

EVIDENCE  
FROM THE AEGEAN, CYPRUS, EGYPT, LEVANT, ASIA MINOR  
AND POSSIBLE DATING OF THE TROJAN WAR (PART II)

Konstantinos Sp. Giannakos

THE LANGUAGE, they gave me,  
Greek; Solitary concern my language  
at Homer's sandy beaches ...

ΤΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ μοῦ ἔδωσαν ἑλληνική•  
Μονάχη ἐγνοία ἡ γλῶσσα μου στίς  
ἄμμουδιές τοῦ Ὀμήρου.

Ὅδυσσέας Ἐλύτης [1979 laureate Nobel prize Literature] 2001: Το Ἄξιον Ἑστί, Αθήνα, 28.

Abstract

*This paper – a quasi Part II of Giannakos 2016 – examines the available – written and material – evidence of the 15th-14th centuries BC unearthed in the areas of the Aegean, Cyprus, Egypt, Levant, Asia Minor in relation to the technological level of Minoans and Mycenaeans at the same period in order to infer a possible dating of Trojan War. The findings are also related to the textual evidence of Linear B tablets from Greece which, combined with the Hittite and Egyptian records, could lead us to define the level of Mycenaean power and influence abroad. Two periods of the Mycenaean Polities are considered: a) the period of prosperity (early LH<sup>1</sup>)-1350/1320 BC, with its apogee during 1450 to 1350 BC and their ability to perform overseas military raids, and b) the period of decline after ca. 1350/1320 BC until 1200 BC, when impoverishment and degradation of power are observed. A subtractive approach is used to determine a minimum 'core of historical events' in the classical sources. References about Mycenaeans in Hittite and Egyptian records are critically evaluated. The archaeological evidence from Mycenaean Palaces, Levant and Cyprus [Late-Cypriot IIA-IIB (in its abbreviated form LC IIA-LC IIB)] are also examined to verify the working hypothesis of the author for an earlier dating of Trojan War during the period of prosperity of the Mycenaean centers. In the last chapter we reconsider the traditional dating of Troy's fall.*

<sup>1</sup> LHI→1600(+)-1500 BC, Shelmerdine 2008, 4-5. Different opinions: Annex 3.

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## Introduction<sup>2</sup>

In Giannakos (2016), the Bronze Age (BA) material evidence on the advanced technological level of Minoans/Mycenaeans was examined for the periods of prosperity in Greece, when Mycenaeans had the ability to perform raids overseas. The ‘Great Powers’, diachronically, use cutting-edge technology to ‘gather riches’, by gaining military supremacy through their superior weaponry. ‘Gathered riches’ result in periods of prosperity and conspicuous consumption, characterized by the erection of great-scale monumental structures, with the use of high-level building-technology and labor-management, and valuable offerings in tombs. Mycenaean technology (summarized in the Annex 1) had already reached and remained at an apogee, during the recorded military raids of the Achaean Attariššiya = Ἀτρείδης/Atreid (more detailed analysis is cited in the ‘*Indictment of Maduwatta*’ below), when Tudḫaliya I/II (1425-1400 BC)<sup>3</sup> reigned in Ḫatti. Giannakos (2016) proposed the working hypothesis for an earlier dating of the Trojan War: it began during Muwattalli I [1425(+) till 1425 BC]<sup>4</sup> and ended around 1400 BC, testified to in the Troy VI/g-layer by extended ‘vigorous

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<sup>2</sup> (+) in a date, as e.g. in 1600(+)-1400 BC, means from a not defined date before 1600 until 1400 BC. (-), e.g. in 1600(-) -1400 BC, means from a not defined date after 1600 until 1400 BC.

<sup>3</sup> Bryce (2005, 121-123) for the numbering of the Kings under the name Tudḫaliya, (2009, 798) for chronologies; [different opinions: Giannakos 2013, 434; Annex 2].

<sup>4</sup> Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 9-10, 18-116: 1470-1465 BC.



Fig.1a. Pylos: Conquest of a City; Hearth.

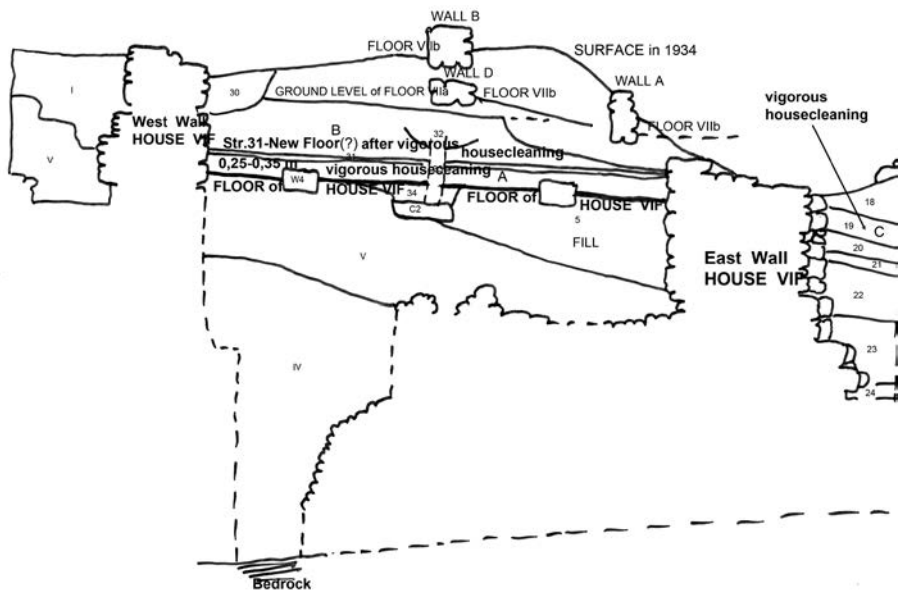


Fig.1b. Troy: vigorous housecleaning, filling and levelling (based on Mountjoy 1997, 278).

housecleaning', namely a noncomplete<sup>5</sup> destruction; life 'continued' after cleaning, filling, levelling and reconstructions, which possibly suggests a change from a pro-Hittite to a pro-Greek dynasty (Fig. 1a: whole pots "caught in-situ" after a conquest<sup>6</sup>; Fig. 1b: "vigorous housecleaning, filling and levelling").

However, treating Homeric Epics as based upon a core of specific events entails controversies. "Opinions divide sharply on the relative contribution of Pre-palatial," pre-1400 BC, "Palatial, Post-palatial, Protogeometric, Geometric, Orientalizing and Archaic periods to the Homeric Epics, while some regard 'attempts to relate mythical material to specific periods of Bronze Age a total waste of time'" (Wiener 2007, 7), quoting Dickinson (2006, 116) who, nevertheless, has "no quarrel with the view that the roots of epic tradition might extend back to the early-Mycenaean period", but does not "believe that we have any myth in anything approaching its original form". On these grounds, archaeological evidence, which constitutes concrete proving material – and the diplomatic texts are in practise historical records –, should be compared to a minimum core of historical events, derived by a subtractive approach to the ancient Greek Literature, in a way that will move the mythical or poetic material away and will "approach the original form" of the Trojan story, sc. besides Plato and Aristotle, Thucydides (454-399/396 BC), the first more or less 'modern' historiographer, also treats the Trojan story as entailing a historical core.

This study aims to demonstrate the presence of a minimal historical core in classical sources, analyzes and combines (a) Hittite and Egyptian records for Mycenaeans, (b) the reasoning for possible identification(s) of the unearthed destruction-layers to a conquest of Troy, (c) the evidence from Aegean and 'beyond-the-sea' (Asia Minor, Egypt, the Levant, LC IIA-LC IIB<sup>7</sup> Cyprus) centers, and attempts an evaluation of the arguments for a dating of the Trojan War both at the apex of Ahhiyawan power (see note 23) and Mycenaean civilization [(early-LH)-(1350/1320 BC)] or at the period of decadence (1350/1320-1200 BC).

### **The Sources – Minimum core of historical events**

The *Iliad* narrates fifty-one days of the tenth year of the Trojan War, while other literature echoes events which (allegedly) occurred during an undisclosed period before the 'Trojan War' (Graves 1978, 2: 148, 137, 160; Kakridis 1986, vols 4-5; Giannakos 2016, 67-69):

Sixty 'warlords'/heroes, 'Argonauts'/'Minyans'/early-Greeks in 'one ship' under 'Jason' from Iolkos, performed one raid ('attack-and-withdrawal').

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<sup>5</sup> Mellink (1986, 100) implies non-complete destruction: "The end [i.e. of Troy] must have been looting and captivity, but not the great blaze ...". [Mellink 1986 can be downloaded (see the bibliography)].

<sup>6</sup> All photos/figures by the author, except Figs. 3 and 13.

<sup>7</sup> Bietak/Höflmayer 2007, 19: LC I-end/LC IIA-beginning→1425/1410 BC. Crewe 2007, ix, 5: LC IIA→1425-1375 BC; LC IIB→1375-1340/1315 BC.

Later, Argolid's forces (in six/eighteen ships)<sup>8</sup>, under Theban 'Heracles', performed another raid, before the Mycenaean colonization of Kos. Both stories were merged into one. The raids resulted in a *de facto* bypass of the dynastic succession-line, after the killings of Troy's king and his sons except his last one ('Podarkes', renamed as 'Priam'), who was enthroned by 'Heracles'.

Two long-lasting campaigns followed (Latacz 2004, 200-201: in a twenty-years period), both with 'Agamemnon' as supreme-commander. In the second campaign, Agamemnon, to whom everybody strictly obeyed (even Achilles, the 'war-machine' of the Achaeen army, for Chrysieis), was head of a hierarchical structure of commanders and led a regular army<sup>9</sup>: under Agamemnon, a second hierarchical level is described consisting of six leaders, "*γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν/the elders, the heads/commanders*<sup>10</sup> of All-Achaeans", to whom Menelaus joined as seventh. Nestor of Pylos and Idomeneus of Knossos were the most preeminent and the head of this hierarchical level, in practice both second-in-command just under Agamemnon: "*Νέστορα μὲν πρότιστα καὶ Ἰδομενεῖα ἄνακτα./First of all both Nestor and king/ἄνακτα Idomeneus*<sup>11</sup>", cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.402-409; note 59 below. Finally, a third/fourth hierarchical level is described in 'the catalogue of Ships' (Hom. *Il.* 2.484-762) which lists names of rulers – in many cases together with the name of each ruler's deputy too – commanding specific military units coming from 28 'states', representing 34 'tribes', together bringing 1186 ships to the war. This war resulted in the conquest of Troy, thereby causing a change from a hostile ('Priamids') to a pro-Greek ('Aeneads') dynasty (cf. Giannakos 2016). Mycenaean Kos (by the 16th century (Niemeier 2003, 103) and independent Euboea (before 1300(+) BC<sup>12</sup>) participated in these campaigns. Mycenaean raids followed against Cyprus, Levant, and Egypt. The 'catalogue of Ships' is the oldest part of the *Iliad* dated at the 13th century BC (Latacz 2004, 248-249: *terminus-ante-quem*; Kirk 1962, 150-156, 223-224; Sandars 2001, 190-191: "it can be treated almost as historical evidence"; Dickinson 1999, 207: "the Catalogue of ships provides a fairly reliable picture of late Mycenaean Greece and as such represents a strong argument in favor of the veracity of Greek oral tradition and the historicity of Trojan War").

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bryce 2012, 477: recorded attacks by seven ships.

<sup>9</sup> And not 'hordes of marauders', see note 73 below.

<sup>10</sup> Translation by the author. Ἀριστεύς, mainly in pluriel ἀριστῆες by Homer, meaning the excellent, the archons, the rulers/commanders (Liddell/Scott 1997, 1:381); ἀριστεύς, genitive -ῆος, pluriel -ῆες, he who is preeminent (for his bravery), the head in general (Montanari 2016, 340).

<sup>11</sup> Translation by the author. Idomeneus is named ἄναξ, as Agamemnon himself and four more other rulers only: Nestor, Menelaus, Philoktetes and Achilles (Giannakos/Τιαννακός 2016, 26, after the use of TLG-site).

<sup>12</sup> Afterwards, Thebes dominated Euboea (Niemeier 1999, 144).

“Literary analysis might well suggest that” the Trojan War “had already been sung, by bards/lyre-players, since 1450(-1050) BC, after the sack of Troy” (Giannakos 2016, 71). Supporting evidence – “from Thebes Av 106.7 [the Tablet from Thebes (as cited in Bennet, 2014, 216, listing male personal names in the nominative, although unfortunately with no heading to give a context”, who cites Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2001, 31-32, 176-178), 1300(+) BC] and Pylos [wall-painting, 1200(+) BC] delineating ‘lyre-player/\*lyrastās’ attested in dual form ru-ra-ta-e/𐀢𐀣𐀶 – infers banquets and dinners with oral performances in Palaces” (Bennet 2014, 216; Palaima 2015b, 20), since the mid-14th century<sup>13</sup>.

### Hittite Records for the land-of-Achaeans/Aḫḫiya(wa)

‘Tudḫaliya I/II’s Annals/Chronicles’ describe two/three to four victorious campaigns (if Tudḫaliya re-installed Kukkullis at Aššuwa and did not retreat[?] towards Hattuša) against the anti-Hittite Arzawa-Lands<sup>14</sup> (Arzawa-‘Minor’, Apkuisa, Seha-River Land, Pariyana, Hapalla, Arinna, Wallarimma, Hattarsa, [Ša]-liya, Limiya) and the Aššuwan-Confederation (twenty-two Lands: first Lukka/Lycia<sup>15</sup>, Dura, Huwallusiya, Halluwa, Karakiša, Kurupiya, ..., ultimately Wilus(iy)a/(w)Ilion/(f)Ἰλιος, Taruisa/Troy/Τροία). The names of their participants, extending from Lycia (or even the Cilician Gates) to Troy, were transformed into classical place-names (Garstang/Gurney 1959, 60, 75-82; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 77-85; Hawkins [1998]: map): Wallarimma→Hyllarimma (Carian), Pariyana→Priene<sup>16</sup>, Arinna→Arīna/Ἐάνθος (Lycian), Dura→Tyrrha, Halluwa→Coloe, Huwalluši-ya→Colosses<sup>17</sup>, Karakiša→Caria, Kurupiya→Coryphe, Smyrne’s mountain, Seha-River→Hermos-River, Hapalla→Cabalide (??)/Termessos (for its situation on the map, Fig. 2: Garstang/Gurney 1959, 79, 97-99: Hittite texts link Hapalla with Lycia and Arinna/Xanthos; Forlanini 1998, 246; Schürr 2016, 100: map), Šajliya at Cilician-Gates, Limiya→Lamos-River (Kizzuwatna’s/Cilicia’s westernmost-border). Almost all these place-names are depicted on map Fig. 2<sup>18</sup>.

The “Aššuwan-Confederation in make-up and geographical extension corresponded strikingly with the Trojan-confederation in the *Iliad*<sup>19</sup>” (Albright 1950, 169), comprising twenty-two Lands reversely: first Troy, last Lycia (cf. Fig. 2).

<sup>13</sup> Janko 2003, 15, 8-19: “deep into BA” (personal communication 10.06.2016).” I proposed” (in Janko *forthcoming*) “a similar chronology for the War” as Giannakos (2016), “using different arguments”. The symbol (\*) in the beginning of a word (or syllabic) in Linear B characterizes a reconstructed unattested form (cf. Melena 2024, 173), i.e. the accusative \*lyrastās is unattested, since the dual form (ru-ra-ta-e) of the same word is attested.

<sup>14</sup> Capital A(m)pasa/Ephesus.

<sup>15</sup> Freu/Mazoyer (2007, vol.2, 80); Bryce (2005, 54): Lukka = Pamphylia, Lycaonia, Pisidia and Lycia. Garstang/Gurney (1959, 106), Huxley (1965, 33): [Ardu]-gga.

