup jar allegedly found by Schliemann in Troy may in fact derive from this site too.

ELAIA – KARZIKBAĞLARI

Mellaart (1968, 188) mentioned one Mycenaean sherd from this site, but did not provide further data on stylistic phase or context. Because of the proximity of Lesbos, the occurrence of Mycenaean imports in this region would be hardly surprising.

PANAZTEPE - MENEMEN

Mycenaean influence at Panaztepe is apparent from tholos tombs found at this site. Cist graves and chamber tombs also occur. A Palestinian cylinder seal with Egyptian hieroglyphs was found in a tholos. Other burial gifts include Mycenaean pottery, alongside local ware and (gold) beads, faience spindle whorls, a bronze figurine (Gates 1994, 259). A settlement was also uncovered, with at least one LH III A-B ashlar building. In this building Mycenaean pottery was found, as well as a Grey Minyan fenestrated fruitstand and a stone mould (Gates 1996, 304).

In addition, Mycenaean pottery and weapons, acquired by the Manisa Museum in 1982 (Mellink 1982, 565; Ersoy 1988, 55-82), were found at this site (Mellink 1984, 451; the finds were originally thought to have come from the area of Çiğli, northwest of Bayraklı; Mellink 1983b, 435). Here, five tholoi were partially robbed. The finds consist of goblets, piriform jars, 3-handled pyxides, a large local pilgrim flask and local jars, as well as a socketed spearhead, a sword, a knife, a razor and arrowheads. A sixth tholos was found during the 1985 excavations, as well as several cist- and ten pithos graves. LH III A stirrup jars, pyxides, lentoid flasks and three-handled jars were found then and in later years 52 vases could be restored (Mellink 1988, 114). Also, local ware (jars for cremations) and two scarabs, at least one of which dating to Amenophis III, were found (Mellink 1987, 13; Jaeger & Krauss 1990, 13).

PHOCAEA – ESKİ FOÇA

Despite several early but false reports of Mycenaean pottery at this site (Cook 1960, 40; against Hanfmann 1948, 145; Bittel 1934, 92 n. 2, Mee 1978, 143),

Phocaea may have yielded some Mycenaean pottery from a stratum below the archaic level (Mitchell 1999, 144). As this was found in association with Protogeometric ware, I assume this to be mainly of Late Mycenaean date. In the pre-Archaic stratum two megaron structures were identified, possibly pointing towards Mycenaean settlement in Mycenaean times. It is, at any rate, unlikely that more than a few pieces have been found (Van Wijngaarden 1999, 490).

EGRİKÖY

French (1969, 73) reports two “doubtful pieces of Mycenaean pottery”. Similar pieces, found at Sardis were long held to be Mycenaean, but are now not accepted as such. There are no other Mycenaean finds reported from this site. French however wonders whether the site of Çerkes Sultaniye could be seen as the burial grounds of Egriköy.

BURUN ÇUK - LARISA

Only Anatolian pottery was found here, but the 1902 excavations yielded one LH III C1 sherd, with patterned (spirals) decoration, from the shoulder of a jug or jar (Boehlau & Schefold 1942, 196).

ÇERKES SULTANIYE

Situated *ca.* 35 miles from the sea in the Hermus valley, this site was never systematically investigated. Nevertheless, a pithos grave was found by a local inhabitant, in which one Mycenaean piriform jar (LH IIIB) was found together with a local vase and a local monochrome jar (Hanfmann & Waldbaum 1968, 52, n.13; compare to Desborough 1964, pl.1b).

BAYRAKLI – OLD SMYRNA AND IZMIR

Several sherds were found during the 1951 excavation at Old Smyrna, though in unstratified conditions (Mee 1978, 142-143). Cook notes that these sherds were found as strays in Protogeometric and latest prehistoric levels (Cook 1951, 104-105, fig.10). He published a picture of five of these sherds, two of which may belong to the same pot. The decoration of lines and spirals indicates a LH IIIA2 date, though the shape of the vessel remains uncertain. Furthermore, the stem of a LH IIIA2-B kylix, as well as the false neck and the shoulder of a LH IIIB stirrup jar – decorated with a flower motive? (Mee 1978, 143) – were shown. These two sherds may have belonged together as well. An earlier report by Akurgal (*non vidi*) is said to mention another LH IIIA2-B sherd.

At Izmir a Mycenaean sword was found that, albeit from unstratified circumstances, is thought to have come from a tomb (Mee 1978, 130; Bittel 1967, 175). Mee (1978, 130) proposes a LH I date, linking it to the rapiers found at the shaft graves at Mycenae. In general, Bronze Age levels at Smyrna seem scarcely touched upon, and one gains the impression that more Mycenaean material awaits the future archaeologist.

CLAZOMENAE – URLA ISKELESI – LIMAN TEPE

Mee (1979, 125) mentions 25 sherds on display in the National Museum at Athens from Clazomenae, although there is no mention of Mycenaean pottery in the excavation reports. Apart from two sherds all of the pottery is patterned and therefore cannot be considered representative for the original corpus, as one would expect linear decorated material to be present in greater numbers. These sherds are mostly of closed shape, although a cup, a krater, a mug and a stemmed bowl have been identified, too. The majority of the material is dated LH IIIA2-B, except for one LH IIIC krater. The context is unknown, but possibly of domestic nature (housing). Later excavations yielded more LH IIIA pottery (Mellink 1980, 507), in association with grey Minyan and in clear domestic context (private houses of the megaron type; Mellink 1981, 467). Liman Tepe is situated close to Clazomenae. Its Late Bronze Age strata were heavily disturbed; only a well and part of the fill remained undisturbed. The site yielded Minyan as well as Mycenaean pottery, dated LH IIIA1 to LH IIIB. Painted and unpainted pottery was found, including one lid, with a linear sign (Mitchell 1999, 147). This may be a potter's mark (Günel 1999, 59, 97, ill. 51). Shapes range from open to closed; Günel's catalogue (1999, see esp. 80-1, no. 52-57) shows cups, jugs and an alabastron.

BAKLA TEPE

At nearby Bakla Tepe, a LH IIIB cup of the 13th century was found in a grave cut into a mound. In association, 20 pots of local origin, as well as an ivory appliqué rosette ornament were found (Mitchell 1999, 147).

REISDERE – ERYTHRAE

Mellink (1968, 134) reports that Akurgal (1967, 461) found an unknown number of Mycenaean sherds on a small peninsula about 8 km from Erythrae, between the villages of Şifne and Reisdere. Shapes, context and date are unknown. In addition, Akurgal is reported to have identified a Mycenaean settlement closer to Erythrae (Cook, Blackman 1971, 41; Akurgal 1967, 461).

TORBALI- BADEMGEDIĞİ HÖYÜĞÜ

Greaves and Helwing (2001, 506) report that Meriç has undertaken rescue excavations at this site. These resulted in the discovery of a sizable settlement encircled by a cyclopean wall, of which 750 meters were uncovered. Many sherds of local Mycenaean pottery were found, ranging from the 14th to 12th century BC. LH IIIC early and middle pottery, such as a stirrup jar and two straight-sided alabastra, was found in the latest Bronze Age level (Meriç & Mountjoy 2001, 137). The site has been identified as the "Puranda" of the Hittite texts.

EPHESUS – SELÇUK – KUŞADASI

A disturbed tomb found on the medieval citadel of Ephesus in 1963 yielded a

total of six Mycenaean vases (Mellink 1964, 157; Mee 1978, 127): a LH IIIA1 piriform jar, a LH IIIA1 handleless flask, a krater decorated with argonauts and dated ca. LH IIIA2, a LH IIIA2 pilgrim flask, a LH IIIA2 rhyton and an non diagnostic jug. Apart from the pots, a number of linear sherds were found. These finds are now on display at the Ephesus Museum, along with a LH IIIA2 stirrup jar from Kuşadasi (see Erdemgil *e.a.* 1989, 97-100). Bammer (1990, 142) mentions additional finds of Mycenaean pottery and proposes that once there was a Mycenaean cult centre on the site of the later Artemision. Finds in later years at this site seem to confirm this idea: the head of a Mycenaean figurine was found at the Artemision, as well as a bronze double axe, another piece of a clay figurine and some pottery (Bammer 1994, 38). Late Bronze Age walls, apparently Mycenaean in character, further add to this (Gates, 1996, 319 reference should be to Bammer 1994 [Fehlzitat]). Bammer notes further finds in the region around Ephesus, thereby proposing an identification of present day Ilicatepe as Late Bronze Age Apaşa (Bammer 1986/7, 32). Others identify the medieval citadel as Late Bronze Age Apaşa, noting that the remains of walls dating to the Late Bronze Age, may be those of a Hittite fortification (Büyükkolancı 2000, 39; Brein 1976/1977, 65-76), rather than a Mycenaean one (Mellink 1993, 120 refers to Erdemgil 1991, 265-281 [*non vidi*]). In the village of Halkapınar, east of Belevi, a Mycenaean oinochoe was found in a pithos. Though Bammer presents no date, I argue, because of the decoration with a foliate band, for a LH IIIA2 date. This date also corresponds with the date of the earlier mentioned finds on the medieval citadel.

Other finds include a tholos at Kolophon, where apparently some pottery was found that could be Submycenaean (Pottery is not reported in Huxley; 'Fehlzitat' in Mee 1978, 125. The tomb was dated LH IIIB-C; Huxley 1960, 39). In a grave nearby, a Mycenaean knife was found alongside an Aegean glass paste bead (Mee 1979, 125; Ersoy 1988, 67, note 57). The tholos might be Mycenaean, although Mee has some reservations. In this respect, Bridges (1974, 266) noted that "one seems to be dealing here with a monument whose unusual proportions can be ascribed to local builders working outside the mainstream of the tholos-building tradition". Furthermore, Mycenaean sherds were found at the Yılanlı Burun Peninsula, near Kuşadasi and one at the village of Kuştur.

All in all, Ephesus has yielded a considerable amount of Mycenaean features. Notable in this respect is not only the pottery –which was to be expected- but also figurines and such features as a tholos or indeed, the cyclopean fortifications found in the region, at Ilicatepe and Büyükkale (Bammer 1986/7, 32) and a disputed Mycenaean wall – with conflagration level – at the medieval acropolis of Ayasuluk (Mellink 1993, 120 refers to Erdemgil 1991, 265-281 [*non vidi*]). Admittedly, the cyclopean fortifications and the tholos tomb have Anatolian parallels as well, but the point remains that Mycenaean cultural influence at Ephesus and surroundings seems remarkably strong.

SARDIS

Only few vessels that might be Mycenaean have been found at Sardis. Mee (1978, 144) reports a LH IIIB krater and a LH IIIC deep bowl. These vessels were found in a sounding in the area of the “House of Bronzes”, spanning the period from the 13th century to the early 7th century. Although not noted by Mee, more Mycenaean material was brought to light. Hanfmann and Waldbaum (1970) report 250 sherds, some of which were Late Mycenaean, others Submycenaean and a number of Protogeometric date. The Mycenaean ware is dated LH IIIB-C2, ranging from the 13th to the 11th century BC. Apart from the previously mentioned krater, Hanfmann already published a few sherds in 1967, a few of which should – to my judgement – be LH IIIB (late?), with a few others labelled Submycenaean that might be Mycenaean too. Both closed and open shapes are present. Decoration generally is simple: bands and semicircles. Despite the occurrence of some Mycenaean pottery, the majority of the material at Sardis is firmly Anatolian. Only 2-5% of the total amount of pottery is Mycenaean (Hanfmann 1983, 22-23). To this, it must be added that at least part of the Mycenaean material at Sardis seems to be local production, rather than to have been imported (Hanfmann 1983, 23).