<sup>16</sup> Priene=Πριήνη=Πριῶνα=Πριανός (Huxley 1965, 32).

<sup>17</sup> Last three: Lydian, Aššuwa’s evolution.

<sup>18</sup> Based on Bryce 2009, 2005, 2003a; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011; Hoffner 2009. *Contra* Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3.

<sup>19</sup> Giannakos 2016, 67: Hom. *Il.* quotations.





Two inscriptions document also Tudḫaliya's victory over "Tarwiza/Troy" [silver bowl, Karchemis(?)] and "Aššuwa-Country" (Ḫattuša's Aegean-type sword) [Giannakos 2012, 17-19].

'*Indictment of Maduwatta*' includes (AHT3<sup>20</sup>, 69) "several direct quotations of Tudḫaliya's (I/II) earlier documents", which [quotations] were "carelessly edited" (*l.c.*), since Tudḫaliya refers to himself in three ways as 'the father of either My or His Majesty' and 'My Majesty'; however, if Tudḫaliya mentions – in fact – Tudḫaliya's father [Kantuzzili (Bryce 2005, 114-115, 121-122)<sup>21</sup>; Ḫattušili II/PU-Šarruma (1440-1425 BC) [Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 74-75]<sup>22</sup>], then Attariššiya operates earlier than it is believed.

### Who was Attariššiya?

Attariššiya was LÚ<sup>URU</sup> of Aḫḫiya(wa)<sup>23</sup>. LÚ<sup>URU</sup> "means literally man, but it clearly refers to a leader or ruler of some kind, a lesser ruler of Aḫḫiya, not been viewed as Great King" (Güterbock 1997b, 207. Cf. Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 71, 97-98: "he might not have been viewed as a king, ... he was very likely a Mycenaean of high status", 225; Beckman 1999, 153-154: "a ruler of Aḫḫiya")<sup>24</sup>. Giannakos (2016, 63), based on a Linear B phonetical analysis, concluded that the patronymic genitive of Linear B ἡΥΥῚ Atere(σ)ijo/Atere(h)ijo/the Atreid/'son-of-Atreus', sounds very close to Attariššiya. Duhoux (2008, 355) quite clearly ascertains: "endings in '-i-jo/-i-ja', with '-i-/i' aspirate preceded by h/σ<sup>25</sup>", namely *i* sounded as '*hi/χi*' or '*si/σι*', "designated 'to belong', were used as patronymic-endings and meant '\*sujus/\*hujus/υῖός-rov/son-of-', that is they were used as a possessive genitive, e.g. A-te-re-(σ)i-jo = son 'of-Atreus' = Atreid (also Ruijgh 2011, 283; cf. Melena 2014, 94-96, note 126: "a-re-i-jo sounded Ares-jas, meaning Ἀρεῖος", namely 'of-Ares'; also Lejeune 1982, §76, 80, 85; Palaima 2015b, 25).

On the contrary, according to Bryce (2005, 368, 491, note 47) "it is possible that Attariššiya was the Hittite way of writing the Greek name Atreus", citing also Güterbock's (1997b, 119) comment that "while the name sounds Greek it is hardly to be Atreus".

<sup>20</sup> Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011 classification.

<sup>21</sup> Muwattalli I's 'Overseer of Golden-Chariot-Fighters', Kantuzzili, who assassinated Muwattalli, enthroned Tudḫaliya I/II and was appointed Tudḫaliya's general. Carruba (1986, 552, referring also to S. Laroche and Bin-Nun [S. Laroche, *Ugaritica* III 120; NH Nr. 1472; Bin-Nun, *THeth.* 5, 163f.]) believes: Kantuzzili could have adopted Ḫattušili (II) as throne-name (co-regency with Tudḫaliya I/II).

<sup>22</sup> Tudḫaliya I (1465-1440 BC), enthroned by Kantuzzili, and Ḫattušili II [very weak King, like Tudḫaliya III (1370-1350 BC)] were confronted with unrest, enemies (southeastwards) and Kizzuwatna's/Cilicia's defection; Tudḫaliya II (1425-1390 BC) attacked Aššuwa/Arzawa.

<sup>23</sup> Nagy (2015): Akhaiā=Ἀχαιά='epithet-of-Demeter'=Achaean-realm, Aḫḫiya(wa) = Achaia-Land/Ἀχαια.

<sup>24</sup> Bryce 2005, 129-130: "not officially-recognized King"; Gurney 1990, 21: "chieftain" (for, the term chief(tain)/chiefdom see below, Mycenaean palaces); Niemeier 1999, 149: "aristocrat"; Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 122: "prince"; Macqueen 1986, 45: "Aḫḫiyawa's king".

<sup>25</sup> Intervocalic: -hioç/-cioç/-ēhioç/-ēcioç; transformations: s>h, h>s; '>'=h>[transformation]>s.



In fact, Atreus/Ἀτρεὺς or Atreïs/Ἀτρεΐς<sup>26</sup> is derived from a pre-Hellenic stem *a-te-re/a-ti-ri* that was read in Linear B tablets: *a-ti-ri-ja*=Ἀτρίᾱ (PY Ae27) and *a-te-re-wi-ja*=Ἀτρηϊᾱ (PY Aa779; An830,6; Cn40,14; Ma335,1) (Giannakos 2016, 62). “Mycenaean language presents exclusively the ending *-εύς* in nominative of singular in the case of the word-stems in *-ήϝ-*”, “certain loan-words, from pre-Hellenic speaking people, present some special problems” (Ruijgh 1967, §148, note 393, §154, §15, §67). In the case of the word Ares (from a pre-Hellenic loan-stem *\*a-rē/ῥῥ*), the epic inflection is based in three different stems: Ἀρη- (e.g. accusative Ἀρην), Ἀρε(σ)- (e.g. vocative Ἀρες) and Ἀρη(φ)- (e.g. genitive Ἀρη(φ)ος, with the stem Ἀρεσ-/Ἀρεϥ- been used probably in the genitive in the (proto-) Mycenaean language, at 1600-1450 BC (Ruijgh 1967, §67; 2011, 283, note 33, 262)). In the genitive there is a double aspirate: σ (from the stem Ἀρεσ)+ι (from the ending *-i-jo*): *a-re-i-jo* = Ἀρεσ-σι-jo = of-Ares, Ἀρεῖος, του Ἀρεως, Ares(σι)-jas (cf. Giannakos 2016, 61-2, note 32; Ruijgh 1967, §67; Melena 2014, 96: it sounded Ares-jas). If the affix *-te-* is added in the pre-Hellenic stem *a-re*, then the pre-Hellenic stem *a-te-re/ῥῥῥ* of the name Atreus/Ἀτρεὺς, earlier than the proto-Mycenaean, will result as well; its possessive/patronymic genitive is Ἀτερέσ-σι-jo, ‘of-Atreus’. \*Ἀτρη(φ) = *\*a-te-re-wi/\*a-ta-ra-wi* (as described in Giannakos 2016, 63, §1) is later genitive (of Epic inflection) and not proto-Mycenaean. The Lesbian nominative Ἀρεὺς (*\*a-re-u?*) has been attested (Ruijgh 1967, §67). Consequently, Ἀτρεὺς/Atreus should be written, in nominative, as *a-te-re/\*a-te-re-u/\*a-ti-ri-u*, like *a-re* (Hiller 2011, 181: besides the dative it is also the nominative of a man’s/god’s name), *\*a-re-u(?)* and the attested *a-ki-re-u*=Ἀχιλλεύς (KN Vc106, Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 415), which also forms its genitive as Ἀχιλλέως (*Ἀτρεῆϝος/Ἀτρεῖος/Ἀτρέως*=of-Atreus is the genitive of Atreus in Mycenaean language (see note 26) which sounded Ἀτερέσ-σι-jo). The double aspirates, *-σ-* in the stem *a-te-re(σ)-* and *i* in the genitive’s ending *-i-jo-*, do not sound in the nominative Atreus, since either there is no ending or there is only a *-u*-ending which follows the stem in *\*a-te-re-u/\*a-ti-ri-u*. The most probable transliteration of Atreus in Hittite<sup>28</sup> could be Attari(-u) or Attari-as (if the Hittite ending *-a(s)-* was used) but not *Attari-šši-ya*, which sounds a double heavily aspirate *-šši-* plus a *-y(i)-* rendering *-jo* of *-i-jo*, with both sounds missing from *\*a-te-re(-u)*. They exist though in the genitive *\*A-te-re(s)-σί-jo/son-of-Atreus/Atreid*, which is a patronym “expected only for the first rank heroes in Iliad, as Ἀτρεΐδης” (Ruijgh 2011, 288: he refers also, “Achilles Πηλεΐδης, Diomedes Τυδείδης, Hektor Πριαμίδης”). Consequently, Attarišši-ya could not transliterate Atreus and most likely it rendered the ‘son-of-Atreus’/Atreid.

An example: almost all the scholars accept that the Hittite name Tawagalawa transliterates the name *e-te-wo-ke-re-we*/Ἐτεφοκλέφεϝς/Ἐτεοκλήϝς/Eteokles. In Linear B,

<sup>26</sup> Liddell/Scott 1997, 431, “with accusative Ἀτρέα instead of Ἀτρεά”.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Ruijgh 2011, 286.

<sup>28</sup> As the Hittites “pronounced what they thought that they heard” (Palaima 2007, 202; Latacz 2004, 99).

the patronymic genitive (or adjective) ‘of-Eteokles’ has been read (PY An 654,8-9, Sn 64,15): *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*= *Ἐτεφοκλεφεῖος* (Ruijgh 1967, § 177). Besides Eteokles, how would Hittites transliterate the patronymic ‘of-Eteokles’? Probably Tawagalawa-ši-ya with one aspirate sound *i=σi* since *e-te-wo-ke-re-we* did not sound an s-sound at the end of the stem *Ἐτεφοκλεφε* and only one aspirate *i* existed in *-i-jo*; in any case Tawagalawa and Tawagalawa-ši-ya (even with -šš-, if the stem had an s-sound) are quite distinct in pronunciation as both should be transliterated from the Mycenaean language; the same should happen for Atreus and Atreid.

### The ‘Indictment’ in summary

Attariššiya attacked Asia Minor, he expelled Madduwatta from his land and chased Madduwatta [Arzawan (Hawkins 1998, 10)] to kill him. The Hittite King protected Madduwatta, (re)installed him as a vassal-ruler in Mount-Zippasla (retreating [again(?)] towards Ḫattuša), appointed him “partisan of Ḫatti” – against Attariššiya’s zone-of-control (?) – and prohibited any contact with the two “enemies of Ḫatti”, Attariššiya and Kupata-Kurunta<sup>29</sup>. Was Kupanta-Kurunta Attariššiya’s ally? Afterwards, Madduwatta began hostilities against Arzawa, the kingdom of Kupanta-Kurunta, and in response Kupanta-Kurunta attacked victoriously against Madduwatta, but Ḫatti’s troops returned and repulsed him. His ally(?) Atreid/Attariššiya counter-attacked with 100 chariots, deep in southwestern Asia Minor, to eliminate Madduwatta, who was rescued again by Ḫatti’s troops; “one officer’s death of each side in combat somehow recalls Homeric battles” (Güterbock 1997a, 200). Then, “Attariššiya went-off to his own Land”. Madduwatta began playing on two sides, misguiding the Hittite King, who accused Madduwatta of providing misleading information, which led to the Hittite general Kisnapili’s death. Subsequently, after a dynastic marriage/alliance, Kupanta-Kurunta and Madduwatta (misleading again the Hittite King with deceitful messages) were plotting against Ḫatti; this infers that Attariššiya’s activities/threats forced Madduwatta to change sides as regards vassalage and/or ‘alliance’. Attariššiya had performed repeated raids against Alašiya/Cyprus, from the coast of Lukka-Lands/Lycia<sup>30</sup>, accompanied by the Piggaya-ruler<sup>31</sup>, Lukka/Lycians, Madduwatta, but without Kupanta-Kurunta. The Achaean Attariššiya

<sup>29</sup> *AHT* 22, 225, 271: both Attariššiya and Kupata-Kurunta were considered as the “enemies of Ḫatti”; Kupanta-Kurunta is also referred to as “enemy of Ḫatti” in the prohibition of any contact imposed on Madduwatta in the ‘Indictment’ (but not Attariššiya) since “Attariššiya is the enemy ruler of Aḫhiya) and Kupanta-Kurunta of Arzawa”.

<sup>30</sup> Dalawa/Talawa=Tiōs/Tlawa, Hinduwa=Kandyba are Lycian (Fig.2); “since Kisnapili, who had just fought Attariššiya, turns against T/Dalawa, this suggests that Attariššiya operated also in Lycia” (Güterbock 1997a, 200; Bryce 2005, 41, 135, 348).

<sup>31</sup> “Ruler of Piggaya” (*AHT* 3, p.95); “we do not know who the ‘man of Piggaya’ is” (Güterbock 1997, 200).

was raiding Alašiya during 1450-1430<sup>32</sup>/1425-1400(-)<sup>33</sup> BC, undoubtedly, to establish bridgeheads for access to resources, to get commodities and to take captives. Hence, it can be inferred that Attariššiya installed local-rulers/representatives/‘allies’ in Cyprus (like Madduwatta, Piyamaradu, Atpa). The Hittite King was forced to tolerate Attariššiya’s aggression, unable to prevent it (“Attarišši-ya.... are/is independent”), but tried to reverse his renegade-ruler’s long-standing apostasy and gain a share of Alašiyān captives.

“Such raids”, on Alašiya, “would be entirely consistent with Homeric Epics ... and may well account for much of the wealth accumulated in the Mycenaean palace-centers” (AHT, 99). “We could believe that here we listen to an echo of the events that constitute the prelude of the Trojan War”; “Mycenaeans had been installed at Millawanda, by 1430 BC (LH IIB), obliging Tudḫaliya to react militarily against Arzawa and Aššuwa” (Aššuwa comprised (F)Ilion/Wilusa, Taruisa/Troy) [Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 105, 14-15] and reverse Wilusa’s defection (CTH 76; see below).

*StBoT*45:671-672: Tarḫundaradus/Tarḫunna-radu (1384/1360-1360/1336 BC)<sup>34</sup>, Arzawa’s king descendant of Kupanta-Kurunta, was forming “anti-Hittite alliance(s), at Ḫappuriya, situated” in a region including Arzawa and Aššuwa “at 1360-1344 BC” (Hoffner 2009, 255-257). Tarḫundaradus had entered into a marriage-alliance with Amenhotep III, whose eleven ‘unique’ faience-plaques were unearthed only in Mycenae (palace, cult-center) outside Egypt (see Giannakos 2012, 59-62). Were Tarḫunradus, Amenhotep and Mycenae’s King allies? Anyhow, ‘anti-Hittite alliances’ were *de facto* pro-Aḫḫiyawan. Yet, it could be feasible that ‘anti-Hittite alliances’ were equally ‘anti-Aḫḫiyawan’, but pro something else; even then, they could be, though, and were always, beneficial for the Aḫḫiyawans: “it is clear that the Mycenaean *were present* on the western coast of Anatolia *by the late-15th/early-14th century BCE* and interacting diplomatically with the Assuwans and, quite likely, the Hittites as well” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 270); but did they interact only diplomatically? Since the Mycenaean were interacting with both – hostile among each other – States, this implies a ‘power-game’ in the region during which the Aḫḫiyawan King, who was considered also as “enemy of Ḫatti” by the reign of Tudḫaliya I/II (cf. AHT 22 line 25, 225) until Mursili II (1321/1318-1295 BC) and later, profited *de facto* from any anti-Hittite alliance: ‘the enemy of my enemy is my ally’. An ‘eclectic affinity’ between Aḫḫiyawans and Asia Minor’s rulers appears in the Hittite texts since Madduwatta and Kupanta-Kurunta till Piyamaradu, Atpa etc., as it is analyzed below.