GAVURTEPE - ALAŞEHİR

Mee (1978, 128) reports two Mycenaean surface sherds from this site. One probably is a LH IIIA2 flask, decorated with linear bands and a wavy line; the other may come from an askos or a rhyton and is decorated with dots and five wavy lines. More Mycenaean sherds were found in later years in the LBA settlement, which appears to have been deserted ca. 1200 BC (Mellink 1988, 115). A *megaron* built in the 15th century and burned down later in the second millennium, yielded a Mycenaean handle (Mellink 1991, 138).

BEYESULTAN

Seven sherds from the 1954 excavations were believed to be Anatolian copies of Mycenaean pottery, of which six proved to be from a painted pilgrim flask of Central Anatolian origin. The seventh, a body sherd of a pyxis, has Trojan rather than Mycenaean affinities and is of local fabric. One sherd of truly Mycenaean origin has been found in a late Beyesultan III (1450-1325 BC) pavement and should be the shoulder of a LH IIIA2 or B imported stirrup jar, decorated with bands of red paint. The pavement was situated within a house (room 1) in area J (Mellaart 1970, 66).

SARAKÖY

Birmingham (1964, 30) reports a possible Mycenaean sherd from Saraköy in the Meander valley. No further data are provided.

MILETUS

Listed in Van Wijngaarden's catalogue as a class 5 site, Miletus without a doubt was the major centre of the Mycenaeans in Anatolia. An abundance of Mycenaean pottery testifies to this. Indeed, it becomes increasingly clear that the centre befell to the King of Ahhiyawa around 1400 BC, and remained under Mycenaean rule for the remainder of the Bronze Age. It has to be said however, that destruction levels found at Miletus have been seen as the result of Hittite action – which may be referred to in some Hittite texts. This site will be dealt with later.

AKBÜK- TEICHIUSSA

On a peninsula 4 km north of Akbük prehistoric levels were uncovered. Apart from LM I ware and light Minoanizing sherds, LH IIIB and IIIC1 stray sherds were found (Mellink 1985, 552, 558). Nearby tombs yielded more Aegean pottery. Voigtländer (1988, 603-609), reports some Minoan pottery (with Levantine affinities?), ranging from MM III to LM IB. Both open and closed shapes are present.

DOMUZTEPE

Mee reports Mycenaean IIIC pottery from this site (Mee 1978, 126), while referring to Seton-Williams (1954, 154) and Loyd/Mellaart (1955, 82 [Fehlzitat]). Pottery belonging to earlier Mycenaean times, *i.e.* the palatial period, is, despite the suggestive remarks of Lloyd and Mellaart, not attested.

IASOS

During the Late Bronze Age, Iasos must have been an important Mycenaean centre. Mycenaeans must have settled here at least as early as LH IIIA2 (Mellink 1983a, 139). Anatolian ware is not mentioned in the excavation reports. Although only a limited area of the LBA centre has been excavated, a considerable amount of Mycenaean pottery has been found. "Frammenti Micenei", dating LH IIIA2 or IIIB (one piece may even date to LH II) were found in the area of the Protogeometric cemetery (Levi 1969/1970, 474, 480, fig. 25, 26), below the Agora and below the Basilica and the sanctuary of Artemis Astias. Scanty remains of Mycenaean walls were found, heavily disturbed by later (archaic) building activity. Some of the sherds found here may very well have been produced locally or somewhere in the East Aegean-West Anatolian interface (see Mountjoy 1998, 36-53), but there certainly was imported ware, too, probably from the Argolid (Mee 1979, 130; compare to French 1965, 200-202). Moreover, during the 1979 excavations, an Argive psi-idol was uncovered while clearing a large pavement of the Mycenaean period (Mellink 1980, 507), while the stripped base of another Mycenaean idol was found in 1987 (Mellink 1989, 117). Minoan (LM I-II) pottery was found too, imported as well as local fabric, giving the impression that – as seems to be the case at Miletus – Iasos initially was a Minoan

settlement, later to be taken over by the Mycenaeans.

The corpus displays a wide variety of shapes. Kylikes, deep bowls, kraters, a mug and a stemmed bowl were found in the area of the Protogeometric cemetery, kylikes being most numerous. From the area below the basilica come a LH IIIC krater and a LH IIIC flask. It seems that the krater is made somewhere in the East Aegean-West Anatolian interface; the same probably goes for the flask (Mee 1979, 130). Judging the shapes, it seems that the pottery was used in daily life rather than storage or ritual use. Remarkable is the abundance of patterned and pictorial decoration. Spirals, zigzags, wavy lines, whorl shells, flowers, but also an octopus occur, while purely linear decoration is not attested.

Of the architecture little is known. The few remains in the cemetery area represent at least one rather large building with walls of worked stone and paved floors, which was found below the Agora (Levi 1969/1970, 471, 474; Lavisiosa 1972, 44) and seems to have functioned from MM III to LH III.

MYLASA – MILAS

Mee (1978, 142) reports a LH IIIA2 jug from Mylasa, decorated with stemmed spirals, while Mellink (1967, 164) mentions a LH pyxis from the vicinity of Mylasa. Hanfmann (1948, 140) notes Mycenaean finds at Mylasa during the Swedish excavations of professor Axel Persson, perhaps indicating Mycenaean penetration into the coastal zone of Caria. Unfortunately, no further information on shape, decoration or context is provided. I assume that these finds consisted of pottery. The material was reported to be LH II and LH III (Hanfmann 1948, 145).

STRATONICAEA

A carinated bowl and a stirrup jar now on display in the museum of Eskihisar are said to have come from a tomb or tombs near the theatre of Stratonicaea (Hanfmann & Waldbaum, 1986, 51-52). The material is supposedly Sub-mycenaean, though a LH IIIB-C date cannot be ruled out (Hope Simpson, 1965, 193).

MÜSGEBI

Listed by Van Wijngaarden (1999, 492) as a class 4 site, meaning that between 100 and 500 ceramic units had been found, Müsgebi is situated on a peninsula south of Samos. Being accessible only from the sea, the site was heavily influenced by the Mycenaeans; actual settlement seems likely. The cemetery has been studied during the years 1963-1966 and yielded a total of 48 chamber tombs. Both inhumation and cremation occurred, though the number of cremations has not been specified. Pottery was found in abundance, although Mee notes that “most of the tombs are ceramically rather poor” (Mee 1978, 137). Boysal (1969) published 162 vessels from Müsgebi; while Mee (1978) provides a full account of the corpus. Shapes range from piriform jars, stirrup jars, amphoriskoi, flasks, braziers, kylikes and bowls to cups and

mugs. An alabastron, an askos and a basket vase have also been found. A considerable amount of pottery is thought to have been imported from the Argolid and the Dodecanese, most notably Ialysos on Rhodes. On the other hand, local production should not be ruled out and is likely to have continued until LH IIIC times. Chronologically, the pottery at Müsgebi ranges from LH IIIA2 till LH IIIC. A peak seems to be the LH IIIB (early?) period. Note that the shapes represent a rather complete corpus: pottery seems to have been a common good and used for various activities. Hence the occurrence of both open and closed shapes (Bass 1963, 353).

KNIDOS

Love (1969, 18) reports some sherds from the 1968 excavations at Knidos, but provides no additional data.

DÜVER

Mee (1978, 126) reports that a number of Mycenaean pots, some of which are said to be from the prehistoric cemetery at Düver at the northern end of the Yaraşlı lake, have been acquired by the Burdur Museum. The pots, an imported pyxis, a jug and three local pyxides are dated LH IIIA2-B. Mellink (1969, 212) reports squat alabastra from the cemetery at Düver, dated LH IIIB.

DEREKÖY (II)

This site yielded a LH IIIA2 pyxis and a LH IIIB1 piriform jar. These pots were found in a cemetery close to the site, in association with local, gold washed, pottery (Birmingham 1964, 30-31, ill.2/3; corrected in Mee 1978, 126).

TELMESSOS

A LH IIIA2-B globular stirrup jar on display in the British Museum comes from Telmessos (Walters, Forsdyke 1930, Pl.10: 24). Its context is unknown (Mee 1978, 145).

BEYLERBEY

A Mycenaean kylix sherd has been identified (French 1969, 73, n.17), possibly LH IIIA2 or B1 (Mee 1979, 124). The context is unknown.

Provenance of the pottery and spatial distribution

That there were contacts between the Mycenaean and north-western Anatolia is beyond doubt, but here, the picture has not really changed since Mee's publication. Troy obviously remains the focal point of Mycenaean influence in the north-western part of Anatolia. Both its harbour and burial place at Beşik Tepe and the city itself have yielded a large number of sherds indeed. Whether most of these sherds were real Mycenaean exports or local produce is a point of later concern; Mycenaean influence must have been felt strongly in Priam's

land, although substantial Mycenaean settlement seems unlikely. The picture in the western part of Anatolia, however, has changed radically since Mee's publication. Clazomenae remains an interesting site and enough Mycenaean ware has been found here to reinforce Mee's cautious conclusion that Mycenaean may have settled here. At this site, Mycenaean pottery was found in association with Grey Minyan ware in several houses. The pottery was apparently used together with Anatolian material in domestic setting and consequently, one could conclude that at least at this site, Mycenaean pottery was not considered such a rarity not to use it in every day's life.

New excavations in the region around Ephesus have brought up not only some Mycenaean vases, but also an abundance of further evidence for strong Mycenaean influence. Several sites in this region have already been mentioned above. The site of Kolophon yielded a Mycenaean knife in a tholos, at medieval Ephesus Mycenaean pottery was found and the site of Halkapinar allegedly yielded an alabastron (Bammer 1986/87, 37, ill.18), whereas more Mycenaean pottery was found at Kuşadası. Perhaps more significant are the fortresses in the area, such as the one at Büyükkale or at İlicatepe, which are both fortified with cyclopean walls – although this does not necessarily imply Mycenaean influence.

Not surprisingly, the greatest concentration of Mycenaean ware is found in the region around Miletus, as this site is now generally regarded as a site where the Mycenaean permanently settled, indeed, that it was the major foothold of the Mycenaean Kingdom Ahhijawa in Anatolia. It is clear that Müşgebi and Iasos were Mycenaean settlements too, although probably smaller than Miletus. In order to provide a reasonable view on Mycenaean activity, whether in presence or in "the mind", three major sites on the Anatolian coast will be examined more closely below. Troy will be reviewed, if only because of its abundance of Mycenaean pottery and its Homeric heritage, as well as Miletus, the Mycenaean stronghold now excavated by Niemeier. Late Bronze Age Ephesus will be dealt with for reasons mentioned above.