<sup>32</sup> Güterbock 1997a, 200; Mellink 1983, 139; Cline 1996, 138; Kelder 2010, 25.

<sup>33</sup> Bryce (note 2 above); Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 77-85.

<sup>34</sup> Amarna: Amenhotep III’s 30th-year-Tutankhamun’s 1st-year (Moran 1992, xxxiv). Egyptian chronologies: bibliography (Giannakos 2013, 435; Annex 2).

CTH 76, ‘*Alaksandu* (Wilusa’s ruler) *Treaty*’ (Beckman 1999), with Muwattalli II (1295-1272/1271 BC), records the history of relations between Hatti-Wilusa, since Labarna/Hattušili I (1650-1625 BC), who “conquered Arzawa and Wilusa. Thereafter, Arzawa began war and Wilusa defected<sup>35</sup> from Hatti”, but Muwattalli “does not” want to(?) “know from which King, because the matter is long past”(I); “when Tudḫaliya (I/II) came against Arzawa, he did not enter [Wilusa. It was] at peace [with him] and regularly sent [him messengers]; when my grandfather Suppiluliuma” (1350-1322 BC) “came and [attacked Arzawa], Kukkuni, king of [Wilusa, was at peace] with him; he”, Kukkuni, “did not come against him, [but regularly sent] messengers [to Suppiluliuma]”; “when my father died” (Mursili II, 1321/1318-1295 BC) “I seated [on the throne]. [And] you indeed protected [me as overlord]”. This official text enforced (CTH 191, see below) by Hatti to Wilusa/Ilion, does not record any relations between Hatti-Wilusa, during the one-and-only period of “Wilusa’s defection from Hatti”, which lasted for the duration of the reigns of several Kings; who downgraded Wilusa to the status of a vassal-state formally. Suppiluliuma awaited that Kukkuni would attack him, but Kukkuni changed attitude. The era, 1384/1360-1360/1336 BC (*StBoT*45, 671-672) and before (Attariššiya’s era), when Arzawa and Aššuwa [comprising Troy] had been anti-Hittite (*de facto* pro-Aḫḫiyawan), was already past.

Muwattalli I/Mutalli/Motylos (?) (Giannakos 2016, 69-70), of Hurrian origin, murdered King Huzziya II, interrupted the bloodline of the ruling royal family and usurped the throne. Kantuzzili and Himuli, probably Huzziya’s sons, assassinated Muwattalli and enthroned Tudḫaliya, Kantuzzili’s son<sup>36</sup>. During his early-reign, Tudḫaliya fought against revolted forces under Muwattalli I’s son supported by Hurrians (southeastwards) and retreated before Attariššiya<sup>37</sup>. He won, secured his throne and late in his reign before his end<sup>38</sup>, campaigned against Arzawa/Aššuwa, most likely after Attariššiya’s departure/νόστος. All succeeding Kings were Tudḫaliya’s descendants. These facts likely explain the selective ‘amnesia’ of Muwattalli II, as erasing his namesake’s name<sup>39</sup>, whose activities probably led to Greek involvement, worsening “Wilusa’s defection” (Giannakos 2016, 69-70).

<sup>35</sup> Freu/Mazoyer/Fontanille 2007, vol.1, 76, 127: Arzawa defected during Ammuna’s reign (1570-1550 BC); De Martino 1999, 76; Chavalas 2006, 231; Shelestin 2014, 814-815; Bryce 2005, 102-103; Archi 2003, 10-11. Note 21: Cilicia’s defection.

<sup>36</sup> Bryce 2005, 424, note 7: Restoring Old Kingdom’s dynasty, quoting Freu, ‘new dynasty; Tudḫaliya I’.

<sup>37</sup> Tudḫaliya mentions “My/His father”, during Attariššiya’s early-activities; did ‘weak’ Hattušili II (note 22) or Tudḫaliya’s coregent Kantuzzili/ Hattušili (note 21) ‘retreat’?

<sup>38</sup> Arnuwanda I [1400-1400(-)/1370 BC] continued the ‘Indictment’.

<sup>39</sup> Like Akhenaten (1377/1349-1360/1336 BC). Carruba (1986), 541-542: Muwattalli I/ Mutalli had been omitted in many Hittite King-Lists. Beckman 2000, 20, note 13: his ‘*damnatio memoriae*’= “condemnation of his memory”, phrase for a person excluded from official accounts, in many ways, e.g. the destruction of his depictions, the removal of his name from inscriptions and documents, and even large-scale rewritings of history (wikipedia).

In 1318/1316 BC, Mursili II conquered Millawanda/Miletus<sup>40</sup>, without any military reaction from Ahhiyawa<sup>41</sup>; in post-1351/1327 BC Egypt, T/Danaja disappeared from records<sup>42</sup>. “Once Ahhiyawa had been tamed, the Hittites did not even mention Ahhiyawa in the ‘Alaksandu Treaty’ [1280(?) BC], even though Wilusa was close to the Mycenaean ‘sphere-of-influence’” (Bryce 1989, 302; 2005, 224; Kelder 2010, 27).

*AHT 20.* Mursili became ill and both “gods of Ahhiyawa and Lazpa/Lesbos were summoned”<sup>43</sup>, “Mycenaeans realized”, forcibly, “that they should establish friendly relations with Hittites” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 48, 272). Suppiluliuma’s Queen Henti<sup>44</sup>, Mursili’s mother, “was dispatched/banished to Ahhiyawa”. Was she an Ahhiyawan princess (a marriage-alliance justifying the “summoning of Ahhiyawan gods for her son Mursili II”) and was she sent back to her father’s home (not to ‘anyplace’)<sup>45</sup>, “due to Suppiluliuma’s new marriage-alliance with a Babylonian princess”<sup>46</sup>? Such a marriage-alliance and Kukkuni’s change of attitude suggest a weakening of Ahhiyawa by the time of Suppiluliuma’s late-reign.

<sup>40</sup> Ahhiyawa’s bridgehead. Latacz 2004, 284-285.

<sup>41</sup> Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 47-48: “there is no indication that his ally” the Ahhiyawan King “gave him”, the Arzawan king Uhha-ziti – Ahhiyawa’s ally – who was facing Mursili’s attack, “*more than moral support* in the conflict that followed”; “the capture of the” Uhha-ziti’s “city appear to have marked the end of Arzawan hostilities against Hatti for the rest of Mursili’s reign (cf. Bryce 2005, 197)” at 1295 BC. “Ahhiyawa sought to expand its influence and control in western Anatolia through alliances with local rulers, often at the expense of ties which these rulers had with Hatti, *rather than by direct military action* (cf. Kelder 2010, 27, note 74: “Ahhiyawa was tamed”))” on Asia Minor’s land, since no such action has been recorded in the archives (see below in the present article). Furthermore, “the Ahhiyawan King” was obliged obviously due to its military weakness to “deliver Piyama-Kurunta (Uhha-ziti’s son) along with a number of other Arzawans who had fled with him to Ahhiyawan territory, into Hittite delegation’s custody sent by Mursili II to the Ahhiyawan King by ship” for that purpose (cf. also Bryce 2005, 195); besides Ahhiyawa’s weakness, did a probable familial relation due to Queen Henti, consist an additional also motive for the Ahhiyawan King? (See note 44).

<sup>42</sup> After Tutankhamun (1360/1336-1351/1327 BC): Wachsmann 1987, 125. Cline (2009, 37-41, 113-116; Strange 1980, 27-32, with references; Givon 1971, 17): “Ramses II’s references” (1304/1279-1237/1213 BC) “to the Aegean were usurped/copied from earlier lists”; (2007, 198): “the lack of new lists reflects continuing trade” but “the nationality of sailors/merchants had changed”.

<sup>43</sup> 1310 BC: *terminus-post-quem* (AHT 20, 209).

<sup>44</sup> Huxley (1965, 5-6), Cline (2009, 122), Carruba (1986, 554); AHT 12, p.161: probably; alternative hypotheses.

<sup>45</sup> Another queen’s return/banishment to her homeland: Bryce 2005, 311.

<sup>46</sup> Bryce 2005, 159-160 notes 23-24, 145-163: Malnigal=Tawanana, “marriage with Malnigal took place ca. 1331 BC due to Hatti’s plans to attack Mitanni, Akhenaten’s ally (cf. Giannakos 2016, 58-59). When Suppiluliuma – during his father’s (Tudhaliya III) reign – attacked Arzawa to reassert Hittite authority, was Henti an earlier ‘bride-of-alliance’? Was she Achaean(h)Evōnīc? (Pi.N. 5:12) or (h)‘Evrη? (*Epim.Hom.phi*:13-14 [Dyck 1983-1995]). In Linear B were read *e-te-wa(-ja)* (Ventris/Chadwick (1956, 146, KN): woman’s name; Ruijgh (1967, 228): Cretan Ἐτίς/Ἡτιά, *e-ti-wa* (Hiller 2011, 187; Chadwick (1988, 197): Minoan deity, hero(-ine)/semi-god(dess); Bernabe/Lujan (2008, 228): spice henna/*he(r)tis*). In Linear B *r*; *n* were not written (Ruijgh 1967, 24-25, 2nd paragraph of §4) but sounded before *t*: *he(n)tis/ē(v)ti* maybe? transliterated in the Hittite personal name ‘Henti’. Freu/Mazoyer 2007, vol.2, 210; 2008, vol.3, 62.

*AHT* 9, 152. Mursili II or Ḫattušili III (1267/1265-1240/1237 BC) addresses the Aḫḫiyawan King with the phrase “we the brothers”:

either Mursili dictates “the surrender to Hittite custody of Arzawans, who had sought refuge in”, their ally, “Aḫḫiyawa”, after their revolt, or Ḫattušili asks/dictates “the extradition of”, Aḫḫiyawa’s representative/agent, “Piyamaradu and the repatriation of Hittite subjects”.

The Hittite King, while forcing the Aḫḫiyawan King, ‘flattered him’ in return (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 152; Latacz 2004, 123-124). Did it happen that Mursili/ Ḫattušili wrote to a relative of his mother/grand-mother – Queen Henti – mentioning an existing familial relation?

*CTH* 191, ‘*Manapa-Tarḫunda Letter*’ (Muwattalli II) mentions troubles in Wilusa, probably by Piyamaradu<sup>47</sup>, a renegade Hittite subject, Aḫḫiyawa’s agent/representative. He may have occupied Wilusa, inflicted a humiliating defeat over the Hittite-vassal Manapa-Tarḫunta<sup>48</sup> of Seha-River-land, and set up Atpa of Milla-wanda, his son-in-law, Aḫḫiyawa’s local-representative, above Manapa-Tarḫunda, expanding Aḫḫiyawa’s zone of influence (see Bryce 2006, 110; Hoffner 2009, 293-294). The Hittites dispatched troops, attacked, “reasserted Hittite authority over Seha-River[-land] and Wilusa”, and forced Alaksandu (now downgraded to vassal-ruler) to sign the Treaty (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 144).

*KUB* 26.91/*CTH* 183, a letter from an Aḫḫiyawan to a Hittite King (Muwattalli II), or the opposite, records a King ‘(A)-ka-ga-mu-na-aš’<sup>49</sup>, before or during Tudḫaliya I/II’s reign (Giannakos 2016, 69-70). A small gap makes its [the letter’s] reading uncertain: “A-BA-A-BA-A-B[I-YA?...]= my great-grandfather”, Aḫḫiyawan (Hoffner 2009, 291-292; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 105); “A-BA-A-BA-A-B[I-ŠU?...]= his great-grandfather”, Aššuwān (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 138, note 102).

Starke supposed a change g>t>d: “Starke’s forcible reading Kagamunas→\*Kat-amun=as→Kadmōs is not accepted” (Watkins 2008, 135), “by Melchert too. ‘Kagamuna is probably Luwian but if it is to be equated with a Greek name, a better equation, if still highly conjectural, is Agamemnon’ (Janko; Melchert: ‘less plausible’)” [Wiener 2007, 17, note 13].

Proper names sound differently in different languages: London, Londen, Londres, Λονδίνο, Lontoo, Luân-Đôn, Lodra, Londýn/dyn (www.collinsdictionary.com); Janko’s suggestion led the author to investigate how Agamemnon would sound in Linear B: 𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀏𐀚/A-\*gja-mě-mo-no or \*A-ka-mě-mo-no/A-ka/ya-memo-no/𐀀𐀃𐀆𐀏𐀚 (Giannakos 2013, 429; 2016, 57).

Tom Palaima supports his view [personal communication, 12-16.08 2016; (2015b, 24)]: Agamemnon, presenting a stem \*men/μένω/stay, means ‘stand fast in battle’.

<sup>47</sup> The Arzawan king’s grand-son: Latacz 2004, 124; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 116.

<sup>48</sup> Rebel at Mursili’s early-reign (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 143).

<sup>49</sup> Sommer 1932, 268-274; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 105. “Kagamuna(-aš)”: Hoffner 2009, 292, *AHT* 6, 135 § 3 line 8.



Lejeune (1987, §153; Grammont 1971, 242) considers “\*Ἀγα-μέδ-μων→\*Ἀγα-με-\*νμων→Ἀγαμέμνων, from μεδ/μέδω<sup>50</sup> = ‘protect, rule-over’ [δέμω→μεσό-δμη→μεσό-μνη, Homeric], μέδω>μένμω>μέμνω→μέδμων> μένμων>μέμνων; in more-ancient times, nasalization of occlusive(s) and inversion of dental to labials occurred phonetically: \*dm/\*δμ>\*nm/\*νμ>mn/μν; \*tp/\*τπ>pt/πτ→τιπτε”. Ventris/Chadwick (1956, 76-77): “In proper and non-Greek names, Mycenaean spelling relates to the historical development of sounds:

- e sounded: ě-short, ē-long, ĭ-short (Ruijgh 1967, §47, ε>ι; ι>ε)
- i sounded: ĭ-short, ī-long, ě-short and
- there was also ‘confusion between ĭ-sound and ŭ-sound’.

“Μίμνω=μένω/stay (in poetic use) was formed by reduplication from μένω” (compare Liddell-Scott 1997, 1135): participle (Ἀγα)-μίμνων/(Ἀγα)-μῖμνων. “Expressional and popular -āz-ending emphasizes better than ‘-ων/-ωνος’, consequently it is used in anthroponyms expressing a characteristic trait” (Ruijgh 1967, §187, cf.: §114, §163, §162 note 459):

Ἀγα (με/μῖ)μνων/ωνος>Ἀγα(με/μῖ)μνāz/μνā=Great-ruler(?).

‘𐎧=za/\*gja’ (⊕=ka/γα, similarly) sounded \*g<sup>w</sup>yā/ġyā (Melena 2014, 48-49; Duhoux 2008, 245: z=g<sup>w</sup>), [\*gk<sup>w(a)</sup>-yā/gk<sup>(a)</sup>-yā], transformable into Hittite ‘ka-ga/k<sup>a</sup>-g<sup>v</sup>ā’. 𐎧=mě=m+ě sounded m+ĭ also, confused with (m)+ ŭ-sound→Hittite mu=mū.

Phonetically, “nasal-consonants (occlusive, sonorous) are frequently omitted before occlusive; they don’t maintain their clear articulation before consonants” (Lejeune 1982, §141-143): Hittites omitted ‘m-sound’, in μν/mn, as “they thought that they heard” (Palaima 2007, 202; Latacz 2004, 99) an occlusive-consonant ‘v/n’ only; [cf. hypocorism Μένιος/Menios = (Aga)me(m)non; νιο/nio = long-sound]. [na]-(a)š-ending transcribes also ā-long (vāz). Applying the above phonetic rules of Linear B’s Greek: a sequence Mycenaean-Greek→A-\*gja-mě-mo-no/Ἀγαμέμνων>A-\*gja-mī/mū-mo-no/\*Ἀγα-μῖ/μῡ-μ-vων>A-\*gja-(mī/mū)-mā-nā/\*A-γα-(μῖ/μῡ)-μαν-āz>A-(\*)gja-mū-m<sup>ā</sup>-nā/\*Ἀγα-μῡ-μ<sup>a</sup>-vāz>A-(ka-ga)-mu-(<sup>ma</sup>)-naš>A-(ka-ga)-mu-na-(a)š→Hittite, is most likely.

“Aḫḫiyawa was of no threat to Ḫatti”, thus Muwattalli II ceded Millawanda to “satisfy the Aḫḫiyawan King and” avoid “his reactions”, through his representatives/local-rulers, “for the signing of the Treaty, by the subdued Achaeans<sup>51</sup> Alaksandu” (Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 106), to secure Ḫatti’s western borders, “concentrate his resources on the imminent showdown with Egypt in Kadesh”, and transfer undistractedly his capital from Ḫattuša to faraway Tarhuntassa (Kelder 2010, 27, note 74; Bryce 1989, 301-302; 2005, 221-245; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 121]).

<sup>50</sup> Encountered in Homeric use (Liddell-Scott 1997, 1089).

<sup>51</sup> Yakubovich (2008, 151): No Wilusan proper name has a clear Luwian etymology; two have likely Greek cognates. Luwian is not the most likely candidate for the Trojan language. Watkins (1986, 57; Strauss 2006, 15): Trojans were bilingual with Greek and Luwian names.

The ‘*Tawagalawa Letter*’ is the “Hittite King’s briefing document (palaeography and orthography favour Ḫattušili III<sup>52</sup>; [Gurney (2002, 139-140)<sup>53</sup>: Muwattalli II]) for Hittite envoy(s) to the Aḫḫiyawan King’s Court, who was not visiting his ‘overseas-possession’ in Asia Minor which made a face-to-face meeting impossible. Tawagalawa=E-te-fo-kle-ḫes=Ετεοκλής/Eteokles, the Aḫḫiyawan King’s brother, is a peripheral figure”. Piyamaradu is the leading-figure, as in “the relations between Ḫatti-Aḫḫiyawa”, “raiding Hittite vassal-territory, to expand Aḫḫiyawan/Mycenaean influence” (Bryce 2006, 110). The “Aḫḫiyawan King had given to Piyamaradu tacit support and refuge in Aḫḫiyawan territory”, [to his family dwelling(!)], “to avoid capture”. Ḫattušili’s “largely conciliatory tone” served his “main purpose to win Aḫḫiyawan cooperation in curbing Piyamaradu’s future activities”. The two Kings had previously been “hostile over Wilusa; but my brother already [wrote to me] ‘You have (used force [*AHT* 4 § 15])/(acted aggressively [Hoffner]) against me’. [But I was still] young”; “if at that time I wrote anything insulting, it was not deliberate....”[...We will set] this legal dispute down before ourselves....My brother write to him (Piyamaradu)... The ‘King of Ḫatti has persuaded me about the matter of Wilusa concerning which he and I were at enmity, and we have made peace. Now(?) ‘hostility’/‘war’ is not appropriate between us.’ [Send that] to him” (*AHT* 4 § 12; Hoffner 2009, 296-313); see note 128.

Bryce (2006, 185; 2005, 366) “cannot entirely rule out the possibility of an attack on Wilusa by Mycenaean forces or by Mycenaean-sponsored local-forces” [*contra* Güterbock (1986, 37): “probably only diplomatic confrontation took place”]; “even so, we are left far short of anything resembling a conflict of the nature or on the scale of Homer’s narrative; Troy was certainly not abandoned then”.

In this text, the Hittite king addresses the Aḫḫiyawan King with “My Brother”, sc. as a Great King, though by doing so the “Aḫḫiyawan King was accorded a status that must have far exceeded his actual importance” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 122; Bryce 2003b, 206: detailed analysis). Ḫattušili, began to make “brothers/sons-in-law” not only his equal Kings of the four Great Kingdoms (cf. Bryce 2003b, 11-41) – Pharaoh Rameses II and the King of Babylon –, but also his vassal-rulers: the periodical – king of Amurru – as well as his proper ones – king of Isuwa –, in his “keen seeking of the recognition of foreign rulers as the true King of Ḫatti” (Bryce 2005, 268) (cf. note 54). Ḫattušili (Muwattalli’s brother) had dethroned its rightful occupant Urhi-Teshub (1272/1271-1267/1264 BC), [Mursili III, also known as Urhi-Teshub, was a king of the Hittites] Muwattalli’s son, and faced internal controversy and international problems until his end. Urhi-Teshub had forces, was recognized by Arzawa, Seha-River[-land], Mira, and tried to gain support from Syria, Babylon, Aḫḫiyawa and Egypt (where he found refuge), putting in danger the ‘eternal peace’, agreed between Ḫatti and

<sup>52</sup> Bryce 2005, 290; Beckmann/Bryce/Cline (2011, 120), citing Gurney (2002), “assume Ḫattušili, for the sake of discussion”.

<sup>53</sup> Freu/Mazoyer (2008, vol.3, 112-115): since Kurunta (tuḫkanti/crown-prince(?)) is mentioned.

Ramses II's Egypt. The danger from Egypt passed – most likely – in 1246/1245 BC after a Hittite-Egyptian marriage-alliance. Thus, Hattušili campaigned, entered Millawanda, but “his expedition was a disastrous failure”, depicting “how fragile and vulnerable Hittite authority was in the region”. “Hattušili had strong motives to gain a formal acknowledgement of his status, as King; he addressed, therefore, among others the Ahhiyawan King”, his relative (?) due to the Queen Henti, “since a response from him, who influenced Asia Minor's local-rulers, in the same diplomatic terms, would in effect mean Hattušili's legitimization” (Bryce 2005, 264, 245-265, 275-286; 2003a, 67, 69; 2003b, 204. Hoffner 2009, 300: “protocol-address”). Hattušili, under-pressure, confronted with an intra-dynastic controversy and internationally encircled, tried to conciliate the surrounding countries and this increased, virtually, Ahhiyawa's image.

If Muwattalli was the Letter's sender, the signing of the Alaksandu Treaty led to a “restricted conflict between Ahhiyawa-Hatti, with only two episodes, the conquest of the islands, off-coast of Wilusa, by Ahhiyawa, operating only in the Aegean Sea, not on-land”, and the “freedom of movements” given by Ahhiyawa to Atpa and Piyamaradu, “representatives of Ahhiyawa”, to intervene at Wilusa (“on-land”) and transport Hittite subjects to Lazpas/Lesbos (Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 112, 117). The ‘Tawagalawa Letter’ and CTH 191 have not recorded activities of any Ahhiyawan ruler operating, “on-land”, in Asia Minor. Hattušili officially asked the Ahhiyawan King to send ‘written orders’ to Piyamaradu, “Ahhiyawa's agent/representative”, to stop his (long-lasting, ongoing since Muwattalli's reign) warfare (the only one recorded): it is implied that “you used force against me” means likely ‘against Piyamaradu, who represents me’, hinting at the “attack against Wilusa” (CTH 191), when “young” “Hattušili exercised considerable political and military authority” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 121-122) at Hattuša (Bryce 2005, 232-233).

KUB XXIII13/CTH 211.4 (AHT 11, 155, 157): “[When] he conquered Arzawan Lands, us [he did not conquer] with the sword. [Tarḫunaradus] started hostilities and relied on the Ahhiyawan King”. The Ahhiyawan support induced Tudḫaliya IV<sup>54</sup> [Hattušili III's son, (1237-1228 BC, temporary dethronement by one more intra-dynastic coup-d'état<sup>55</sup>, 1227-1209 BC)] to act militarily and “eliminate Ahhiyawa's political presence in Asia Minor and sovereignty over Milawata/Millawanda”; contra Hoffner (2009, 315): Millawanda remained under Ahhiyawa, during Tudḫaliya's reign.

The ‘Milawata Letter’ (AHT 5). Tudḫaliya IV tried to restore Walmu, dethroned from Wilusa, cooperating with the Hittite vassal-ruler Tarkašnawa<sup>56</sup> of Mira, “Walmu's regional-superior”.

Wilusa was now more downgraded, under a vassal-ruler of Hatti.

<sup>54</sup> Cline 2009, 121: Tudḫaliya I/II or Hattušili III.

<sup>55</sup> By Kurunta, Muwattalli II's son, Urhi-Teshub's (half?)-brother, ‘adopted’ and upbrought by Hattušili: Bryce 2005, 244-245, 268-271; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 165-166, 223-242.

<sup>56</sup> Hoffner (2009, 316): “‘Tudḫaliya: I made you’ (Tarkašnawa) ‘My brother’ (literally)”.

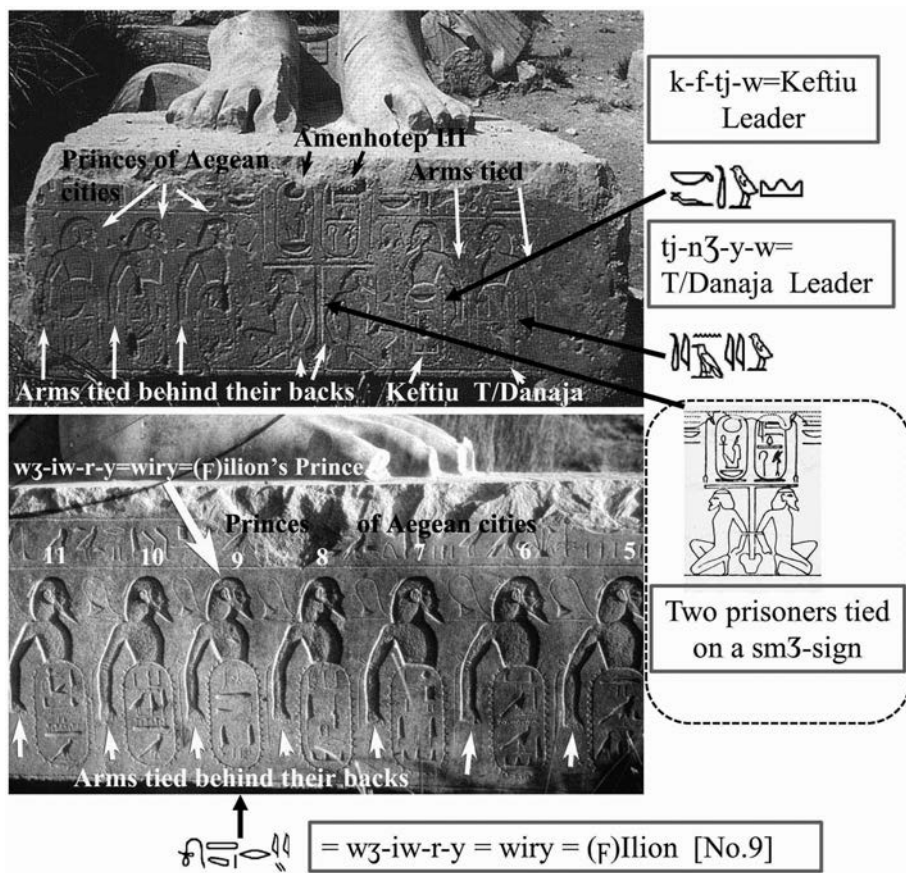


Fig. 3. Kom-el-Hetan. [Upper-illustration, front-side]: two prisoners on *sm3*-sign (center), Keftiu-T/Danaja Leaders (right) heading Aegean princes [(left) and [lower-illustration, left-side]]; *w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wiry*/(f)Ilion→No.9. Whether (f)Ilion can be equated at all with this name is debated and will be discussed below. The figures are kindly provided by Profs J. Strange, S. Wachsmann, E.H. Cline and A. Karetsou) and worked by the author.

“Aḥḥiyawa nowhere appears” in this ‘Letter’; “it may have ceased to have any presence or influence in the region” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 132). Tudḥaliya IV, after re-conquering Millawanda, erased Aḥḥiyawa as Great Power in the ‘Shaushgamuwa Treaty’, since the “Aḥḥiyawan ruler no longer had his status”; Aḥḥiyawa’s inclusion among Great Powers “is a mistake of the scribe”. Nevertheless, Tudḥaliya imposed an embargo on Mycenaean maritime-trade towards the Levant (AHT 2, § 15, p. 63)).

According to the Hittite official historical archives, besides Attariššiya, no Ahhiyawan ruler had operated ever again with military forces, “on-land” in Asia Minor, apart from inciting local-rulers/‘representatives’ to anti-Hittite activities, likely through Mycenaean e-qe-ta/‘messengers’/military-mobilizers (cf. Michailidou 2010; Palaiama 2015a, 624), since Palaiama gives the equation: e-qe-ta=military mobilizers. Nevertheless, the “Ahhiyawan King was not willing and did not support the dethroned Urhi-Teshub”, against Hattušili III, “disregarding Urhi-Teshub’s request” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 166-167. Was he ‘not-willing’ or incapable – due to Ahhiyawa’s weakness – to support, with Achaeae forces, Urhi-Teshub (recognized/supported by Ahhiyawa’s representatives/local-rulers)?

### **Egyptian Records for the Land of Danaoi/Danaja**

[see also Addendum with Editorial comment and Reply, p. 59]

Twenty/sixty years after Attariššiya, raids were continuing against Cyprus and Egypt, from Lukka-Lands/Lycia. Alašiya’s king replied to Akhenaten’s(?) accusations (“Alašiyans joined Lukki-men raiding against Egypt”): “I have done nothing of the sort, I, myself, do not know that they (Alašiyans) were with them (Lukki-men)”; “Lukki-men year by year, seize villages in my own country” (Moran 1992, 111; Giannakos 2016, 61, note 25).

Alašiya’s king did not exercise control over some regions of Cyprus, which had been “subjugated/seized” by ‘Lukki-men’, and he was completely unaware that “people of my country” participated in raids against Egypt, in a ‘Lukka-alliance’, resembling the alliance among Attariššiya, Madduwatta, Piggaya and Lycians.

Amenhotep III, ‘before his death’ (1377/1349 BC), ‘encountered individual groups of Lukka, Sherden, Denen/Danaja’ (Giannakos 2016, 59, note 19: Redford 1992, 58 note 16; in Linear B, da-na-jo=Δανάϊος, Δαναός was read). In his statue-base<sup>57</sup> at Kom-el-Hetan<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 3), to the right of two – tied back-to-back on a *sm3*-sign prisoners – supporting Amenhotep’s cartouches, two leaders/rulers of the ‘Kef-tiu<sup>59</sup>-T/Danaja-Alliance’, heading a list of princes labeled with thirteen preserved today Alliance-members’ names “included in oval-rings symbolic of conquered places” (Kozloff 2012, 211), are depicted prisoners “on their knees” with arms bound behind their back: Amykla<sup>60</sup> (old Sparta), Phaistos<sup>61</sup>, Kydonia, Mycenae,

<sup>57</sup> Inscriptions also at Taharqa, Soleb, Anen’s tomb: Strange 1980, 21, 28 note 71, 55, 67; Cline 2004, 239-242; Wachsmann 1987, 25-27, 40, 94, 103, 126, 135, pls. XLVIII, L; Giveon 1971, 18-22, 24-34.

<sup>58</sup> Karetsoy *et alii*. 2000, 246; Strange 1980, 22-23; Wachsmann 1987, pl. LXVIII; Duhoux 2003, 237; Cline/Stannish 2011, 8-9; Edel/Görg 2005, Taf. 13-14.

<sup>59</sup> Ἰδμενεύς Idomeneus participated in Trojan expedition, under the term (Agamemnon accepted it) to be ‘co-supreme-commander-in-chief’ (Philostr. *Her.*:30:1:1-3:9).

<sup>60</sup> Palimpsest: *i-m-[k]-r/Amykla*, (initial script), was overwritten by *im[nš]/i-m-[n-y-š]/Amnisos(?)*.