Ephesus, Aššuwa, Arzawa and the Mycenaean Alliance: a view from the texts

Before dealing with the archaeological evidence, it is useful to examine briefly the situation in western Anatolia as delivered to us in contemporary texts. These texts are mainly Hittite texts; letters from the Hittite King to his western vassals, or letters from the vassals to the Hittite overlord. Some texts are, however, of a different nature and from a different provenance.

There are several Hittite texts dealing with western Anatolia. Six Hittite texts deal with the Aššuwa League⁴. Apart from Hittite texts, a letter from Egyptian

⁴ *KUB* [Keilinschrift Urkunden Boğazköy] XXIII 11; *KUB* XXVI 91; *KUB* XL 62 I+XIII 9; *KUB* XXXIV 43:10; and the text on the Mycenaeanizing sword found at

El-Amarna (*EA* 31; Moran 1987, 192-193) is apparently written to the King of Arzawa while another was sent from Arzawa to Pharaoh's court (*EA* 32; Moran 1987, 195). This adds to the impression that Arzawa during the Amarna era was a major power indeed. Other Egyptian sources refer to *Isy*, apparently the Egyptian name for Assuwa, while *a-su-ja* in Linear A texts may be the Minoan designation for the Assuwa League (Cline 1997, 191). *A-si-wi-ja* and other variations probably were Linear B indications for the same region which must be situated north of the later Arzawa territories, comprising most of west and north-western Anatolia (Chadwick 1976, 80; Cline 1996, 141-142), although some overlap with the Arzawa lands is possible.

Apart from the Anatolian entities, the west-coast of Anatolia knew at least one major Mycenaean centre, Miletus, which must have been some sort of base for Mycenaean activity in the region. For the first time collectively published by Sommer (1932), the Ahhiyawa texts represent the correspondence between the Hittite Kings and the rulers of the Mycenaean Kingdom Ahhiyawa. All but one of these texts are letters sent by the Hittite rulers, whereas the letter that might have been sent by a Mycenaean King is rather fragmentary and still the subject of much dispute (Gurney 2002, 135).

The first involvement of Ahhiyawa or rather, Ahhiyawans in Anatolia, is dated around 1400 BC. Around this time it seems that most, if not all, of western Anatolia was united in some sort of federation, called Aššuwa. The struggles between Aššuwa and the Hittites that eventually ended in Aššuwan defeat, have been tentatively interpreted by Cline (1997, 202 ff.) as the source of several "pre-Trojan War" legends, *i.e.* the failed expedition of Achilles in Teuthrania, a region at the mouth of the Caicus River, which may have been related to actual – if unproven! – Mycenaean involvement in Aššuwan resistance against the Hittites. The "mycenaeanizing" sword found at Hattuša and apparently dedicated to the gods may relate to these events (Cline 1996, 137-151; Hope Simpson 2003, 205).

The legend deals with the slaying of Eurypylos, son of Telephus and prince of the Ceteians, by Neoptolemos (see for example Quintus of Smyrna VIII, 133-220). Huxley (1960, 40) proposed that Telephus may be the Hittite name Telepinu, while "Ceteians" (Κηττειοι) remarkably resembles "Khatti"; the Hittites. The Caicus River is most likely to be identified with the Seha River known from Hittite texts (Gurney 1992, 221), which means that these legendary events happened in the region just south of Hittite Wiluša, now generally seen as the Greek Ilion (Bryce 1998, 395; Starke 2001, 34).

Aššuwa was subdued by the Hittites around this time. According to the

other text, *KBo* XII 53 rev.7', has little relevance, although some reference to Assuwa is made. Arzawa is mentioned several times too, most notable in the Annals of Mursili II (See Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 84-88) and several treaties (*KBo* V 4; *KUB* XIX 49; *KUB* XIX 50; *KUB* XXXI 83 1'-26'; *KUB* XXVI 59 + *KUB* XIV 26).

Annals of Tudhaliya II⁵, after defeating his enemy, the Hittite King deported 10.000 Aššuwān soldiers and 600 teams of horses with their charioteers, along with the Aššuwān King Piyama-⁴KAL and his son Kukkuḫli, to the Hittite capital (Cline 1997, 191). Shortly thereafter, it was succeeded by the veritable Kingdom of Arzawa, which was to challenge Hittite dominance in Anatolia and for a time considered a Great Power, at least in Egyptian eyes.

Roughly said, the history of western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age is characterized by the struggle for supremacy between Hatti and Arzawa and, after the latter had succumbed to the first, the increasing importance of this new Hittite province. Under Hittite rule, the rump state of Arzawa soon became a *Sekundogenitur* that, according to some, would eventually rise to the status of a Great Kingdom known as Mira, only to head towards its fiery end around 1190 BC. With the destruction of the Hittite state, Mira disappears from the record. During the period 1400-1190, the Arzawans stood evidently in close contact with Ahhiyawans. Mycenaean are known to have settled in Miletus, as several Hittite texts place this centre under Mycenaean rule. However, around 1230 BC, Miletus seems to have been incorporated into the Hittite realm, or perhaps more correctly, the realm of Mira (Niemeier 1999, 153; Bryce 1989b, 303-304; for a different view Singer, 1983 214-216). This seems evident from the so-called Millawata letter, in which the ruler of Miletus is addressed as “my son”, a designative usually reserved for vassals of a Great King. It needs to be noted however that, although uncommon, this could also have been used by a foreign potentate to the vassal of a neighbouring (Great) Kingdom (I have noticed this in Amarna vassal letters).

During the years of independence the capital of Arzawa was Apaša, generally equated with later Ephesus. As such, it must have been the seat of Tarhuntaḫadu, the King of Arzawa known from the Amarna letters. It certainly was the capital of the last independent King of Arzawa, Uḫḫaḫiti, who according to Hittite texts was allied with Ahhiyawa. Apaša was taken after a short siege by Muḫḫili II, who incorporated the Arzawan Kingdom in the Hittite Empire around 1315 BC. In the wake of these events, Miletus suffered a setback, and was probably burnt by the Hittite King in reprisal of Mycenaean support to the Arzawan cause. It would not be the last time that Miletus was a thorn in the side of the Hittite Empire: some 65 years later, the Hittite King Ḫattuḫili III sent a letter to his Mycenaean counterpart full of complaints about Mycenaean Miletus-based activity on the Anatolian coast. It is this letter that brought about decades of scholarly debate, for the Hittite King apparently

⁵ Due to poor understanding of the sequence of the earliest Hittite Kings, there is some uncertainty concerning Tudhaliya. Some discern two separate Kings, reigning shortly after each other, whereas others only see one. As this uncertainty is of no consequence to the present research, I refer to Tudhaliya II in this article for simplicity's sake. I thank Dr. F. Woudhuizen for his remarks in this respect.

refers to earlier, warlike proceedings concerning a city Wilusa – by many held for (W)Ilion, Troy.

Although Troy was one of the Arzawa lands, it was not considered hostile to the Hittites during the wars of Muršili II (Aleksandu Treaty §2: 2-14; Beckman 1996, 87). It remained independent after the defeat of Arzawa, although there is a reference to earlier subordination to Hatti in a later Hittite text. It is first attested around 1400, but it is only after 1350 that we know some names of its Kings. Kukkuni seems to have ruled Troy during the second half of the 14th century as an independent monarch. He may have adopted his successor, Alaksandu, who came to the throne circa 1300 BC. The name of this particular King has caused much deliberation, as already Forrer noted the striking similarity between this name and Mycenaean “Alexandros”; the name for Paris, prince of Troy. Aleksandu’s throne must have been wobbly, as several texts note Hittite pressure to keep him in power. This cost Troy its suzerainty, and around 1285 it officially became part of the Kingdom of the Hittites. Its King Aleksandu was succeeded by a certain Walmu, whose position must have been insecure indeed, possibly because of Ahhiyawan activity in the region (Manapa-Tarhunda letter: Houwink ten Cate 1983, 50-51; Easton 1985, 192; Bryce 1989b, 302-3). In fact, he is reported to have fled to the – now Great – King of Mira after being ousted from his home city. Shortly after 1200, Troy is mentioned for the last time in a Hittite text.

As noted above, Arzawa at some point was allied to the King of Ahhiyawa, although the latter failed to actively support the Arzawan King Uhhaziti in his hour of need. This becomes clear from a Hittite text in which is stated that Uhhaziti “relied on the King of Ahhiyawa” after which the text is too fragmentary to read (Güterbock 1992, 235-243). It is clear however that, one after the other, the Arzawan pockets of resistance were overcome by Hittite forces. Although Miletus, having supported the Arzawan cause, may have been burnt or partially destroyed, it apparently remained in Mycenaean hands. Around 1250 BC, a Hittite King – most likely Hattušili III – wrote a letter to his Mycenaean colleague, in an effort to evade a showdown between Hittite and Mycenaean forces. An Anatolian renegade was causing trouble on the west coast, with the apparent backing of the Mycenaean King. Although for a moment it seemed that this person, Piyamaradu, was willing to submit to his former overlord, he eventually took refuge at Miletus, after which he escaped to the isles in the Aegean.

With these data from the texts in mind, it is worthwhile to consider the possible relation between the frequency and amount of Mycenaean import in western Anatolia with the political and military upheavals of the time.

The archaeological picture at Ephesus

As the exact location of ancient Apaša is not yet known with certainty, the area around Ephesus will be taken into account as a whole. It has been noted above that Mycenaean influence at Ephesus is not exclusively evident from

pottery – as tends to be the case at most sites. Apart from pottery, a number of non ceramic artefacts were found; the most interesting one being a bronze double axe. Apart from artefacts, architectural features at Ephesus and its surroundings display Aegean affinities, such as the tholos at Kolophon. Arguably, the tholos tomb is not an exclusively Aegean phenomenon, as tholoi also occur elsewhere on the Anatolian west coast, *i.e.* at Panaztepe, but they occur only at very few sites and are not attested at inland sites, nor are there clear Anatolian predecessors (as opposed to the Aegean: Belli, 1997, 251); the derivation of the tholos from the Cretan circular tombs, thought to be fraught with difficulties by scholars like Branigan (1970), now is regarded as a plausible option (see Rutter 2004). Consequently, there is some ground to consider this at least as an Aegean orientated feature. Cyclopic walls resembling those at Mycenae and other Greek sites cannot be seen as markers for direct Mycenaean influence or presence in the region, as this type of building has clear Anatolian connotations. In fact, the cyclopic walls and especially architectural features such as casemates in Greece, are thought to have been based upon Anatolian examples (Iakovidis 1999, 201).

The earliest Mycenaean pottery known at Ephesus, dates to LH IIIA1 and was found on the medieval citadel (Mellink 1964, 157). The vases, a piriform jar and a handleless flask, were however found together with LH IIIA2 pottery; this provides a *terminus post quem* of around 1370 BC (date based on Warren/Hankey 1989, 169, although some variation due to local stylistic developments may slightly alter this date). In fact, LH IIIA2 seems to be the stylistic period to which the remainder of the corpus at Ephesus and surroundings belongs to. Despite a vague reference to later Mycenaean finds (Van Wijngaarden 1999, 491), both LH IIIB and LH IIIC pottery seem to be lacking at Ephesus – although the pottery at Kolophon may be from that period –, thus giving the impression that Mycenaean influence, as far as the pottery is concerned, was restricted to the rather short period of LH IIIA1-2, corresponding to the years 1390-1300 (LH IIIA2 is recently believed to last until the end of the 14th century: cf. Hope Simpson 2003, 205, with references).