<sup>61</sup> Tablets KN Sd4413, E36+, Da1156: pa-i-to=Phaistos/Φαιστός (Ruijgh 1967, 238; Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 146); ‘s’ is not written before ‘t’ (Ruijgh 1967, §4; §3, note13: it was written Φαιστός sometimes): ‘pa-i-to’ sounded ‘pa-(j)i-(s)to’, very close to Egyptian *b3-y-š3-?-y*=bajašta.



Thebes<sup>62</sup>, Messene/Messēnē<sup>63</sup> (Messenia includes Pylos), Nauplia<sup>64</sup> (Argolid's main port, even today), Kythera, Ilion/*w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wiry*, Knossos, Amnisos, Lyktos, Siteia(?) (see also below).

The identification of *w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wiry* is widely debated. Giannakos (2016, 58, note 18) proposed: *wrj*=(w)Ilion=place-of-(w)Ilos/(f)Ἴλος. Palaima (2007, 201) ascertains: “A sequence Hittite→\*Wilusi(y)o->\*Wiluhio->\*Wiluiio->Wilwio>I:lio→Greek, *would create problems* for connecting” the attested in KN As 1516 tablet<sup>65</sup> “wi-ro with historical Mycenaean primary-ethnic Wi:los/Ἴλος (Hom. *Il.* 20.329): we would expect Mycenaean spelling \*wi-wo”, in the case that the Greek personal name had been a derivative of the Hittite word, and not wi-ro=fἼλος/fἼπος, which is attested in Linear B tablets at Knossos. Applying the rule of Linear B “-i-jo/-i-ja-ending” signifies “geographical places [ethnic-names, toponyms] which are derivatives of personal names and mean ‘the place of-’” (Ruijgh 1967, 99-100, 102-103, 163-164, 167-185, 208-210, 276-277; Melena 2014, 79, 94-95), a Greek→Hittite phonetical sequence results, which solves Palaima's “problems”: [wi-r(o)/Ἴλος]+[-i-jo/i-ja]→‘place-of-(f)Ἴλος/(w)Ilos’. We have seen that in “-i-jo-endings”, “-i-” is aspirate (i) and was pronounced ‘hi/χi’ or ‘si/si’, consequently [wi-r(o)/Ἴλος]+[-i-jo/i-ja] sounded wi-ro-(s/h)i-jo/ḫi-lo-(s/h)i-jo/ja, which sounds very close to the Hittite place-name Wilusiya. There is also another alternative, depending on the articulation of the Greek dialects of the late-15th/early-14th century: [wi-r(o)/Ἴλος]+[-i-jo/i-ja]=[wi-r(o)-i-jo/ja=wi-r-i-jo which sounds very close to the Egyptian place-name *w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wi-ry*, that is written in consonantal form without vowels (thus aspirate-vowels, as i, are not signified). The author implies that *w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wi-ry* is most likely the transliteration of Ilion, “*place-of-(f)Ἴλος*”, belonging to the Keftiu-Tanaja alliance, at the era of Amenhotep III, at the era after 1400 and before 1377/1349 BC.

Cline/Stannish (2011, 9)<sup>66</sup> are against this transliteration, though cautiously, as they refer to probability (‘probably’), they attribute the paternity of the idea to ‘others’

<sup>62</sup> Tablet MY X508.a; sealings TH Wu51.β, 65.β, 96.β: sY [lin. B?] = te-qa=Thēg<sup>w</sup>ai/Thebes/Θῆβαι or Thēg<sup>w</sup>ā/Theba/Θῆβα (Bennet 2011, 155); very close to Egyptian *d-y-q-e-i-s=deqajis/Thegwais*. Wachsmann (1987, 96), Strange (1980, 22), Kelder (2010, 38, note11), Cline (2009, 211): several transcriptions.

<sup>63</sup> “JPZ[replace by hieroglyph] = me-za-na=Met<sup>w</sup>ānā, (PY An607, Cn3.1), is probably the eponymous deity of Messānā(?)” (Bennet 2011, 160; Melena 2014, 47: Μεσσηνία/late-Mεσσηνία; Ruijgh 1967, §138, note 343); very close to Egyptian *m-d3-n-i3* Cline (2004, 238): Methana.

<sup>64</sup> Nauplia's Palamedes (from his mother, Agamemnon's nephew) replaced Agamemnon (who had insulted Artemis), as supreme-commander at Aulis, till Iphigeneia's sacrifice (Phot. *Bibl.*:190:150b:35-151a:4; George-Gedr. *Compendium-historiarum*:219:14-16; *Suda* πi 44:1-2 [Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, Volumes 33-34 of the *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, = vols. 121-122 of the *Patrologia Graeca* by J.-P. Migne, Paris 1894 {with many mistakes}. A good new edition is by Luigi Tartaglia, 2 vols., Roma 2016).

<sup>65</sup> Ventris/Chadwick (1956, 427): “𐀶𐀷 >=wi-ro=(f)Ἴλος/(f)Ἴπος”.

<sup>66</sup> In this article (2011), Cline changed his opinion which was pro a transliteration ‘Ilion’, as it had been expressed before. Cf. Giannakos 2016, 58, note 18.



and they do not present any linguistic approach in their text: “The place-name (*w3-  
iw-r-y*) presents difficulties, but is now *thought by many* to be *Eleia*, Crete. None-  
theless, *Elos* and *Aulis*, both in Greece, remain possibilities. On the other hand, the  
old equation of *wiry* (*w3-iw-r-y*) with *Ilios* (Troy) is a philological leap of faith,  
takes us very far afield, and probably should be discarded”. Yet, the transliterations  
of place-names from one language to another (i.e. the case of London above) do  
not and could not constitute a “leap of faith” but it is an issue of phonetics: the  
place-names could not sound quite differently in different languages. Thus, *Elos*/  
Ἐλος (*Eleia* is its derivative), meaning ‘marsh’, has been read in Linear B (in da-  
tive: *e-re-e* = Ἐῤῥἄ = Ἐλεῖ, in PY Jo438,19 (Ruijgh 1967, §75, 137)); *Elos* begins  
with an aspirated *e-sound* (“E”), which sounded *se/se* or *he/he* (for aspirated sounds  
see also Giannakos 2016, 62, note 33 with references). There was not a digamma  
(f) at the beginning, since *w-sound* (Z = *we*) was not written (*e-re-e*, *e-re-i* were  
found and not *we-re-e*; *-i* in *e-re-i* is also aspirated and sounded *si/hi* and not  
*yi*, cf. Ruijgh (2011, 277): “it sounded *helehi*”), consequently, digamma f did not  
sound as it did in the Egyptian *wi-(ry)*; the same is valid for Ἐλεῖα also (*e-re-  
i-a*(?)), (h)Ἐλεῖα, with *-i-* aspirate). Moreover, the *yi-sound* did not exist in Ἐλος  
and Ἐλεῖα, as it did in the Egyptian ending (*wi*)-*ry*, obviously from *-jo*.

For *Aulis*, the word *a-u-ro* = ἀβύλος has been read in KN Sd4402.a, a chariot-tab-  
let at Knossos (dated at early-14th century), meaning ‘pipe’, a part of a chariot  
(Bernabe/Lujan 2008, 208; Melena 2014, 58: “Ἀβύλος, Ἀβυλίων were read also,  
derivatives of *a-u-ro*; cf. Ἀβύλις also”). Consequently, *Aulis* should be written as  
\**a-u-ri* in Linear B; it has not a digamma (f) as well, in the beginning of the word,  
thus *wa* = ῥ did not sound (*a-u-ro* and not *wa-u-ro* was read). All three place-  
names, cited in Cline/Stannish (2011), sound differently and they cannot match  
to the sound of the Egyptian *w3-iw-r-y/wrj/wi-ry*, since the sound of the “*place-  
of*-(f)Ἰλος”/ῥἸλιον/ *willion* (*wi-ri-jo*) matches almost completely. These inscrip-  
tions in my view therefore conclusively infer that leaders of a ‘T/Danaja-Kef-  
tiu-Alliance’, including *Achaeanized Troy/Ilion*, shortly after the date (ca. 1400  
BC) of the “vigorous housecleaning” layer at Troy, had been captured/enslaved  
(and/or repulsed) during raids, in pre-1377/1349 BC Egypt. Later 1351/1327 BC,  
T/Danaja disappeared from the Egyptian records (cf. note 42).

We recall that apart from the Atreids, Odysseus raided the Nile-delta, was de-  
feated and became the Pharaoh’s supplicant/captive, whilst his soldiers were  
either killed or enslaved (Hom.*Od.* 14.254-84).

### **Troy – Destruction Layers**

Blegen found three destruction-layers (Vermeule 1986, 87; Blegen 1963, 160-  
163; Korfmann 2004, 16; Latacz 2004, 31); one of these three should correspond  
to the Fall of Troy described by Homer (*Od.* 8.485-520):

- VIIa/Vli-stratum, ca. 1260 BC, today 1190/1180 BC [“fire-destruction, caused  
by war”],

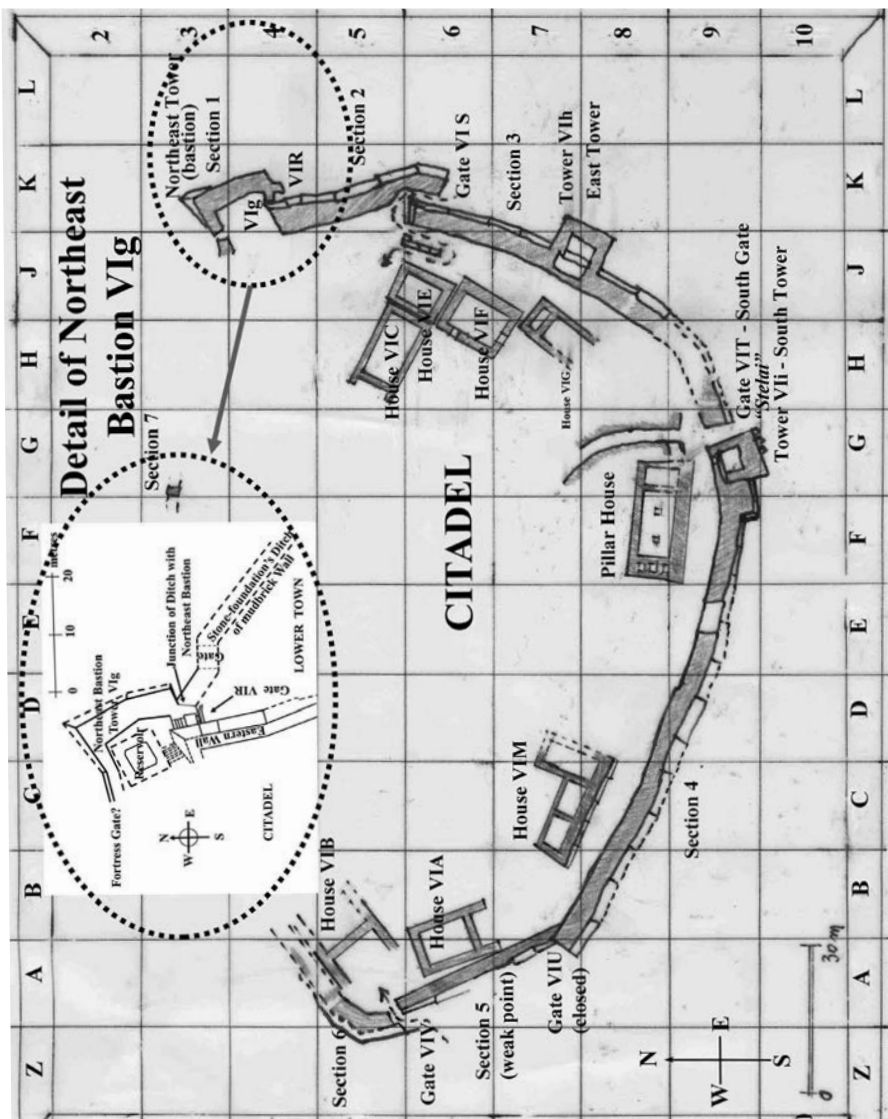


Fig. 4. Troy VI.

- VIh-stratum, LH IIIA2/B, *ca.* 1300 BC [“caused by earthquake”<sup>67</sup>], and
- VIg-stratum, 1400 BC±[one-to-two generations]<sup>68</sup>, where only “Mycenae-

<sup>67</sup> Mountjoy (1999a, 255; 1999b, 298): earthquake; sporadic fires; LH IIIA2-late→Blegen (1953, 18, 20): 1275 BC; (1963, 142): 1300 BC, “pieces of carbonized wood; no general conflagration, not even a single house’s fire-destruction”.

<sup>68</sup> Also Mountjoy 1999a, 257, 260, 268-269, since she agrees with Blegen on that.

an LH II-LH IIIA1 vessels and objects were found in or near Houses VIF, VIG, which were burnt and destroyed, perhaps by invaders” (Cline 1996, 148; Vermeule *supra*), “scattered in the course of some vigorous housecleaning”, “making it clear that this is not a floor-deposit in conventional terms where whole pots are caught in-situ as a result of a sudden event”, e.g. sack of a city, “but of cleaning and leveling” (Mountjoy 1997, 278) (Fig. 1). The monumental Pillar House (with “VIf, VIG, VIh floors”), near the principal gateway, was probably a VIf-VIG military establishment connected to the citadel’s defense with many terracotta pellets (uneearthed), which was turned into a dwelling-house (not a military establishment), at VIh (Blegen 1963, 131-133). Vermeule suggested that the VIf/g-destruction may have been caused by the Greeks (1983, 142-143), by ‘Heracles’ (1986, 88), and wondered: “is there any archaeological evidence that fighting at Troy took place in LH II-LH IIIA1”? (Dates: Shelmerdine 2008, 4-5: LH II-LH IIIA1→1600(+)/1500-1390/1370 BC; more opinions in Annex 3).

An affirmative answer to Vermeule should come – most likely – from the evidenced construction-works and/or reconstruction-works in fortifications (Fig. 4)<sup>69</sup>, obviously due to siege(s):

- Gate VIU, at the ‘weakly-built’ Wall-section, was closed/walled, during the VIe-phase, to improve the city’s defense, “by reducing the number of gates, due to war, which resulted in Troy’s destruction” (Tolman/Scoggin 2013, 42 note 2, 60: Tolman/Scoggin thank Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld for his kind permission to use freely his great work [1902] *Troja und Ilion* [: *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870-1894*, 2 vols., Athen] “on which I [Tolman dated 1903] have based the description of the Mycenaean city” extensively); Klinkott 2004, 79-80). All the preserved well-built Wall-sections, except Section-5 (weaker, older), were (re)-constructed [Klinkott 2004, 80; Blegen 1963, 124]:

- East-section, Gate VIS at 1425 BC→VIf-phase; South-section<sup>70</sup> at 1400(-) BC→early-VIG;

- VI/Middle potsherds were found at the junction between the foundation-ditch of the lower town’s mud-brick-wall and the Northeast Bastion/Gate VIR (Latacz 2004, 30-31, 11: VI/Middle→1500-1400 BC, VIId | VIe | VIf→1500(+)-1400(+)/1400 BC, VIh→1375-1300 BC), which warrants the construction’s dating.

I support also the thesis that the “Homeric epics reflect various chronological strata. They may have woven together pre-existing tales of raids at various times, or reinterpreted conflicting versions” (Wiener 2007, 6), “presenting a conflation of events from ‘one-or-more centuries’ before the alleged dates of Greek literature”,

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<sup>69</sup> Based on Blegen 1963, 115; Latacz 2004, 11.

<sup>70</sup> Except the Towers VIi (the South Tower) and VIh (the East Tower), added during the 13th century BC.

1334(+)<sup>71</sup>-1136(+) BC<sup>72</sup>, till post-1200 BC [Bryce 2002, 267; 2012, 475-476, 480. *Contra* Latacz (2004, 284): there was only one strike/attack].

“Troy VIIh fell probably in the early decades of the thirteenth century, 1280 BC would fit well with Herodotus’s date, almost certainly at Muwattalli II’s reign”, arguably Hattušili III<sup>73</sup>, “during the disturbances referred to in the ‘Manapa-Tarhundata Letter’”. “The confrontation between Hatti-Ahhiyawa over Wilusa”, in the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’, “also belongs to this period”, as “the hostilities involving Wilusa”, in the ‘Milawata Letter’, and “the overthrow of Wilusa’s king Walmu (VIIa/VII-stratum). If, any of these can be linked with the Iliad has yet to be demonstrated” (Bryce 2012, 478; 2005, 365-366). The “VIIh-destruction coincides with Mycenaean acme” (Mountjoy 1999a, 255).

“VIIa/VIIi-destruction”, [“Priam’s Troy”, (Blegen)<sup>74</sup>], “resulted from a (lost) war (?)” (Korfmann 2004, 16). Latacz (2004, 286) “takes no position” between “1250 BC, 1180 BC”.

However,

(a) the VIIa/VIIi-destruction occurred after the Mycenaean Palaces had overwhelmingly collapsed, therefore it would have been impossible for the Mycenaeans to campaign overseas ‘en masse’, obeying a supreme-commander and a hierarchy of numerous lesser-rulers; Korfmann (1986, 25-26 citing Podzuweit): “at LH IIIC-end or early-Geometric period”, it is “not the Homeric Troy”. Was the VIIa/VIIi-destruction caused by hordes of marauders<sup>75</sup> (e.g. Sea Peoples, cf. note 120)?

(b) The VIIh-destruction resulted from an earthquake; furthermore, 1320(+)-1240/1237 BC archaeological and also much literary evidence [Kukkuni, Henti, Millawanda’s conquest, Ahhiyawa’s omission, Alaksandu Treaty, unsupported Urhi-Teshub against Hattušili III, decisions’ dictation to Ahhiyawa, T/Danaja’s disappearance, Ahhiyawan King not going overseas, military activities exclusively by local elite-members; “Kadesh, Palaces’ destructions”<sup>76</sup>] infers a weakened Ahhiyawa, not performing ‘beyond-the-sea’ campaign(s).

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<sup>71</sup> TLG-Douris, *Fragmenta* 11:1-3. By adding “one to two centuries” the chronology “of the first events”, namely the first Greek attacks, goes back to 1534 BC. See note 78 below.

<sup>72</sup> TLG-Ephorus, *Fragmenta*; Parker 2011, Ephoros, in: *BNJ*: 70 F 226. By adding “one to two centuries” the chronology “of the first events”, namely the first Greek attacks, goes back to 1336 BC.

<sup>73</sup> Her. 2: 145:1, «κατὰ ὀκτακόσια ἐς ἐμέ»→1250(-) BC (Wiener 2007); Aristotle,; *Rhetorica*:1409a:27-29, Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἥδ’ ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις (“This is the exposition of the investigation of Herodotus of Thurii”), Herodotus wrote it (most probably in Athens, and reworked it) at Thourion, after 443(-) BC→1243(-) BC.

<sup>74</sup> Basedow (2007, 54) disagrees.

<sup>75</sup> Eastern Mediterranean: drought (Bryce 2005, 344); cf. Janko (forthcoming): famine and ‘mixed bands of raiders’; Finné/Stocker *et alii* (2017, 11, 7, 1), “1250(+)-30 BC: evidence for a dry phase; higher aridity after 1250 BC”.

<sup>76</sup> Giannakos 2016, 66-67. See ‘Mycenaean Palaces’ below.

(c) The VI<sup>f</sup>/g-destruction, contemporaneous with (A)-ka-ga-mu-na-aš/Agamemnon, is compatible to a conquest/“betrayal” of a ‘powerful-Troy’<sup>77</sup> with the enthronement of a new dynasty, which widened “Wilusa’s defection” from Ḫatti, participated in anti-Hittite alliances (‘Aššuwān-Confederation’), followed “agents” (Arzawans) of a ‘powerful-Aḫḫiyawa’ (Tudḫaliya retreated before Attariššiya/[the] Atreid) and the ‘Keftiu-T/Danaja-alliance’, with a counterbalanced policy towards Ḫatti.

“If it were not the name of Troy and the *Iliad*, Hisarlik would doubtless have been pronounced a Mycenaean trading-colony, from the substantial amount of Mycenaean pottery recovered there” (Korfmann 1986, 27). “LH II-III A1 Mycenaean pottery, both imported and locally copied, first occurs at Troy VI<sup>d</sup>, becoming more numerous at VI<sup>e</sup>, steadily increases at VI<sup>f</sup>-g and from VI<sup>h</sup> becomes more prolific” (Mee 1978, 146-147; 2008, 371). Do these dates – close to King Telipinu’s reign<sup>78</sup> – imply a *terminus-post-quem* for the beginning of Mycenaean ‘raids’ to establish footholds/emporia and to attract ‘local-agents’? The 1.000 recovered Mycenaean sherds represent some 700-800 pots (Mee *supra*: “Blegen’s opinion”); “not a single object of any kind whatsoever that can definitively be called Hittite has ever been recognized in strata of Troy VI”]; “the method of building is comparable to that in Mycenae and Pylos” (Blegen 1964, 11; 1963, 63, 129, 134-135). Mellink (1986, 4) ascertains: “Aegean interests in Troy increased at the time of Achaeān/Mycenaean expansion to Crete, Rhodes and Anatolian coasts, as attested by archaeological evidence in the Halikarnasos peninsula, Iasos, Miletos, Ephesos, Klazomenai, Smyrne, the Larissa area. This expansion becomes strongest from ca. 1425 BC on” (cf. Mee 1984, 45; Bryce 2005, 364, 489 note 29; Latacz 2004, 283-287).

### **Mycenaean expansion ‘beyond-the-sea’**

The Aegean commercial expansion by Mycenaeans began in the 17th century and accelerated during the 16th-15th centuries<sup>79</sup>. Southwestern Asia Minor and the nearby islands (Kos included, see above, The Sources) already received a first influx of Mycenaean colonists by the 16th century, who followed and violently conquered former Minoan colonies and replaced the Minoans. The “Minoan-to-Mycenaean” change is documented in the southeastern Aegean islands, western-southwestern Asia Minor, Miletus V [Niemeier 2003, 103; 2005, 10-16, 20].

<sup>77</sup> Korfmann (2004, 16): “Troy’s High-Culture: 1740-1400 BC, High-Blood 14th-13th century”.

<sup>78</sup> Huxley 1965, 40: “Telephus/Τήλεφος, wounded by Achilles, is King Telipinu”, [1525-1500/1500-1500(-) BC (Bryce 2005/Latacz 2004)]. 𐀓𐀠𐀭𐀮 = qe-re-qo-ta-o/Q\*ēleq\*ho(n)tāo/Telepontao/ou=\*Τηλε-φόντη/\*Τηλε-πόνταο/ντη/Τήλεφου/Telephus (Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 424, 244-245, PY En659) sounds close to Telipinu/Telepinu.

<sup>79</sup> Muhly 2003, 141-142; Mee 2008, 381; Bushnell 2012, 202: LH I-LH IIA, expanded during the 15th-14th centuries.

By 1465/1463 BC, likely, the first Mycenaean rulers reigned in Crete. Linear B appeared later (1400/1390 BC), after their firmer settlement ('Mycenaeanization' of Crete)<sup>80</sup>.

By the early-14th century, a second expansion followed and, during the second-half of the 14th-century, after a stronger colonial wave, Mycenaean presence was consolidated with new settlements. Mycenaean finds in tombs and attested rituals verify the 'Mycenaeanization'<sup>81</sup> of the Aegean, Asia Minor and even Troy (Niemeier 2005, 10-16, 20; 2003, 103; Muhly 2003, 141-142). At Lemnos, opposite the Hellespont<sup>82</sup>, Minoan settlements (Koukonisi) "experienced 'Mycenaeanization' around 1400 BC (LH II-LH IIIA1 [1600(+)/1500-1400/1370 BC], as at Chios, Psara, Lesbos too"; "Mycenaeans were searching metal-resources, as far afield as the Black Sea, and founded emporia, as 'community-colony/ies' (equality of locals-newcomers), which were transformed to 'governed-colony/ies' (Mycenaean elite was ruling)" (Boulotis 2009, 209: Branigan-model, e-u-na-wo/Eunēos [KN As(2)1529; Boulotis/Kardamaki/Boloti forthcoming). Lemnos was essential in the supply-chain *against* Troy ('Eunēos'); 'Philoketes' was an Achaean garrison-commander: *Il.* 2.716-725, 7.467-475.

In the Levant and Egypt (Alalakh, Kabri, 'Ezbet-Helmy, Qatna, Tel-el-Dab'a, Malkata, Syro-Palestine, Amarna<sup>83</sup>), Aegean works-of-art were imported/in use, implying that these places were under the influence of Minoans by 1650/1600 and of Mycenaeans by 1450/1400(-1350 BC) (Bietak 2007, 270-272, 294-295;

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<sup>80</sup> Wachsmann (1987, 108): "by 1470-1445 BC, sudden cessation of Keftiu" replaced by T/Danaja. Driessen/MacDonald 1997, 105-117, LM IB/LM II [1490/1425 BC: Shelmerdine 2008, 4-5]: Mycenaeans appeared [Hallager: LMII-beginning], were legitimized through military power and came to pacify internal Cretan strifes of LM IB-end. Driessen/Langohr 2007, 187-188: "Linear A-to-B change doesn't indicate arrival of newcomers, but deliberate change of language (political strategy), for tighter control". Duhoux 2003, 230-253, Crete: "by LH IIIA2 [(±)1370-(±)1320 BC] Greeks were leaders"; Driessen 2008, 71-72: "RCT tablets are dated at early-14th century". For 1465/1463 BC, see also MacGillivray 2009, 167.

<sup>81</sup> Bennet/Galanakis 2005, 150: 'of Aegean'. Mountjoy (1998, 35-36; 1997, 287-292): '14th-13th centuries: strong Mycenaean influence on Troy: Mycenaean fashion booms'. Pavúk 2005, 270-274, 275: dominant in LH IIIA2; 'How deep was Troy's Mycenaeanization?'. French 2012: '14th-13th centuries: overseas expansion'. Morris 2007, 66: shrines/stelae protecting walls in Troy, like in the Aegean.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Gallipoli, AD 1914-1918, World War I. Lemnos was a supporting military base to control the Hellespont.

<sup>83</sup> 1500-2000 Mycenaean sherds (from over 600 vessels) showed as their clay's origins: Berbati/Mycenae, Tiryns-Asine (Kelder 2010, 68-69; Hankey/Aston 1998, 69).



Niemeier 1991, 189-201)<sup>84</sup>. These ‘Mycenaeanizations’ are compatible to a pre-1400 BC Trojan War<sup>85</sup>.

In pre-and-post-1400 BC Cyprus/Alašiya (Dikaios 1971, vol.2, 501-515; Åström/Åström 1972, 769-781; Keswani 1996, 222, 226-234; Crewe 2007, 65-66):

- Enkomi was destroyed in *ca.* 1425 BC, rebuilt and destroyed again in 1375 BC, “reflecting local-regime’s instability (LC IIA-LC IIB)”;
- Kourion was destroyed by fire;
- Phlamoudi was abandoned (early-LC IIA);
- Nitovikla, Nikolidhes were abandoned in a roughly contemporaneous era;
- In Kition (new?) élite-groups were established (early-LC II).

‘Cypriote destructions occurred immediately before a notable influx of Mycenaean influence’, with ‘a possible even temporary Mycenaean control of Cyprus’ (Åström/Åström 1972, 772-773), disputed today<sup>86</sup>, due to the predominating ‘sociopolitical organization-models’<sup>87</sup>.

Knapp (2013, 434-444; 2008, 147-152, 249-258 – underlining that “most specialists agree” with his ascertainments) records: “by and during 14th (LC IIB-13th centuries):

The existing geopolitical configuration had changed. Alašiya’s king headed several competing regional factions/élites or a ‘federation’ of ‘independent polities’”. Enkomi’s preeminent-status, “passed by late-15th/early-14th cen-

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<sup>84</sup> Von Ruden (2015, 249-256): MBA and mid-14th century paintings, in complex Aegean technique. Morgan (2010, 263-265): LMIB Minoan ‘flying-gallop’ and animals in movement; Aegean painters. Cline/Yasur-Landau/Goshen (2011, 245-258): Minoan fresco-painting techniques; Aegean practice and interventions. Bryce (2016, 70, 72, 74): 14th century, relation of Adana to (A)ḫḫiyawans. Moran (1992, 238-239): “Danuna’s king died” mentions Adana. Duhoux (2003, 230-253; Driessen/MacDonald 1997, 105-117): Minoan colonists in the Nile-delta. Shalev (2004, 61-62): early-14th century: widespread Mycenaean commercial activity throughout Levant. Palyvou (2007, 444-445): itinerant Minoans/Aegeans propagated concepts of space and structural systems, unknown to Ugarit. Muhly refers to the matter of craftsmen in royal palaces, attached to the ruler and concludes that they constituted a labor force. If a foreign ruler wanted to employ craftsmen from abroad, he had to submit an official request to his counterpart king and cites – as an example – the letter exchange between Ḫattušili III and Kadasman-Enlil II of Babylon. Skilled craftsmen were in short supply and the rulers were unwilling to allow them to leave abroad. Homer calls them “κλητοί – *kletoi*” from Greek verb “καλῶ - *invite*”. Muhly concludes: “*we do not have craftsmen free to travel*” in Greece of Homer’s epics but this happened also in the Near East of 13th century BC (Muhly 2005, 685, 686, 690; cf. also, Michailidou/Voutsas, 2005; Michailidou 2005, where the artists/artisans are characterized as “commodity” belonging to the Ἰῶναξ). *Consequently, we could imply that if an Achaean/Danaos King decides to permit them to go to another country, in that case this country’s King should be very close to and influenced strongly by the Achaean King (agent/representative?)*.

<sup>85</sup> Vermeule (1987, 146; Nagy 2015): “Hektor-Astyanax scene” could not have been created post-1400 BC, when this helmet-type went out of date’; (1986, 85 note 297): ‘early-Mycenaean era’.

<sup>86</sup> Knapp 2013, 475; Muhly/Kassianidou (2012, 133): ‘Cypriots, not “foreign hands”’.

<sup>87</sup> Keswani (1996, 212-235), Knapp (2013, 434-445), Peltenburg (2012, 1-8, 12-19; 1996, 28-36).

tury” and “Alassa<sup>88</sup> probably”, inland, “replaced Enkomi, as dwelling-center/seat of Alašiya’s ‘rābišu/senior-prefect’”<sup>89</sup>. Tablets in Amarna, from Alašiya’s capital, petrographically<sup>90</sup> originate from the “Maroni-Vournes, Kalavassos-Ayios-Dhimitrios, Alassa-Paleotaverna area, not from Enkomi<sup>91</sup>”.

A common material culture appeared; ashlar-constructions, a strong indicator of élite-control over technical knowledge/expertise and labor (two Mycenaean hallmarks [see Annex 1]) had not earlier monumental forerunners. A “fortresses-network”<sup>92</sup> was constructed, in northwestern Cyprus (facing Lycia) and northeastern Cyprus, by MC III-LC I, against “internal and external/seaborne enemies”, “reflections of island’s unsettled conditions(?)”, “interrelated with Attariššiya<sup>93</sup>”.

The Cypriot(?)<sup>94</sup> Uluburun shipwreck had onboard two heavily-armed Mycenaean ‘high-élite-warriors’ – e-qe-ta(?) – according to their weaponry (Pulak 2012, 862, 869, 872; 2005, 295, 298 note 16). “Cypriot ships conducted a considerable amount of seaborne trade among the Aegean, Levant, Egypt”<sup>95</sup>, by LC IIC<sup>96</sup> (post-1340/1315 BC).