The pottery was found in various contexts. A notable part of the corpus came from the above mentioned disturbed tomb on the medieval citadel. Apart from the krater with Argonaut decoration, the rhyton is another piece that one would not expect in a funerary context. In this respect, the rest of the material found in the tomb, all closed-shaped vessels, is less of a surprise. Containers are often found in tombs in Greece as well as the Levant and Egypt. Although the handleless flask is unique in shape and clearly of Anatolian/local provenance, its purpose must have been primarily storage of liquids, possibly perfumed olive oil or wine (for the latter: cf. Tzedakis/Martlew 1999, 196, no. 180). The krater however, cannot have been used for this purpose. As it was found in a tomb, one might think of it being used as an urn. Indeed, human remains were found inside the vessel (Mee 1978, 127), although the krater evidently did not contain an entire skeleton. As there were no traces of cremation,

it is assumed that these bones were stashed in the vessel on a later occasion. Despite its secondary use as some kind of a receptacle, it is possible that the krater was a grave gift related to the “symposion”, which would suggest that this phenomenon was adopted in the Arzawan capital during the 14th century (see Steel 2002; for a dark age connotation Węcowski 2002, 625-637). Adoption of foreign customs was not uncommon during the Late Bronze Age, although the intrinsic value of some elements or goods may have changed when crossing cultural borders. This, for instance, can be observed with faience plaques imported at Mycenae. These were probably used in some sort of ritual context, although their use still considerably differed from the original, Egyptian way of stocking them in a deposit below temple or palace walls (O’Connor/Cline 1998, 247). Although the anthropological concept of “hybridization” or cross-cultural consumption more often than not applies to most of the foreign elements found in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean, some elements may in fact have been adopted while keeping their original connotation and meaning. This has been noted to some degree in the northern parts of the Levant, where the Mycenaean way of consuming wine did find its way into the local culture in an apparently unaltered way (Steel 2002, 36). It is not unlikely that some Mycenaean elements were readily accepted into Arzawan society, especially by the elite, with the close relations between the Arzawan court and the Ahhiyawan royal family in mind. Indeed, it may have been one way of augmenting their distinct position within Arzawan elite. It may well be that it was not only the lure of Mycenaean wine that attracted the local elite. The occurrence of the LH IIIA1 rhyton may point to some interest in Mycenaean rites, or ritual elements, as any practical use of such pottery is unlikely. In this respect, it is worthwhile to reconsider Bammer’s suggestion that the site of the Artemision once was the place of a Mycenaean cult centre, especially with the occurrence of two pieces of Mycenaean figurines and a bronze double axe in mind. Mycenaean influence in funerary respect must have been considerable, as is indicated by the artefacts from Kolophon and arguably, by the tholos itself. All in all, there is some reason to assume strong Mycenaean influence in Arzawan culture, in ritual, as well as funerary respect and every day’s life.

Thus, Mycenaean cultural influence was considerable, although it must be stressed that the finds at Ephesus also point to strong cultural links with the rest of Anatolia. Also, the names of the Arzawan royal family imply Anatolian prevalence in this respect. The mixture of autochthonous and foreign (Mycenaean) culture led some to believe that Arzawa was politically dependent on both the Hittites and the Mycenaean (Schachermeyr 1986, 21), but one must be careful when attributing political power to cultural dominance. Some smatch of Mycenaean control in Arzawan affairs is however not unthinkable (Bammer 1986-7, 21), as far as the archaeological record is concerned.

As has been noted above, Mycenaean pottery at Ephesus covers the 14th century, but seems absent in the periods before and after that century, although

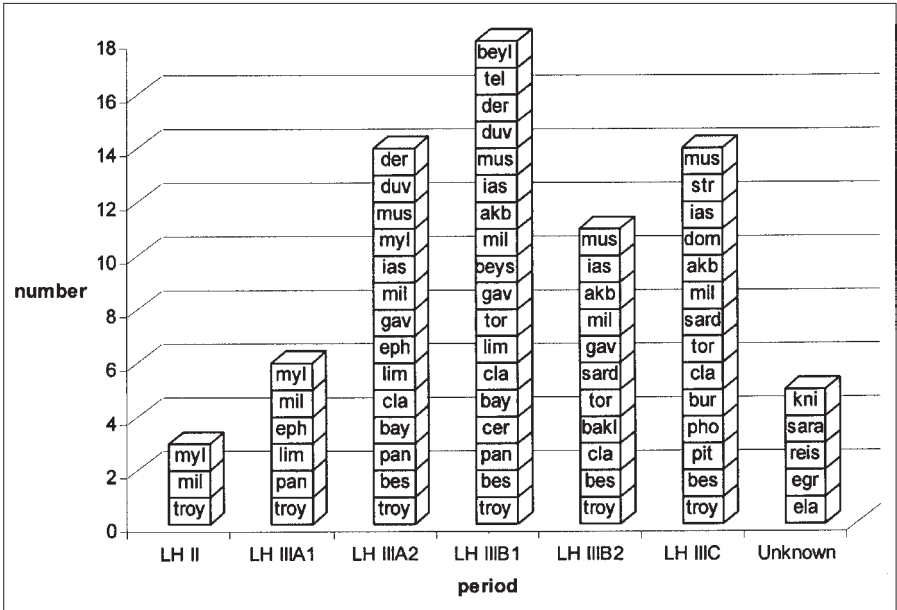


Fig. 3. Sites with Mycenaean Pottery. *The abbreviations in the table refer to the sites listed in the catalogue above.*

there may be some LH IIIB-C pottery at Kolophon. This makes one wonder whether or not the import of the Mycenaean vessels was related to the close political ties between Arzawa and Ahhiyawa and the absence of it in later years has something to do with the downfall of Arzawan power. In this respect, it should be noted that, while the 14th century – contemporary with LH IIIA1 – was a period of increasing Mycenaean export to Anatolia, the period immediately thereafter, LH IIIA2-B1, seems to have been the pinnacle of Mycenaean export. It has been argued that this period saw a decline on Rhodes (Mee 1982, 87), and one could think of some relation between this decline on such an important island near the Anatolian coast, and the sudden absence of Mycenaean ware at Ephesus. However, the LH IIIA1-2 material at Ephesus certainly did not come from Rhodes alone, although some material definitely shows clear links with Ialysos (Mee 1978, 127). The figurine (Fig. 4) found at Ephesus displays a clear resemblance to the well-known “Lord of Asine” (Bammer 1994, 38; cf. Frödin/Persson 1938, 307). One would expect at least some Mycenaean material at Ephesus from the Argolid, even after the decline of Rhodes. As this is not the case, it seems unlikely that Mycenaean internal events played a role in the sudden absence of Mycenaean ware in LH IIIB Ephesus. The reason for the absence of LH IIIB material must therefore lay in Ephesus itself.

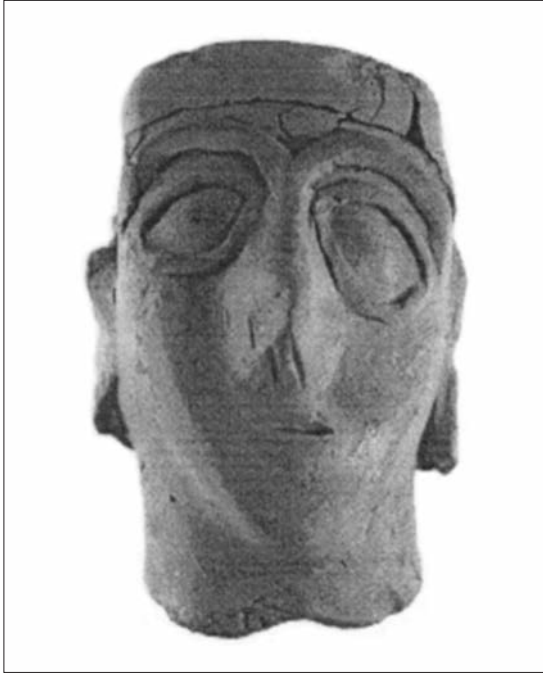


Fig. 4.
Figurine found at Ephesus.

LH IIIA2 was a period of significant Mycenaean cultural influence in western Anatolia, as far as import of pottery is concerned. While LH IIIA2-B saw the pinnacle of Mycenaean import in Western Anatolia (Fig. 3), during LH IIIB2 one can observe a decrease in the number of sites where Mycenaean pottery was used and even then pottery still reached a considerable number of sites. The slight increase in the number of sites during LH IIIC may be due to migrations during the end of the Bronze Age, as was suggested in the case of Cilicia, too (Mee 1978, 150), although in western Anatolia the amount of the pottery steadily decreases during LH IIIB2-C. Thus, the fact that at Ephesus Mycenaean pottery was imported only during the 14th century is something of an exception, and does not occur elsewhere in Anatolia. Apart from that, Ephesus certainly was one of the first centres in Anatolia to import Mycenaean pottery (only Troy, Miletus and Iasos imported pottery at an earlier stage). It seems not far-fetched to conclude that the early import at Ephesus was a token of its importance. The fact that after LH IIIA2 no Mycenaean pottery was imported at this site and only little – if any – at nearby sites, may indeed have had something to do with the Hittite onslaught and the flight of Arzawan nobility and Mycenaean inhabitants to Mycenaean waters. It must however be noted that the archaeological picture at Ephesus is still rather incomplete. Future excavations may yield more Mycenaean pottery, and from different periods.

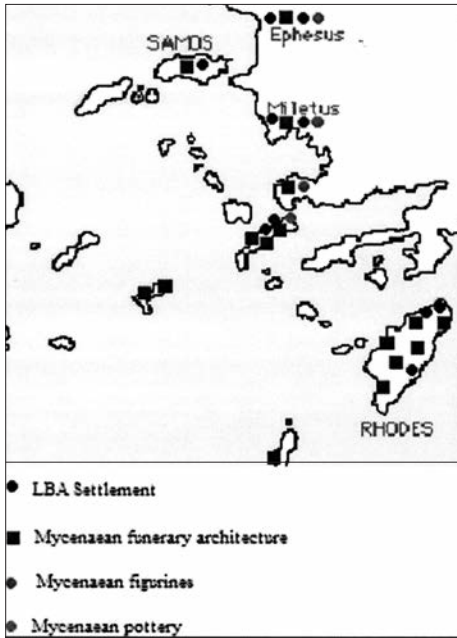


Fig. 5.
Mycenaean features in Miletus.

The archaeological picture at Miletus (Fig. 5)

To the south of Arzawa, Miletus and its surroundings were part of the Mycenaean realm. Known in Hittite texts as Millawanda or (once) as Millawata, Miletus is often seen as the major foothold of Ahhiyawa on Anatolian soil. Indeed, it is considered a *conditio sine qua non* for the attribution of Great Kingship to the lord of Ahhiyawa by Hattušili III (Bryce 2003b, 211). Originally a Minoan colony, Miletus swapped to the Mycenaean side during the LH IIB period, at least in cultural respect (Niemeier 1998, 29-30). It soon became a fully integrated part of the Mycenaean world, and was referred to several times in Linear B texts (Chadwick 1976, 80). While its political status is not clear during the early period, Miletus must have been under the control of the King of Ahhiyawa during LH IIIB1, as becomes clear from the Tawagalawa letter. It may or may not have fallen to the Hittites on later occasion, but it seems that Mycenaean influence, as far as we can conclude from the texts, was most strongly felt in Miletus and its surroundings. The archaeological data support this view. The earliest Mycenaean pottery found at Miletus is dated to LH IIB, the period following the last Minoan settlement at Miletus (Niemeier 1998, 42). Mycenaean presence on the Anatolian shores is thought to have been established in successive waves, the earliest of which is dated by Niemeier (2002, 295) to the second half of the

15th century BC, and seems to have affected mainly the previously Minoan settlements on the isles – such as Rhodes – and the settlement at Miletus. A later wave of colonists is thought to have been initiated by the palatial centres on the mainland, in order to secure trading routes. This second wave, dated in the first half of the 14th century, saw a sudden increase in Mycenaean features – not only decorated pottery, but also architecture and figurines – in western Anatolia. Niemeier interprets this as a sort of “implantation” of a new people: true colonisation in every sense of the word.

Although Niemeier offers no references to substantiate this concept of waves of colonisation, his scenario is attractive. As has been mentioned above, the first Mycenaean involvement in Anatolian affairs, as far as attested in contemporary sources, must be dated around 1400 BC. This falls within the period of increased Mycenaean settlement, Niemeier’s second wave of colonists. The exploits of Attariššija, equated with the legendary Atreus by Niemeier (2002, 296), around this time (Indictment of Madduwatta, in Beckman, 1996, 144 ff.) may relate to Mycenaean attempts to gain a foothold on Anatolian shores. Interesting as the obvious similarity between the Hittite-written name Attariššija and the legendary Atreus may be, there is little to assume that we are dealing with one and the same person here. Still, the first armed encounters with the Mycenaeans must have made some impression in the Hittite mind, as around 1400 BC, someone scratched the figure of what appears to be a Mycenaean warrior, armed with sword while wearing a plumed boar’s tusk helmet, on a vase in the Hittite capital of Hattuša (Bittel, 1976, 9-14). At the time of Attariššija’s clash with a Hittite expeditionary force (Indictment of Madduwatta §12, 60-65), Miletus had strong Mycenaean links in cultural respect, although its political position is unknown. If one is willing to follow Niemeier’s model of successive invasions, then Miletus indeed should be seen as an Ahhiyawan dependency, with settlers sent there by the palace. However, I do not see how this model can be confirmed by archaeology alone – again: cultural dominance is not political dominance – and therefore, we will have to wait for new texts, either Hittite or Linear B, to settle this question.

The LH IIB pottery found at Miletus defines the first period of Mycenaean cultural dominance in Miletus. With it, architectural remains were found that differ from the previous (Minoan) architecture. Instead of trapezoidal ground plans, houses tend to be of a more rectangular outline, with clear Mycenaean parallels (Niemeier 1998, 30), though the walls are not as solidly constructed as the earlier buildings. Despite the sudden appearance of Mycenaean traits, Minoan elements are still present in this second layer at Miletus. Kilns of Minoan type have been found (Niemeier 1998, 31; Mee 1979, 135), and a good portion of the pottery from this period seems to be Minoan rather than Mycenaean. This suggests that the original Minoan inhabitants did not leave their homes with the coming of the Mycenaeans and lived side by side with the newly arrived settlers. There is no evidence for an armed takeover of the centre – a destruction layer in the first layer seems to predate the inception of

LH IIB (Mee 1979, 135).

The pottery at Miletus has been inadequately published and consequently, the ratio Mycenaean and/or Minoan: Anatolian ware is not known. Whereas Ünal states that perhaps only 5% of the pottery is Mycenaean (Ünal 1991, 24 [*non vidi*]) it seems that the amount of Mycenaean ware is in fact much larger, overshadowing the Anatolian material (Niemeier 1998, 33). The theory of Mycenaean dominance therefore needs not to be abandoned, although the need for a thorough analysis of the Late Bronze Age pottery still exists. The end of the second settlement came during the transitional period LH IIIA2 to LH IIIB1, usually dated around 1315 BC (Warren/Hankey 1989, 169). There can be no doubt that, at this time, Miletus was a mycenaeanized settlement, although Minoan pottery occurs till LH IIIA2 (Niemeier 1998, 33; Niemeier 1984, 214). Mycenaean pottery dating to the end of the second settlement has been found in good quantities. Apart from day to day life, ritual activity seems to point to the Mycenaean world too, as a phi-figurine – probably imported from the Argolid – was found in the second layer. Actual Mycenaean settlement at this stage is likely, as is noted by Greaves and Helwing: “Miletos V [the relevant stratum] had an almost completely Mycenaean character” (Greaves/Helwing 2001, 505).

The second settlement did not come to its end in a peaceful manner. Schiering (1959-60, 12-13) mentions a probable “kriegerische Zerstörung”, and although this is not entirely certain, many have attributed the destruction of the second settlement at Miletus to the military exploits of the Hittite commanders Gulla and Maliziti, who are reported to have conquered the centre during the reign of Muršili II (see for example Bryce 1989a, 6-7; Niemeier 1999). After the destruction, a new settlement quickly arose, but this time it was secured with a large defensive wall. The previous settlements seem to have done without this feature, although some military/defensive architecture might be seen in the second settlement (Schiering 1975, 14-15). Although Mycenaean pottery and artefacts are found in abundance in the third settlement, it is possible that the Hittites now had a hold on Miletus. The newly build fortification wall resembles the defences of Hattuša and indeed, Schiering (1979, 80-82; discussion in Mee 1978, 135) identified the remains of a cross-wall of a “Kastenmauer”: typically Hittite military architecture. Despite this, Hittite imports have not yet been found at Miletus or at least not recognized as such (Niemeier, 1998, 38). Whatever the case, in cultural respect Miletus remained Aegean orientated, and Mycenaean pottery from the LH IIIB and C period is found in far larger quantities than was the case in the earlier settlement (Niemeier 1998, 34). Even pictorial decoration is now found at Miletus, such as a (LH IIIC) skyphos with fish decoration, or the well known fragment with the possible depiction of a Hittite royal tiara (see for example Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 204). Nearby chamber tombs, dated LH IIIB to C, indicate Mycenaean funerary customs (Mee 1978, 133). Psi-type figurines as shown in Gödecken (1988, pl. 19f) and LH IIIB-C animal figurines (Niemeier/Niemeier 1997, 217, ill. 31b) indicate Mycenaean religious life, and the scanty remains of domestic architecture

point towards the Aegean rather than Anatolia, too (Niemeier 1998, 35). The Tawagalawa letter indicates that during the reign of Hattušili III (Güterbock 1983, 133-138) Miletus was part of the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa, as has been made plausible above. If the Hittites indeed had a hold on Miletus during the reign of Muršili II, they must have let it slip rather soon.

The archaeological picture at Troy

Troy without doubt is one of the most famous sites in the archaeological world. Its fame is closely related to its tragic fate in legends such as the Iliad. The site of Troy, the Hissarlık, has been excavated as early as 1870 and – with interruptions – the site has been excavated ever since. It goes without saying that the early excavations of Schliemann caused tremendous damage; this is most lucidly illustrated with the “trench” cut through the hill in order to reach early levels. His successors generally adopted a more cautious approach, refining the stratigraphy of the site and re-evaluating the chronology established by Schliemann. It now is established that the settlement known as Troy VI was roughly contemporary with the Late Bronze Age. Sub-phases of Troy VI, most notably VIh, therefore are the most likely candidate for the Homeric city. Excavations indicate that the Troy VIh was a wealthy, well-built citadel during the Late Bronze Age, reaching its apparent pinnacle of power (if we judge its architectural remains) somewhere halfway the 13th century BC. Soon thereafter it met with a setback, by some interpreted as the result of a major earthquake. This setback was indicated by destructions, most significantly the ‘shifting’ of part of the wall. The settlement was not abandoned however, and rebuilt by the same people. Moreover, the walls were strengthened with square towers, though the large estates of the previous period were now rebuilt with much smaller – but more – rooms. This phase, Troy VIIa, has often been seen as an impoverished period; a period of troubles and decline. Recent excavations showed that this is not the case; the constructions of the large towers – previously thought to belong to the VIh phase, are now considered VIIa and testify of the capacity of the centre for major constructions. VIIa met with a fiery destruction somewhere around the end of the 13th century BC, after which an apparently new people, bringing its own pottery which displays some affinities to material from the Balkan, moved in and mingled with what was left of the original, autochthonous population. The VI and VIIa settlements were characterized by a relatively small, but extremely well fortified citadel. Inside, several large houses were found, but due to the levelling of the citadel during Hellenistic and Roman times, most of the centre has been destroyed. It is very likely that somewhere on top, a palace was situated, but nothing of it is left. Recent excavations uncovered parts of what had been expected ever since Dörpfeld’s excavations: a lower town. Korfmann reconstructed a sizable lower town, crowded with houses and fortified by a wall. Some distance from this wall, a ditch would have been constructed as a means against chariot attacks.

This reconstruction of the lower town led Benzi (2002, 344) to consider that, although Homer showed clear knowledge of the Trojan landscape and was acquainted with the Anatolian-Luwian milieu of Troy, the extensive lower town and defensive ditch were unknown to the poet. Both the discrepancies between Homer, Hittite texts and archaeology and the parallels between these sources caused his final remark: "...we still have much to learn about Aegean – Anatolian connections in the Late Bronze Age with, without, and beyond Homer" (Benzi 2002, 385).

Although I cannot but agree with this statement, some additional remarks in favour of more Homeric credibility are fitting. The lower town as proposed by Korfmann (2001, 70, 349) and agreed with in Benzi (2003, 344), has been questioned and recently even been flatly rejected (Hertel/Kolb 2003, 74-76). The scarce remains of houses outside the citadel do not allow for the densely packed lower town of Korfmann. Although I do not follow Hertel and Kolb in suggesting that Troy was scarcely more than a citadel with some surrounding houses, I suggest that the citadel must have been surrounded by several nuclei of houses, much as was the case at many centres in contemporary Greece, in Anatolia and, indeed, in most of the Late Bronze Age world. The alleged fortification wall encircling the lower town in all likelihood never existed (Hertel/Kolb 2003, 81), whereas the defensive ditch more likely was a channel for watering the area and possibly for industrial purposes (Hertel/Kolb 2003, 82). No wonder that this feature was not recalled upon in Homer. In fact, the point that the Trojans do battle outside the city, in the plain, rather suggests that at least part of their city was not protected; otherwise one would expect the defenders to retreat behind their walls. It is worthwhile to remark that in similar instances, those cities that were walled did depend upon their defences (*i.e.* Carchemish against Šuppiliuma, Megiddo against Thutmose III, and Ugarit – recommended by the lord of Alashiya – against the Sea People) when attacked and did not send their warriors out to meet the enemy in the field.