Was the Uluburun ship under Mycenaean military-protection, originated from a city-port, Alašīyan/Levantine, governed by local-rulers/‘representatives/allies’ of the Mycenaean King (like his representatives/local-rulers in Asia Minor), and for that reason was it supported by Mycenaean e-qe-ta/military-mobilizers?

Hult (1983, 62, 88-89)<sup>97</sup> records “documented LC II<sup>98</sup> sites with ashlar-masonry” (already part of a Mycenaean-style [see Annex 1]). Ashlar elements (Nitovikla’s fortress, MC III-end<sup>99</sup>) “had not started a tradition: during LC I, when trade-links, with Syro-Palestine and Egypt, continued unbroken, a hiatus in ashlar-masonry’s use is certified”. Contrarily, “in LC II”, post-1425/1410 BC, “when Mycenaeans flooded Cyprus and Levant with their pottery, ashlar-technique is documented

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<sup>88</sup> Also, Peltenburg 2012, 4, 17.

<sup>89</sup> Keswani (2004, 143), LC IIA-LC IIB: Kition, Hala-Sultan-Tekke, Kalavassos-Ayios-Dhimitrios, Kourion, Kouklia-Palaepaphos succeeded.

<sup>90</sup> Calcareous (Miocene/Pakhna-marls), igneous (ophiolite/Troodos margins).

<sup>91</sup> Goren *et alii* 2004.

<sup>92</sup> Crewe 2007, 159, LC I/LC IIA: abandonment.

<sup>93</sup> Peltenburg 1996, 34.

<sup>94</sup> Muhly/Kassianidou 2012, 129; Muhly 2009, 30.

<sup>95</sup> Knapp 2014, 88-89; Wachsmann; Bushnell 2012, 204, 207; Mee 2008, 381.

<sup>96</sup> Papasavvas/Kassianidou 2015, 232-233. See note 42 above.

<sup>97</sup> The ship was accompanied by two ‘eqeta’ the Mycenaean military-mobilizers. e-qe-ta were (see the paragraph ‘Mycenaean Palaces’) characteristic of palatial hierarchies. I suggest this implies that the ship was under Mycenaean military protection and left from a city-port Alašīyan/Levantine where Mycenaeans had/used local-rulers/‘representatives/allies’ as in Asia Minor. Knapp 2013, 243-244, 360-367, 375-376, 383-384, 428, 440-445, 446.

<sup>98</sup> Steel 2004 172-173: LC IA/LC IIA-LC IIB.

<sup>99</sup> Crewe 2007, 128, 49, 55, 67: LC IIA-LC IIB.



Fig. 5. Alassa, Ashlar-Building-II.

again at Enkomi<sup>100</sup>, Kalavassos-Ayios-Dhimitrios<sup>101</sup>, Kition, Maa-Palaeokastro, Phlamoudi”, Maroni-Vournes-Tsaroukkas (tripartite Ashlar-Building covered Basin-Building [having a paved floor reminiscent of Minoan lustral-basins]), Alassa-Paleotaverna [Ashlar-Building-II, with hearth-room (Fig. 5), had its foundations laid “pre-LC IIC” (Keswani 2009, 122; Manning *et alii.* 2001: samples dated at LC IIB, LC IIC. Knapp 2008, 149, 190, 197, 260: late-LC IIC/LC IIIA)].

In LC IIA coastal towns, monumental ashlar-buildings evidence several “heterogeneous distinct élite-groups/(ethnic-groups?), spatially differentiated from others and never integrated into one hierarchy, built over tombs of competing élite-groups -as new, unequal power-relations were institutionalized” (Van Wijngaarden 2002, 160; Steel 2009, 134)<sup>102</sup>- and formed ‘arenas-of-power’ with large hearths, ashlar-masonry, cult-centers, bull-figurines, consecration-horns, feasting-activities and ritual-performances. “Hearths are the representative core, of Mycenaean rulers’ residences (Fig. 1a, Pylos, 13th century), since MH/EH” at least (Fig. 6)<sup>103</sup>, Dimini/Iolkos even earlier: 3700-3550 BC [Lawrence 1983, 28: radiocarbon-dating] (Thaler 2007, 293, 307-310; Wright 2006, 41). Bull-representations<sup>104</sup> are markers of a bull-cult/deity, which had its origins in the Ae-

<sup>100</sup> Five *tholoi* LC IIA-LC IIB “resembling Mycenae’s famous tholoi, one-or-two centuries before the presumed island’s colonization” (Steel 2004, 172-173; Knapp 2008, 189, 2013, 383; Karageorghis 1982, 70).

<sup>101</sup> LC IIA2 Ashlar-Building, with Mycenaean *kraters*.

<sup>102</sup> Knapp 2013, 440-445.

<sup>103</sup> Based on Tsountas 2000, Lawrence 1983.

<sup>104</sup> Cattle-skulls, horns, bull-figurines, head-rhyta, consecration-horns.

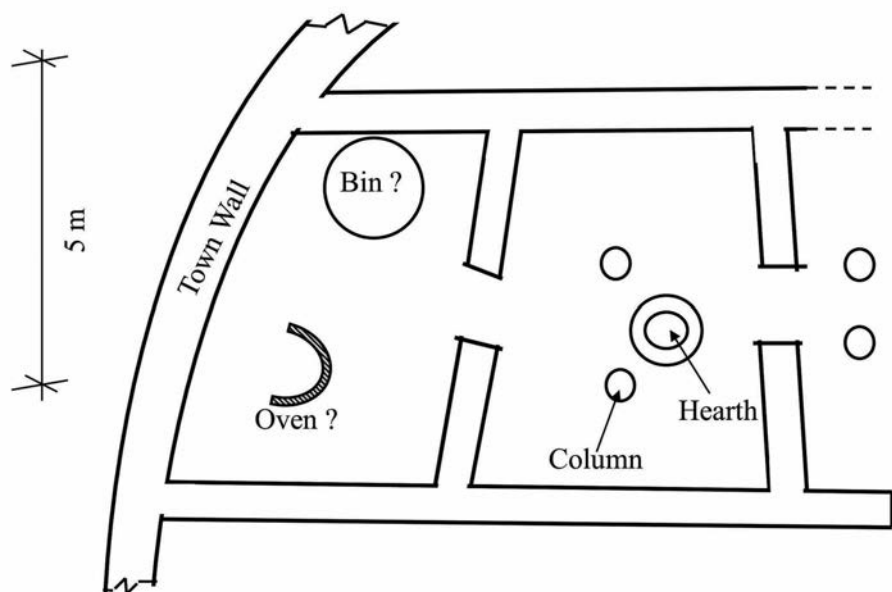


Fig. 6. Dimini/Iolkos, ‘central-building’.

gean Basin. Double-axe and consecration-horns (Fig. 7), had reached Cyprus during the 14th-13th centuries, long before any perceived arrival of Aegean colonists<sup>105</sup>.

Imported Mycenaean LH I–LH IIA pottery was increasing by the late-16th century (during the Mycenaean expansion), but in the 14th-13th centuries (LC IIA2) the earlier “trickle” turned into a “flood” of LH IIIA2–IIIB wares (Knapp 2008, 253-256; 2013, 421)<sup>106</sup>, emblematic of élite-status; its explosion from LH IIIA2/LH IIIB, reflects the Argolid’s rise, for managing foreign relations (Cadogan 2005, 319-320; 1996, 20<sup>107</sup>; Steel 2004, 170-171).

### Mycenaean palaces

The emergence of LH IIIA-B (1400-1200 BC) palaces<sup>108</sup>/centralized-states evolved from the ‘enclaves’, characteristic of MH (2200/2000-1700/1600 BC) Greece, through LH I–LH II. ‘Enclaves’ were political entities, best classified as ‘chiefdoms’, wherein violently competing chiefs (note 24) wielded inherited-power. Their central-buildings present features prefiguring those of later

<sup>105</sup> Steel 2004, 203-205; Knapp 2013, 463, 446; 2008, 256-258. Cadogan 2005, 319-320: LC II/LC III.

<sup>106</sup> Bushnell (2012, 198-203): by LH IIIA2. Cline 2007, 196, LH IIIA1-2: peak.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Break-in-culture’, associated to ‘building over earlier-tombs’, by LCIIC.

<sup>108</sup> Definition: Wright 2006, 7; Galaty/Parkinson 2007/1999, 25. Annex 3: MH-LH dates.



Fig.7. Kouklia-Palaipaphos, Concecration-horns (13th/12th century).

*megaron*-complexes<sup>109</sup>. From this overtly warrior-society, Mycenaean warlords/chiefs turned into palace-rulers. Social changes signal the emergence of élite(s), since MH III-LH I; e-qe-ta is a residue of the earlier ‘élite-warrior-band’. The continuation of ‘élite-warrior-band’ ethos is suggested by the persistence of the central-*megaron* (with hearth [Fig. 6] and a Knossian-type throne), from which, by LH IIIA, the building-complexes/palaces emerged/evolved in most of the LH IIIB important centers (Shelmerdine 2001, 349-351; French 2005, 177; Voutsaki 2005, 140-141; Galaty/Parkinson 2007, 10; Sherratt 2001, 229).

“Mycenaeans were a warlike, aggressive people (cf. Palaima 2015b, 22) as it becomes evident from the shaft-grave warlords”, (Circle A: last interment 1500(+) BC), “with arrays of weapons around them, and the warrior-depictions in frescoes. This militaristic image accords well with the ethos of the heroic society depicted by Homer” (cf. ‘Indictment’/AHT 3); “it differs markedly from the”, post-1400 BC, “intensely bureaucratic society represented in Linear B tablets”. “The elaborate defensive architecture of Argolic citadels suggests growing tensions and rivalry during LH III between various palaces, especially those located close to each other” (Bryce 2006, 103; Niemeier 2005, 16, 19; also, H.W. Catling in his publications).

A 1400(+) BC Trojan War could be the ‘operative factor’ for the transformation of the central buildings of ‘enclaves’ to palace-complexes with a centralization of power to fewer centers, which “swallowed their neighboring centers/enclaves by LH IIIA2” (Cavanagh 2008, 335; cf. Niemeier 2005, 16) (1375-1300 BC), and the conversion of former ‘chiefs-warlords’ to Kings. “By 1350/1320 BC the

<sup>109</sup> Mycenae: the earliest “‘maison-de-chef’/Palace-I”, EH/MH.

Mycenaean palaces were experiencing a period of prosperity, a growth of population, but at the same time destructions in palatial centers without evidence of rich offerings in tombs – facts suggesting a gradual degradation of power and a step-by-step impoverishment of the vast majority of society in “Greece” (Giannakos 2016, 55-56).

By (LH IIIA-)LH IIIB [post-1300(+)BC],

“Distribution of wealth became asymmetrical, which besides military action, is a forceful way” – authoritarian/violent – “to exert political influence” (Voutsaki 2001, 203-204, 206; 2005, 199, 135, 137-139);

“Sumptuary controls were imposed on élites” to restrain consumption, luxury, extravagance; “widespread, localized destructions” are evidenced, “followed by continuous (re)buildings during the prosperous Palatial phase with ever-increasing signs of” forcibly imposed “centralized control” (Shelton 2012, 145-146; Shelmerdine 2001, 358-362);

“Citadel Walls were added, surely for defense, at a time when the King’s power may have been under threat” (Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 291; Crowley 2008, 262; Deger-Jalkotzy (2008, 389): due to economic problems, overpopulation; by LH IIIB1 destructions. Middleton (2010, 14-17; Giannakos 2016, 55-56) and Mountjoy (1993, 11-25, 169-176; cf. 129-162): “evidences for *a series of accretive destructions* of the main palatial centers, by 1400 (LH IIIA1) until 1050/1030 BC”; further bibliography in Giannakos 2012, 203-207 and Giannakos 2016 and 2016\*, 316-322.

“Mycenaean pottery was locally produced in Macedonia, Cyprus, Syria-Palestine”, Troy, “Italy because – probably – supplies had been disrupted before the Mycenaean Palaces collapse” (Mee 2008, 382), a “LH IIIA2-LH IIIB ‘cardboard-collapse’” (Sherratt 2001, 234).

Mycenaean palatial élites, around 1400 BC, had controlled the international commercial-routes, getting access to resources of materials (cf. Galaty/Parkinson 2007, 10, 8-9; Cline 2007, 199), ‘were gathering riches’ without military involvement ‘beyond-the-sea’ – assigned to their representatives/allies (cf. Kelder 2010, 29 notes 80-81) –, and turned their attention to internal affairs:

- centralization in fewer centers, through conflicts (cf. Niemeier 2005, 16), and
- capital investments, of trade profits, for productive projects, demanding advanced technology (see Annex 1) with mobilization of human resources<sup>110</sup>, to meet the needs of an increasing population, reduce the evidenced internal unrest (destructions), and push away the emerging outburst and collapse.

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<sup>110</sup> “For major public works”, redesign, maintenance, “or military purposes” (Shelton 2012, 145-146; Shelmerdine 2001, 358-362).



## Synopsis and Conclusions 1

By the early 16th century, a first influx of Mycenaean colonists is evidenced towards the eastern Aegean coasts, following and conquering violently areas of former Minoan colonies, accompanied by a post-1400 BC second colonial wave. In the Levant, Mycenaean succeeded Minoan influence by 1450/1400(-1350) BC.

Linear B phonetics imply that Attariššiya and Akagamunaaš were transcriptions of the Atreid and Agamemnon respectively. Akagamunaaš was (f)ʾAvāḫ in Aḫḫiyawa earlier or/and simultaneously with Tudḫaliya I/II (1425-1400/1390 BC). Powerful<sup>111</sup> Attariššiya fought in Asia Minor against local rulers, an expeditionary force from Ḫatti at Lycia and also in an alliance including Lycians, raided against Cyprus at 1450-1430/1425-1400 BC. Raids of a 'Lycian-alliance' against Cyprus and Egypt were continuing during 1384/1360-1360/1336 BC. In pre-1377/1349 BC Egypt, rulers of a 'Keftiu-T/Danaja-Alliance', reminding Cretan Idomeneus as co-supreme-commander-in-chief (note 57 above), and princes/lesser-rulers of Alliance-members were repulsed/captured by Amenhotep III; Ilion/Troy – 'Achaeanized' – belonged to the 'Keftiu-T/Danaja-Alliance' after 1400 BC, as if pro-Achean rulers reigned there<sup>112</sup> (till Alaksandu, cf. CTH 76 above and Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol. 3, 106). Pre-1360/1336 BC anti-Hittite Alliances, *de facto* pro-Aḫḫiyawan, including Aššuwā – thus Troy too –, were formed under Tarḫundaradus, in Asia Minor. In pre- and post-1400 BC Cyprus/Alašiya, several destructions, loss of control over some coastal (semi)-independent centers and a shift of capital ("Rābišu's seat") from coastal Enkomi to Alassa inland, for protection, are evidenced since, by the early 14th century, Mycenaean characteristics (ashlar, hearths, wares, feasting) demonstrate a change to 'the existing geopolitical-configuration' and 'new élites' appear.

The Mycenaean (f)ʾAvāḫ, *primus inter pares* is different from the Near-Eastern Kings. Troy's faction, accompanied by lesser-rulers (as it is depicted in Kom-el-Hetan (Giannakos 2016, 60 note 21), after Troy's conquest (1400(+) BC, Vif/g) and – according to my working hypothesis (Giannakos 2016, 67-70) – the enthronement of the 'pro-T/Danaja-Keftiu') integrated through raids, a 'network' of bridgeheads – governed by his representatives/local rulers – in the Aegean, the Levant (note 84), Cyprus (note 86) and Asia Minor [Millawanda, Arzawa, Seha-River[-land], Troy (and Lemnos in Aegean) (mastering the Hellespont), Adaniya/Adana(?)] and controlled the commercial-routes. Troy's Walls – still existing today – , except Section-5 (older) and Towers VIi-VIh (newer), were (re)constructed about 1420-1400(-) BC and since the lower-town's mud-brick-wall was (re)constructed with the Gate VIU's closing at 1500-1400 BC at the era when the Pilar

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<sup>111</sup> Tudḫaliya was retreating to avoid him, appointing a 'partisan' ruler against Attarišši-ya's zone of control.