Apart from Homer, it is clear that Troy was well acquainted with Mycenaean, or at least with their culture. This is testified by the amount of Mycenaean pottery at Troy and Beşik Tepe, and the fact that much of this seems of local fabrication. The percentage of Mycenaean pottery of the total corpus is however small: no more than a few percents.

Still, the corpus of Mycenaean pottery at Troy is, as far as I am aware, second only to Miletus, as far as the Anatolian mainland is concerned. The wide variety in shapes at Troy and its harbour Beşik Tepe indicates that there were no specific demands as to the purpose. Goblets and kylikes may have been used in a domestic context and apparently were not seen as particularly rare or valuable. Containers, such as stirrup jars and flasks are present in good quantities. All in all, the ratio open-closed shape is 1:1 (Mee 1978, 146). Normally, closed shapes tend to be more often encountered at sites where the pottery was imported, whereas open shapes represent a majority at Mycenaean settlements. Still, although some Mycenaeans may have been present at Troy, the

low percentage of the Mycenaean ware of the total corpus does not allow for extensive settlement.

I find Mee's proposal for annual Mycenaean fishing expeditions (1978, 148) not unattractive, but I feel there must have been more than fish that lured Mycenaeans to the Troad. In this respect it must be noted that from Hittite texts we know that Lesbos became part of the Mycenaean realm somewhere during the reign of Hattušili III (1267-1237 BC) which points to active Mycenaean interest in the region. Mycenaean or Mycenaean-backed activity at Troy may be alluded to in the Manapa-Tarhunda letter, but the archaeological evidence for this is ambivalent at best. The destruction of Troy VIIh is generally held as a result of a massive earthquake and although some have connected this to the legendary Trojan horse (earthquakes were held as actions of Poseidon; the horse was dedicated to this god), traces of a violent, man-caused destruction are scarce. Some arrowheads have been found, as well as a pile of sling shots. The problem is, however, that these arrowheads are not necessarily of an Aegean type. Moreover, one would expect more visual remains of a war, such as skeletons scattered across the settlement, but this is not the case. Though it is safe to assume that Mycenaeans frequently reached the shores of the Troad, there is little that suggests a more permanent presence. The military exploits of Piyamaradu as delivered in the Tawagalawa letter and the Manapa-Tarhunda letter are not reflected in the archaeological data, although the decrease of Mycenaean pottery during LH IIIb at Troy seems at odds with the increased number of sites yielding Mycenaean pottery in western Anatolia during this period (compare Figs. 2 and 3). On the other hand, the Hittite texts indicate that Piyamaradu's presence in Wilusa was short-lived and therefore would be difficult to pin-point on archaeological grounds. It did, anyway, not mean the end of contacts between Troy and the Mycenaean world, as even during LH IIIc Mycenaean pottery found its way to the citadel on the Hissarlık.

Conclusion: Ahhiyawa, Mycenaeans and western Anatolia

The picture thus evolving from the presented data is as follows: Mycenaean ware, mainly pottery, reached the shores of Anatolia from the early 14th century till well in the 12th century BC. The corresponding pottery styles range from LH II to LH IIIc. LH IIIa2 and B1 material is found most frequently amongst the imports. The majority of sites with Mycenaean material are found in the central-western and south-western regions, with the largest concentrations at Miletus, Müsgebi and in the region of Ephesus. The prominence of Müsgebi and Miletus in this respect is of no surprise, as the overall Mycenaean character of these sites had already been established (Mee 1979, cf. *supra*). As a consequence, it is reasonable to assume that Miletus – and its surroundings – represented the focus of contacts between Anatolia and the Mycenaean world. Hittite texts show that contacts between the Mycenaeans at Miletus and Anatolians were not exclusively commercial or cultural affairs,

but that there was a distinct diplomatic aspect, too. These contacts were not only confined to the Hittite court, as we know of formal relations between the Ahhiyawan court and Madduwatta (1400 BC), Uhhaziti, King of Arzawa (*ca.*1315 BC), Piyamaradu (*ca.* 1250 BC) and Ahhiyawan support to the Arzawan revolt under Tudhaliya IV. Given the widespread distribution of Mycenaean pottery in western Anatolia, it is unlikely that Mycenaean vases ever played a role in the gift exchange between the Ahhiyawan King and Anatolian courts. This stands in contrast to Egypto-Mycenaean relations, where a direct link has been proposed between the import of Mycenaean pottery at El Amarna and diplomatic ties between the Amarna regime and the King of Mycenae (Hankey 1981). It is reasonable to assume that diplomatic contacts between Mycenaeans and Anatolians ran parallel with the Near Eastern practice of gift exchange, but the fact remains that no distinct pattern of distribution of Mycenaean pottery can be shown to relate to the exchange of “šulmu”. It is worthwhile to call into mind Hattušili III’s exclamation that “your messenger did not bring me any greeting gifts”, which indicates that, normally, this would have been the practice.

There may be some correlation between the presence of Mycenaean pottery in the region of Ephesus and historical events that affected the area. It is notable that, while Mycenaean pottery elsewhere usually appears until LH IIIC, with a distinct peak during LH IIIA2 and B1, the pottery corpus at Ephesus is confined to the LH IIIA period. With the possible exception of some LH IIIB pottery at Kolophon, Mycenaean ware seems to have reached Ephesus only during the 14th century BC. During this period, Mycenaean cultural influence on the whole was substantial as is indicated by the presence of Mycenaean figurines, a bronze double axe and, indeed, the variety of the imported pottery. The occurrence of a Mycenaean rhyton and a krater is of interest as it may point towards the diffusion of Mycenaean cult and social (symposium) practices.

With the variety and considerable size (class 3) of the Mycenaean corpus at Ephesus in mind, the limited time span in which the material was imported is even more striking. I already noted that the absence of Mycenaean material in the area after LH IIIA2 could not be explained as a result of the – cultural – demise of Rhodes, as it seems the major focus of Ephesus’ contacts with the Mycenaean world. The figurine-head resembling the ‘Lord of Asine’ demonstrates that Argive material reached the area as well during the 14th century, and could have done so in later years, too. It is plausible to explain the sudden lack of Mycenaean ware after LH IIIA2 with the fall of Apaša to the armies of Muršili II. As far as I can see, the amount and variety of Mycenaean artefacts in the Ephesus area allow for Mycenaean settlement, but on a limited scale. One could think of the disperse of these Mycenaean inhabitants of the Arzawan capital with the advance of the Hittite army of Muršili II, after which anything Mycenaean was out of fashion in the settlement.

It seems that while at Ephesus Ahhiyawan, Arzawan and Hittite clashes had

an effect on the distribution of Mycenaean ware, similar events elsewhere in Anatolia did not affect the rate of Mycenaean imports. In fact, Mycenaean imports reached the shores of Anatolia in equal amounts during LH IIIB1, while only during LH IIIB2 the figures dropped. This is most notable at Miletus, Millawanda in the Hittite texts. Around the time of the fall of Apaša, Miletus met with a violent destruction, by many interpreted as the result of a Hittite punitive raid. This has not been proven, but it is certain that, after the destruction, the settlement was rebuilt and fortified with a Hittite-style wall. Together with the Millawata letter, this seems to point towards at least some Hittite control over the settlement, albeit limited or very short-lived as no Hittite artefacts have been found at Miletus so far. What is clear, from both the archaeological and the historical record, is that Mycenaean influence prevailed. At least during the reign of Hattušili III Millawanda again was firmly under Ahhiyawan control, while Mycenaean pottery was still imported and locally produced – even in larger quantities than before. Chamber tombs and the occurrence of figurines stress the prevalence of Mycenaean cults and burial rites.

At Troy, Mycenaean pottery seems to have been the only Mycenaean element in the local society. Figurines and Mycenaean burials (whether tholoi or chamber-tombs) are absent, although some arrowheads may or may not be of Mycenaean origin. Though the Mycenaean pottery corpus at Troy displays a wide range of shapes, the percentage of Mycenaean pottery in the total pottery corpus at Troy is small. Mycenaean settlement at Troy therefore is unlikely. The absence of Mycenaean objects other than pottery makes it even more implausible. Troy essentially was an Anatolian centre, with an Anatolian material culture. Mycenaean influence may have been a result of annual fishing expeditions as proposed by Mee, but one could equally think of trading contacts due to its position near the Hellespont. As neither hypothesis is supported with clear evidence so far, it is perhaps best to simply attribute the presence of Mycenaean pottery at Troy to the sheer proximity of the site to Mycenaean regions, mainly the islands in the Aegean. As a result of this, it belonged to the East Aegean/West Anatolian Interface and hence, one encounters locally produced Mycenaean pottery. The decline in the number of Mycenaean pottery during LH IIIB might be a result of the instability at 13th century Wilusa as attested in the Hittite texts, but on the other hand, the archaeological record does not indicate a reverse in the material fortunes of the site.

The spread of Mycenaean objects, especially pottery, through western Anatolia thus appears unrelated to political and military exploits in the region. Only at Ephesus the absence of Mycenaean material during LH IIIB can plausibly be associated with Hittite dominance, but here, it is likely that the Mycenaean inhabitants of the centre moved out, along with their goods and the need to import Mycenaean material. Mycenaean goods in Anatolia spread

through gradual and limited diffusion, never going far beyond the sphere of Mycenaean cultural influence and indeed, settlement. Their spread was a result of local exchange and never had a political or specific social connotation.

Site name	II	IIIA1	IIIA2	IIIB1	IIIB2	IIIC	Total*
TROY-HISSARLIK	x	x	x	x	x	x	5
BESIK TEPE			x	x	x	x	2
PITANE						x	2?
ELAIA							1
PANAZTEPE			x	x			3
PHOCAIA					x		2?
ÇERKES				x			1
EGRIKÖY							?
LARISA						x	1
BAYRAKLI			x	x			2
CLAZOMENAE			x	x	x	x	3
REISDERE							1
TORBALI		x	x	x	x	x	3?
EPHESUS		x	x			x	3
SARDIS					x	x	2
GAVURTEPE			x				2
BEYCESULTAN			x	x			1
SARAKÖY							1
MILETUS	x	x	x	x	x	x	5
AKBÜK					x	x	1
IASOS	x	x	x	x	x	x	3
MYLASA	x	x	x				1
STRATONICAEA						x	1
MÜSGEBI			x	x	x	x	4
KNIDOS							1
DUVER				x	x		1
TELMESSOS				x	x		1
DEREKÖY				x	x		1
BEYLERBEY				x			1

* Amount of Mycenaean finds: 1=1-10; 2=10-50; 3=50-100; 4=100-500; 5=500 and more.

Table 1. Sites in Western Anatolia with Mycenaean Pottery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akurgal, E. 1967: Ildırı kazısı (Haberler), *Belleten* 123, 460-461.
- Bammer, A. 1986-7: Ephesos in der Bronzezeit, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 57, Beiblatt, 1-38.
- Bammer, A. 1990: A Peripteros of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus, *Anatolian Studies* 40, 137-160.
- Bammer, A. 1994: Mykene im Artemision von Ephesos, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 63, 28-39.
- Bass, G. 1963: Mycenaean and Protogeometric Tombs in the Halicarnassus Peninsula, *American Journal of Archaeology* 67, 353-361.
- Beckman, G. 1996: *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, Atlanta.
- Belli, P. 1997: Architecture as Craftsmanship: LM III Tholoi and their Builders, in: Laffineur, R./P.P. Betancourt (eds.), *Techne, Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Liège, 251-255.
- Benzi, M. 1988: Mycenaean Pottery later than LH IIIA1 from the Italian excavations at Trianda on Rhodes, in: Dietz, S./I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen.
- Benzi, M. 2002: Anatolia and the eastern Aegean at the Time of the Trojan War, in: Montanari, P./P. Ascheri (eds.), *Omero Tremila Anni Dopo*, Rome, 343-406.
- Birmingham, J. 1964: Surface Finds from various Sites I, *Anatolian Studies* 14, 29-33.
- Bittel, K. 1934: *Prähistorische Forschung in Kleinasien*, Istanbul.
- Bittel, K. 1967: *Kleinasiatische Studien*, Amsterdam.
- Bittel, K. 1976: Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung von Boğazköy, *Revue Archéologique*, 9-14.
- Blegen, C. W./J. Caskey/M. Rawson 1953: *Troy III*, Princeton.
- Boehlau, J./K. Schefold 1942: *Larisa am Hermos III – die Kleinfunde*, Berlin.
- Boysal, Y. 1967: Miskebi kazısı 1963 kısa raporu, *Belleten* 121-122, 67-76.
- Boysal, Y. 1969: *Katalog der Vasen im Museum in Bodrum*, Ankara.
- Brandau, B./H. Schickert/P. Jablonka 2004: *Troja wie es wirklich aussah*, Munich.
- Branigan, K. 1970: *The Tombs of Mesara*, London.
- Brein, F. 1976-7: Zur ephesischen Topographie, *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 51, 65-76.
- Bridges jr., R. A. 1974: The Mycenaean Tholos Tomb at Kolophon, *Hesperia* 43, 264-266.
- Bryce, T. 1989a: The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia, *Historia* 38, 1-21.
- Bryce, T. 1989b: Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans – An Anatolian viewpoint, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8, 297-310.
- Bryce, T. 1998: *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford.
- Bryce, T. 2003a: Relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa in the Last Decades of the Bronze Age, in: Beckman, G./R. Beal/G. McMahon (eds.), *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr.*, Winona Lake, 59-72.
- Bryce, T. 2003b: *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, London.
- Büyükkolancı, M. 2000: Excavations on Ayasuluk Hill in Selçuk/Turkey. A Contribution to the Early History of Ephesus, in: Krinzing, F. (ed.), *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer*, Vienna, 39-43.
- Chadwick, J. 1976: *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge.
- Cline, E. 1994: *Sailing the Wine Dark Sea*, Oxford.
- Cline, E. 1995a: Egyptian and Near Eastern Imports at Late Bronze Age Mycenae, in: Vivian Davies, W./L. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, London, 91-115.
- Cline, E. 1995b: Tinker, Tailor, Soldier: Minoans and Mycenaeans Abroad, in: Laffineur, R./W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia; Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Liège, 265-287.

- Cline, E. 1996: Assuwa and the Achaeans, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 91, 137-151.
- Cline, E. 1997: Achilles in Anatolia, in: Young, G./M.W. Chavalas/R.E. Averbeck (eds.), *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons*, Maryland, 189-207.
- Cohen, R./R. Westbrook (eds.) 2000: *Amarna Diplomacy*, Baltimore.
- Cook, J.M. 1951: Archaeology in Greece, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 72, 92-112.
- Cook, J. M. 1960: Greek Archaeology in Western Asia Minor, *Archaeological Reports*, 27-57.
- Cook, J.M./D.J. Blackman 1971: Archaeology in Western Asia Minor 1965-1970, *Archaeological Reports*, 33-62.
- Desborough, V.R. d'A. 1964: *The last Mycenaeans and their successors*, Oxford.
- Dietz, S./I. Papachristodoulou (eds.). 1988: *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen.
- Dothan, T. 1998: Initial Philistine Settlement: From Migration to Coexistence, in: Gitin, S./A. Mazar/E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, Jerusalem, 148-161.
- Drews, R. 1993: *The End of the Bronze Age*, Princeton.
- Easton, D. 1985: Has the Trojan War been found?, *Antiquity* 59, 188-196.
- Eder, B. 2003: Noch einmal: der homerische Schiffskatalog, in: Ulf, C. (ed.), *Der neue Streit um Troia: eine Bilanz*, München, 287-308.
- Erdemgil, S., e.a. 1989: *Katalog des Ephesos Museum*, Istanbul.
- Erkanal, A. 1989: Panaztepe, 1987/88, *Anatolian Studies* 39, 179.
- Ersoy, Y.E. 1988: Finds from Menemen/Panaztepe in the Manisa Mueum, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83, 55-82.
- Foxhall, L./J.K. Davies (eds.). 1981: *The Trojan War*, Liverpool.
- French, D. H. 1969: Prehistoric Sites in Northwest Anatolia II. The Balikesir and Akhisar/Manisa Areas, *Anatolian Studies* 19, 41-98.
- French, E. B. 1965: Late Helladic IIIA2 Pottery from Mycenae, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 60, 159-202.
- French, E. B. 2005: The Role of Mycenae, in: Laffineur, R./E. Greco (eds.), *Emporia* (Aegeum 25), Liège, 125-127.
- French, E. B./K.A. Wardle (eds.), 1988: *Problems in Greek Prehistory: Papers presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, Bristol.
- Frödin, O./A.W. Persson 1938: *Asine* 1, Copenhagen.
- Furumark, A. 1950: The settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550-1400 BC, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6.
- Gates, C. 1995: The Mycenaeans and their Anatolian Frontier, in: Laffineur, R./W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia; Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Liège, 289-298.
- Gates, M-H. 1994: Archaeology in Turkey, *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, 249-278.
- Gates, M-H. 1996: Archaeology in Turkey, *American Journal of Archaeology* 100, 277-335.
- Gitin, S./A. Mazar/E. Stern (eds.). 1998: *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, Jerusalem.
- Gödecken, K. B. 1988: A Contribution to the Early History of Miletus: the Settlement in Mycenaean Times and its Connections Overseas, in: French, E. B./K.A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory: Papers presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986*, Bristol, 307-318.
- Götze, A. 1968: *Maddiwattas*, Darmstadt.
- Greaves, A.M./B. Helwing 2001: Archaeology in Turkey, *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, 463-511.
- Günel, S. 1999: Vorbericht über die mittel- und spatbronzezeitliche Keramik vom Liman Tepe, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 49, 1999, 41-82.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1983: The Hittites and the Aegean World: Part 1. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered, *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, 133-143.

- Güterbock, H.G. 1984: Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128, 114-122.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1990: Wer war Tawagalawa?, *Orientalia*, Nova Series 59, 157-165.
- Güterbock, H.G. 1992: A New Look at one Ahhiyawa Text, in: Otten, H., e.a. (eds.), *Hittite and other Near Eastern Studies in honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, 235-243.
- Gurney, O.R. 1992: Hittite Geography: Thirty Years on, in: Otten, H., e.a. (eds.), *Hittite and other Near Eastern Studies in honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, 213-221.
- Gurney, O.R. 2002: The Authorship of the Tawagalawas Letter, in: Taracha, P. (ed.), *Silva Anatolica*, Warsaw, 133-141.
- Hägg, R./N. Marinatos (eds.). 1984: *The Minoan Thalassocracy, Myth and Reality*, Stockholm, 205-215.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1948: Archaeology in Homeric Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 52, 135-155.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1979: The ninth Campaign at Sardis, *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, 17-52.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1983: *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times*, Harvard.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A./J.C. Waldbaum 1968: Two Submycenaean Vases and a Tablet, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 72, 51-56.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A./J.C. Waldbaum 1970: New Excavations at Sardis and some Problems of Western Anatolian Archaeology, in: Sanders, J.A (ed.), *Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck; Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, New York, 307-320.
- Hankey, V. 1981: The Aegean Interest in El Amarna, *Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology* 1, 38-49.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1998: "Tarkondemos", Boğazköy sealings and Karabel, *Anatolian Studies* 48, 1-31.
- Heinhold-Krahmer, S. 1977: *Arzawa*, Heidelberg.
- Heinhold-Krahmer, S. 2003: Ahhiyawa - Land der homerischen Achäer im Krieg mit Wilusa?, in: Ulf, C. (ed.), *Der neue Streit um Troia, eine Bilanz*, München, 193-214.
- Hope Simpson, R. 1965: *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites*, London.
- Hope Simpson, R. 2003: The Dodecanese and the Ahhiyawa Question, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 98, 203-237.
- Houwink ten Cate, P.H.J. 1983: Sidelights on the Ahhiyawa Question from Hittite vassal and royal Correspondence, *Jaarberichten Ex Oriente Lux* 28, 33-79.
- Huxley, G.L. 1960: *Achaean and Hittites*, Oxford.
- Iakovidis, S. 1999: Late Helladic Fortifications, in: Laffineur, R. (ed.), *Polemos, le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze*, Liège, 199-203.
- Jaeger, B./R. Krauss 1990: Zwei Skarabäen aus der mykenischen Fundstelle Panaztepe, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 122, 153-156.
- Kelder, J.M. 2002-3: The use and appreciation of Mycenaean Pottery in new kingdom Egypt, *Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 34-35, 9-18.
- Kelder, J.M. 2004: Mykene, Griechenland, Ahhiyawa en de Oriënt, *Phoenix* 50 (3), 121-131.
- Kelder, J.M. 2005: The Chariots of Ahhiyawa, *Dacia* 48-49, 151-160.
- Korfmann, M. 1986: Trojan sixth and seventh settlements, in: Mellink, M.J. (ed.), *Troy and the Trojan War*, Bryn Mawr, 17-28.
- Korfmann, M. 2001a: Wilusa / (W) Ilios ca. 1200 v. Chr. – Ilion ca. 700 v. Chr., in: Theune-Grosskopf, B. (ed.), *Troia, Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt, 64-76.
- Korfmann, M. 2001b: Die Prähistorische Siedlungshügel Hisarlik, in: Theune-Grosskopf, B. (ed.), *Troia, Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt, 347-354.
- Laffineur, R./L. Basch (eds.). 1991: *Thalassa, l'Égée Préhistorique et la Mèr*, Liège.
- Laffineur, R./W.-D. Niemeier (eds.). 1995: *Politeia; Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Liège..

- Laffineur, R./P.P. Betancourt (eds.). 1997: *Techne, Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Liège.
- Laffineur, R. (ed.): *Polemos, le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze*, Liège, 1999.
- Latacz, J. 2001a: Der große Nachbar im Westen: die Griechen, in: Theune-Grosskopf, B. (ed.), *Troia, Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt, 54-57.
- Latacz, J. 2001b: *Troia und Homer*, München.
- Lavisiosa, C. 1972: Iasos 1971, *Anatolian Studies* 22, 43-46.
- Levi, D. 1969-70: Iasos, le campagne di scavo 1969-70, *Annuario* 31-32 (new series), 461-532.
- Lloyd, S./J. Mellaart 1955: Beyesultan Excavations, *Anatolian Studies* 5, 39-92.
- Love, I.C. 1969: Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey: Knidos, 1968, *Anatolian Studies* 19, 16-18.
- Marketou, T. 1988: New Evidence on the Topography of Prehistoric Ialysos, in: Dietz, S./I. Papachristodoulou (eds.), *Archaeology in the Dodecanese*, Copenhagen.
- Mee, C. 1978: Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia, *Anatolian Studies* 28, 121-156.
- Mee, C. 1981: The Mycenaean and Troy, in: Foxhall, L./J.K. Davies (eds.), *The Trojan War*, Liverpool, 45-56.
- Mee, C. 1982: *Rhodes in the Bronze Age*, Warminster.
- Mellaart, J. 1970: The Second Millennium Chronology of Beyesultan, *Anatolian Studies* 20, 55-67.
- Mellink, M.J. 1962: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 66, 71-85.
- Mellink, M.J. 1963: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 67, 173-190.
- Mellink, M.J. 1964: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, 149-166.
- Mellink, M.J. 1967: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 71, 155-174.
- Mellink, M.J. 1968: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 72, 125-147.
- Mellink, M.J. 1969: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, 203-227.
- Mellink, M.J. 1980: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 84, 501-518.
- Mellink, M.J. 1981: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, 463-479.
- Mellink, M.J. 1982: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, 557-576.
- Mellink, M.J. 1983a: The Hittites and the Aegean World, *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, 138-143.
- Mellink, M.J. 1983b: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, 427-442.
- Mellink, M.J. 1984: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, 441-459.
- Mellink, M.J. 1985: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, 547-567.
- Mellink, M.J. (ed.). 1986: *Troy and the Trojan War*, Bryn Mawr.
- Mellink, M.J. 1987: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, 1-30.
- Mellink, M.J. 1988: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, 101-131.
- Mellink, M.J. 1989: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, 105-133.

- Mellink, M.J. 1991: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, 123-153.
- Mellink, M.J. 1992: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 119-150.
- Mellink, M.J. 1993: Archaeology in Asia Minor, *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, 105-133.
- Meriç, R./P.A. Mountjoy 2001: Three Mycenaean Vases from Ionia, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 51, 137-141.
- Mitchell, S. 1999: Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990-98, *Archaeological Reports* 45, 125-191.
- Moeller, G. 1918: Bemalte Tongefäße, *Ambtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen Berlin* 39, Berlin, 217-227.
- Montanari, P./P. Ascheri (eds.). 2002: *Omero Tremila Anni Dopo*, Rome.
- Mommsen, H./E. Lewandowsky/J. Weber/Chr. Podzuweit 1988: Neutron activation analysis of Mycenaean pottery from the Argolid: the search for reference groups, in: Farquhar, R. M./R.G.V. Hamcock/L.A. Pavlish (eds.), *Proceedings of the 26th international Archaeometry Symposium at Toronto*, Toronto, 165-171.
- Mommsen, H./D. Hertel/P.A. Mountjoy 2001: Neutron Activation Analysis of the Pottery from Troy, *Archäologische Anzeiger*, 169-211.
- Moran, W. L. 1987: *Les Lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1983: *Orchomenos V*, Munich.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1997a: Local Mycenaean Pottery at Troia, *Studia Troica* 7, 259-267.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1997b: A Trojan Mycenaean Krater, *Studia Troica* 7, 269-274.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1997c: Troia Phase VI_f and Phase VI_g: the Mycenaean Pottery, *Studia Troica* 7, 275-294.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 1998: The East Aegean- West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age, *Anatolian Studies* 48, 33-67.
- Niemeier, B./W.-D. Niemeier 1997: Milet 1994-1995, *Archäologische Anzeiger*, 189-248.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 1984: The End of the Minoan Thalassocracy, in: Hägg, R./N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy, Myth and Reality*, Stockholm, 205-215.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 1998: The Mycenaean in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origins of the Sea Peoples, in: Gitin, S./A. Mazar/E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition*, Jerusalem, 17-65.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 1999: Mycenaean and Hittites in War in western Asia Minor, in: Laffineur, R. (ed.), *Polemos, le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du bronze*, Liège, 141-156.
- Niemeier, W.-D. 2002: Hattusa und Ahhijawa im Konflikt um Millawanda/Milet, in: Willinghofer, H./U. Hasekamp (eds.), *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich; das Volk der 1000 Götter*, Stuttgart, 294-299.
- Özgül, Ç. 1996: *Mykenische Keramik in Anatolien*, Bonn.
- Page, D. 1959: *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley.
- Rutter, J. B. 2004: http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/history/bronze_age/lessons/les/28.html.
- Quintus of Smyrna. 2004: *The Trojan Epic; Posthomerica*, translated and edited by James, A., Baltimore.
- Schachermeyr, F. 1986: *Mykene und das Hethiterreich*, Vienna.
- Schiering, W. 1959-1960: Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet 1957-I: Südabschnitt, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9-10, 4-30.
- Schiering, W. 1975: Die Minoisch-Mykenische Siedlung in Milet vor dem Bau der Grossen Mauer, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 25, 9-15.
- Schiering, W. 1979: Milet: eine Erweiterung der Grabung östlich des Athena-Tempels, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29, 77-108.

APPENDIX: REFLEXES OF WESTERN ANATOLIAN TOPONYMS IN THE LINEAR B TEXTS

Fred C. Woudhuizen

In the preceding article, Jorrit Kelder presented an overview of the archaeological evidence for Mycenaean penetration into western Asia Minor. The picture which emerges from this overview, namely that radiation of Mycenaean influence is confined to the western fringe of Anatolia, can be sustained by epigraphic evidence from the Linear B tablets.

A good introduction to the activities of the Mycenaean in the east-Aegean according to the Linear B tablets is offered by Victor Parker. This author drew our attention to a number of female ethnica from the Pylos tablets, dated *ca.* 1185 BC, bearing reference to what probably are to be considered deportees from the aforesaid region to whom are assigned menial tasks. The ethnica in question are: *ki-ni-di-ja* /*Knidiai*/, *mi-ra-ti-ja* /*Milātiai*/, *ra-mi-ni-ja* /*Lāmniai*/, *ki-si-wi-ja* /*Ksūiai*/ and *a-swi-ja* /*Asūiai*/, denoting the origin of the female deportees as, respectively, Knidos, Miletos, Lemnos, Khios and Assuwa (Parker 1999, 497). Of these regions, Miletos is further referred to by the male ethnic *mi-ra-ti-jo* “Milesian” as frequently attested for the recently discovered tablets from Thebes¹, Khios by the male ethnic *ki-si-wi-jo* as already recorded for the Knossos tablets, dated *ca.* 1350 BC (Parker 1999, 496), and Assuwa by the female ethnic *a-si-wi-ja* and male ethnic *a-si-wi-jo* as encountered in the tablets from both Pylos and Knossos (Ventris/Chadwick 1973, glossary, *s.v.*). Moreover, Parker cogently argued that the personal names *to-ro* /*Trōs*/ or *to-ro-ja* /*Trōja*/, *pa-pa-ra-ko* /*Paphlagōn*/, *wo-di-jo* /*Urdios*/, *i-mi-ri-jo* /*Imrios*/ and *ru-ki-jo* /*Lukios*/ from both the Pylos and Knossos tablets bear testimony of Mycenaean contacts with Troy, Paphlagonia, Rhodos, Imbros and Lycia (Parker 1999, 496). Finally, Parker rightly noted that the place name *ze-pu₂-ra₃* /*Dzephurai*/ as recorded for the Pylos tablets corresponds to *Zephuriā*, an old name of Halikarnassos preserved by Stephanos of Byzantion, and that the female personal name *ka-pa-ti-ja* /*Karpathiā*/ also from the Pylos tablets indicates contacts with the island of Karpathia (Parker 1999, 498).

This evidence for Mycenaean activities in the east-Aegean according to the Linear B tablets is supplemented by Sarah Morris and Daniel Smit. The first

¹ Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2001; note that the frequent mention of a Milesian in the Theban Linear B tablets strongly underlines Emil Forrer’s identification of Hittite Tawagalawas with Greek Eteokles.

stipulated that the male ethnic *a-pa-si-jo* as recorded for the Pylos tablets refers to a man from *Apaša* “Ephesos” (Morris 2001). The second pointed out that *mi-ra* from the Pylos tablets is likely to be interpreted as a mention of the western Anatolian province Mira and that the form *ma-sa-de* from the Knossos tablets, which is positively identifiable as a geographic name thanks to the suffix *-de* “from”, probably bears reference to the western Anatolian province Masa (Smit 1986-7, 50, note 14).

For a proper understanding of the foregoing references in Linear B to western Anatolian provinces, it deserves our attention that according to the relevant Hittite evidence Assuwa denotes a shortlived coalition of forces from Lycia in the south to Troy in the north, headed by the royal house of Arzawa, which was defeated by Tudḫaliyas I (1430-1400 BC). Nevertheless, the Linear B evidence shows that this geographic name clinched to the region, ultimately to give rise to our continental name Asia. After the defeat of Arzawa by Mursilis II (1321-1295 BC) in his third year, this kingdom was split up into several parts, the nucleus with the old capital Ephesos continuing under the name of Mira. The province of Masa, finally, is for its mention in Linear B likely to be situated along the coast and to be identified with classical Mysia, in between the Troad and Lydia, the Iron Age successor of Late Bronze Age Mira. As a result of this latter identification, the Seḫa river land can only be situated along the lower course of the Meander river, in the hinterland of *Karkiya* or *Karkiša* “Karia” (Woudhuizen 2004, 124-8).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aravantinos, V.L./L. Godart/A. Sacconi 2001: *Thèbes, Fouilles de la Cadmée I, Les Tablettes en linéaire B de le odos Pelopidou, Édition et commentaire*, Pisa/Roma.
- Morris, S.P. 2001: Potnia Aswiya: Anatolian Contributions to Greek Religion, in: Laffineur, R./R. Hägg (eds.), *Potnia Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegeum 22), Liège/Austin, 423-433.
- Parker, V. 1999: Die Aktivitäten der Mykenäer in der Ostägäis im Lichte der Linear B Tafeln, in: Deger-Jalkotzy, S./S. Hiller/O. Panagl (Hrsgs.), *Floerant Studia Mycenaea, Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.-5. Mai 1995*, Wien, 495-502.
- Smit, D.W. 1986-7: Backgrounds to Hittite History, Some historical remarks on the proposed Luwian translations of the Phaistos Disc, *Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 18-19, 49-62.
- Ventris, M./J. Chadwick 1973: *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge (2nd edition).
- Woudhuizen, F.C. 2004: *Luwian Hieroglyphic Monumental Rock and Stone Inscriptions from the Hittite Empire Period* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 116), Innsbruck.

Jorrit M. Kelder
Louise de Colignylaan 8
NL-1623 MD Hoorn
The Netherlands
jorritkelder@gmail.com

Fred C. Woudhuizen
Het Hoekstuk 69
NL-1852 KX Heiloo
The Netherlands
woudhuizen@yahoo.com