<sup>112</sup> There are different opinions in the dates of Pharaohs. There is also a debate for 'High' and 'Low' chronologies I have published in Giannakos 2013 the dates from Kitchen, Redford, Shaw and Gardiner; when I give e.g. 1300/1290 for the beginning of a reign is the maximum and minimum chronology from these four scientists. See below Annex 2.

House had been yet military an establishment with pellets for defense unearthed, evidences compatible to siege(s) and conquest. Wilusa, involved as a member-state in Arzawa away from Hatti's "homeland", has not been recorded after Ammuna [1570/1560(-)-1550/1525(+)] till 1400(+) BC ('Alaksandu Treaty'; Bryce 2005, xv, 103-124; note 35), as if both (Wilusa and Arzawa) do not fall into the strategic interests and capability for massive military action of Hatti. Hatti orientated its interests and focused its *limited capabilities* mainly in its "homeland" (Fig. 2) and (south-)eastwards (Bryce 2005 115, 103-106). Even Tudhaliya I/II was retreating before Attariššiya and campaigned against Arzawa after Attariššiya's 'nostos'. A Hittite "homeland's expeditionary corps – *Halyzones* (= 'encircled by Halys' [= Marassantiyain Hittite] and reminding Kisnapili's expeditionary corps) from Halybe, birthplace of silver (silver's Sumerogram signified Hatti) (Giannakos 2016, 63-65) – is numbered among Troy's allies. The Iliad does not attribute to Halyzones larger weight than to other allies, image compatible to Hatti's attitude towards the West only at this era, not later. The conquest of Troy, after a visible to all 'pan-Achaean overseas expedition', passed to the collective memory and the bards were singing this glorious achievement of the heroic ancestors.

Eighty years after 1400 BC, Greece had weakened:

Hittites seized Millawanda (1318/1316 BC) without any reaction from Ahhiyawa, 'resonantly' omitted in Alaksandu Treaty [1280 BC(?)];

T/Danaja disappeared from post-1351/1327 BC Egyptian records;

Maritime-trade passed to residents of post-1340/1315 BC Cyprus<sup>113</sup>;

Post-1300(+) BC economic problems, sumptuary controls, threats forcing to citadel-fortifications, "widespread, localized destructions – during the prosperous Palatial phase –" occurred, and a "LH IIIA2-LH IIIB cardboard-collapse", of the Palatial centers took place;

The Mycenaean (F)Avaξ did not campaign or even visit Asia Minor; even more, after 1200 BC, he could not impose himself over a hierarchy; only 'hordes of marauders' are recorded then.

Post-1267(+)/1265(+) BC, longstanding intra-dynastic conflicts and introversion determined Hatti's foreign-policy, e.g. to "flatter" Ahhiyawa (incapable to 'campaign for' Urhi-Teshub). Explicit "representatives/agents" of Ahhiyawa, members of ruling-élites in western Asia Minor, "relying on" their long-lasting 'eclectic affinity' with Ahhiyawa, acted anti-Hittite, engaging (downgraded) Troy as well.

Ancient literature echoes:

'Atreid Agamemnon', (F)Avaξ/King of Mycenae ["rich-in-gold"], with many lesser-rulers, campaigned personally against a 'powerful-Troy' ("defected from Hatti", from Ammuna till Suppiluliuma (Kukkuni)

<sup>113</sup> Sherratt 2001, 235, LH IIIB-end: trade-routes shifted northwards.

[1570/1560(-)-1350(-) BC]) and its allies<sup>114</sup> ('Aššuwān-Confederacy'), an image compatible also to 1500(+)-1400(+) BC<sup>115</sup> but not to post-1400 BC Greece;

[Both] Atreids visited/raided Cyprus, Levant and (Odysseus also) Egypt (Giannakos 2016 59);

Internal conflicts (as in early-LH IIIA, when a few chiefs-warlords evolved to Palace-Kings, "swallowing neighbor-states");

'Eighty years' after the Trojan War, extended turmoil/upheaval prevailed.

A 1400(+) BC Trojan War, with a fall of Troy, is completely compatible with the archaeological evidence and matches a minimal possible historical core in the Ancient sources<sup>116</sup>.

## Conclusions II: a re-assessment of the traditional dating of Troy's fall

However, there are traditional datings for a late chronology of Troy's fall (Troy VII/VIIa or VIh); *are their supporting arguments compatible with archaeological evidence and historical records*?

The destruction-layer VII/VIIa was dated initially by Blegen (1963, 160-161, 163) at "1260 or even earlier" or at 1250<sup>117</sup> or 1240 BC<sup>118</sup>. Blegen (1963, 153, 161-163) considered the VII/VIIa layer as the 'Troy of Priam' "almost wholly destroyed by fire; some skulls, bones, jaws and one skeleton were found; fighting and killings must have accompanied the destruction of VIIa" since before it, "crowding in the city had taken place, to provide shelter within the fortification walls, and there was an installation of innumerable capacious storage jars in almost every house for supplies and food in emergency. What could it mean other than a siege by invading hostile forces?". Yet, Korfmann (2004, 16; also, Latacz 2004, 31 and Mountjoy<sup>119</sup> 1999b, 301) re-dated this destruction-layer at 1190/1180 BC, so Korfmann (1986, 25-26) did not consider it as 'Priam's Troy', since Mountjoy (supra) supported that "it may have been the work of the so-called Sea Peoples<sup>120</sup>" and not of a regular

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<sup>114</sup> Achilles raided Teuthrania, Mysia, Cilicia, and Pedasos.

<sup>115</sup> Many chiefs/warlords. Voutsaki (2001, 204; 2005, 135-138), Mycenae: "grew in significance; military achievements, conspicuous consumption, conspicuous ostentatious-offerings".

<sup>116</sup> Note 13.

<sup>117</sup> Page (1959, 73): "now assigned by Blegen to a year near, at least not long after, the middle of the 13th century".

<sup>118</sup> Mountjoy 1999b, 297: Blegen's dating (obviously in *Troy III*, cf. note 121 below).

<sup>119</sup> After her investigation and analysis of the unearthened Mycenaean pottery at Troy VI.

<sup>120</sup> "Marauders" above; note 75. "Marauders" because [cf. Finné/Stocker *et alii* (2017, 10, 1, 2)]: "drier local conditions contributed to" Palaces' "demise"; "part of the destabilization-process that contributed to the **palatial administration's inability to reconstruct social hierarchies after the** Palaces' "*destruction(s)*", whereupon "complex forms of political, economic and social organization disappeared" too. Also, Mylonas (1964, 356-357) citing Desborough, since in his article Mylonas summarizes the debate (until 1964) about Trojan War's dating.

army. Obviously, after the Mycenaean Palaces had overwhelmingly collapsed, Mycenaeans could not campaign overseas, obeying a hierarchy with a supreme commander (Mycenae's King), Pylos' and Knossos' Kings second-in-command, third hierarchical level six-plus-one/seven Kings (Hom. *Il.* 2.402-409) and fourth level numerous lesser-rulers; who would have obeyed a hierarchy of 'Kings without Palaces'? Moreover,

(a) Euboea was no-more independent (at the date of this destruction-layer and possibly at the date of VIh), as the *Iliad* narrates, but it had been subdued by Thebes by 1300(+) BC, and

(b) "Knossos ceased to have an operational palace and a King/ῥΑναξ may no longer have been present at Knossos after 1375 BC" (Popham (1970, 85): destruction's date between 1400-1375 BC; cf. Driessen/Langohr 2007, 179-180: the new generation of archaeologists accept Popham's date, e.g. Hatzaki) or at the latest by LM IIIA2 (1375-1300 BC) when "the power-center at Crete was transferred at Kydonia/Khania" (not mentioned at all in the *Iliad*); consequently, it was not possible for Knossos' King/ῥΑναξ to be 'second-in-command' in a Trojan expedition, both as regards the VIi/VIIa and VIIh layers (Giannakos 2012, 161-162 notes 718, 720; 2015, 753 note 32; both with bibliographic references also).

The destruction-layer VIIh was dated by Blegen – initially – at 1275 BC<sup>121</sup> but ten years later at 1300 BC (Blegen 1963, 142). Blegen attributed this destruction to an earthquake (1963, 144, 160)<sup>122</sup> and not to an enemy's action (Korfmann agreed for 1300 BC and earthquake; Latacz and Mountjoy also). Bryce (2005, 365; also<sup>123</sup>, Nylander, Schachermeyer) considers this layer as the 'Homeric Troy' due to "its imposing towers", a conquest which followed probably a destruction of the fortifications by an earthquake, neglecting that "in the ruins *no traces of human victims were found*. The inhabitants escaped with their lives if not with all their possessions. Perhaps it was one of those severe earthquakes giving warning by preliminary rumblings. *Burning and killings*, which were the normal accompaniment of capture and sacking of a city seem to be lacking here" (Blegen 1963, 144-147). Furthermore, at ca. 1299/1284/1275 BC, Muwattalli II "had brought with him in the battle of Kadesh" -at the faraway (from Troy) Syria- the military forces "of Troy and of all the Members of the Aššuwān Confederacy", which "corresponded strikingly in make-up and geographical extension to Trojan-confederation of the *Iliad*"; "if the story of the Trojan War and the sack of Troy had taken place at ca. 1300 BC, then it would have been impossible for Trojans/Dardanians and all their allies", *along the coastal areas of Asia Minor from Troy to Lycia and further until the Cilician Gates* (see above, Fig. 2), to leave Asia Minor and "participate in this battle, in a period from one to fifteen and twenty-six years later (of a sack of Troy) and victorious", thus not

<sup>121</sup> Mountjoy (1999a, 256, 290 note15); in Blegen's "*Troy III-The Sixth Settlement*", 1953, 18, 20.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Mylonas 1964, 359 note 17.

<sup>123</sup> Mylonas 1964, 353; Mountjoy 1999b, 255.

weakened, “Aḫḫiyawa would not have been omitted in the Alakšandu treaty” (Giannakos 2016, 66-67: with detailed description of the place-names in the battle of Kadesh). Moreover, a large number of additional written (historical) evidence – presented here – contradicts the ability of Mycenaeans for to conduct overseas military action already by 1300(+) BC<sup>124</sup>.

Some scholars, trying to assess the level of destruction of the Trojan War, returned to the proposed – in the past – chronologies by Blegen, 1280/1275 BC for the destruction-layer VIh and 1260/1250 BC (or earlier) until 1240(-) BC (the latter of Herodotus too) for the layer VIIi/VIIa. But, even in these questionable datings\*, apart from the contradicting arguments for the destruction-layers VIh and VIIi/VIIa – presented in the two previous paragraphs and applicable also here –, there are also additional confuting arguments:

At ca. 1280 BC, Muwattalli II – “in order to secure Ḫatti’s western borders, concentrates his resources on the imminent showdown with Egypt in Kadesh and transfers undistractedly his capital from Ḫattuša to faraway Tarhuntassa” (Kelder 2010, 27, note 74; Bryce 2005, 221-245; 1989, 301-302; AHT4, 121) – contracted an official international diplomatic text, the ‘Alaksandu Treaty’. In this ‘Treaty’, which constitutes a *reliable historical record*, (my emphasis) Muwattalli II “omitted Aḫḫiyawa, which had been tamed” (Bryce 1989, 302; 2005, 224; Kelder 2010, 27), since by at least 1320/1316 BC when, after the conquest of Millawanda – Aḫḫiyawa’s bridgehead in Asia Minor – by Mursili II, Aḫḫiyawa (weakened) was not able to “react militarily”(see note 41); this is verified by the Egyptian records too, where D/Tanaja has also disappeared by 1351/1327 BC.

The expedition to Kadesh of Muwattalli and his allies from Asia Minor – at ca. 1299/1284/1275 BC with as the predominant date 1275 BC, in complementarity to the ‘Alaksandu Treaty’ and the remainder of the archaeological evidence – infers that no danger at all from any massive Aḫḫiyawan military forces was to be expected on land in Asia Minor (with the only exception being the local forces of Arzawa (note 45, Piyamaradu, and probably some Achaeon naval forces in the northern Aegean, but not on land<sup>125</sup>). Muwattalli II had already ceded Millawanda to Aḫḫiyawa as a trade-off, at

<sup>124</sup> See a summary in the chapter ‘Troy - Destruction layers’ above.

\* The dates which were proposed (later at 1963) by Blegen finally were 1300 and 1260/1240 since now only 1300 and 1190/1180 are accepted by the last excavators and researchers (i.e. Korfman, Latacz, Mountjoy) of Troy. Some researchers trying to forcefully fit a destruction-layer with the Trojan War, return to abandoned -today- datings; nevertheless, I examine these presently abandoned dates.

<sup>125</sup> See the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’, CTH 191, etc., above. “Aḫḫiyawa was a small kingdom of LBA Greek world, albeit one whose territory included islands off the Asia Minor’s mainland and a major base on the mainland” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 122), but this base (Millawanda) was governed by local-rulers, representatives of Aḫḫiyawa (e.g. Atpa of Millawanda).

a time before his expedition (see below also), to abate the Aḫḫiyawan King. About seven to ten years later, during Ḫattušili III's reign (1267/1265-1240/1237 BC), notwithstanding that the Aḫḫiyawan King was still continuously inciting the local rulers to anti-Hittite activities, Aḫḫiyawa was still weakened and was not able to satisfy the application for the anti-Hittite Achaean military support for the dethroned, by Ḫattušili III, Urhi-Teshub/Mursili III (1272/1270-1267/1265 BC) [Beckman/Bryce Cline 2011], 166: about Urhi-Teshub's application; Urhi-Teshub's efforts to regain his throne lasted for more than 30 years].

"We the brothers", "my brother" (*AHT* 4, *passim*) and the "largely conciliatory tone" (see Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011], 120), used by Ḫattušili, served his "main purpose to win Aḫḫiyawan cooperation in curbing Piyamaradu's activities", the only recorded anti-Hittite military activities **on land** in western Asia Minor, in the *historical* Hittite archives by 1300(+) BC. Ḫattušili, under-pressure due to an intra-dynastic controversy and internationally surrounded by adversaries, was making "brothers/sons-in-law" not only his equal Kings of the other four Great Kingdoms<sup>126</sup> (Pharaoh Rameses II and the King of Babylon), but also his vassal-rulers: the periodical (king of Amurru) as well as the permanent ones (like the king of Isuwa); this situation worsened during the reign of his son, Tudḫaliya IV, who addressed as "my brother" even his vassal-ruler Tarkašnawa (without any dynastic marriage – (cf. Hoffner 2009, 316). This situation enhanced, virtually, the image of the Aḫḫiyawan King; was he also a relative of the Aḫḫiyawan(?) princess Henti, Ḫattušili's grand-mother, consequently the Hittite king's uncle/2nd-cousin? Furthermore, Ḫattušili's phrases – "if I wrote anything insulting, it was not deliberate, in a legal dispute, which we will 'state officially'<sup>127</sup> how it will be solved; [send/(write) that] to him/(Piyamaradu<sup>128</sup>)", and "acted aggressively"/"used force" – indicate *at the most* only (an) indirect military conflict(s) between Ḫatti-Aḫḫiyawa; Aḫḫiyawa had not been recorded to send or maintain Achaean forces **on land** in Asia Minor, but it had been represented in military operations by Piyamaradu, from (at least) the reign of Muwattalli II until Ḫattušili III's or even until Tudḫaliya IV's reign.

However, since Tawagalawa/E-te-ḫo-kle-ḫes/Ετεοκλής – *brother*<sup>129</sup> of the King of Aḫḫiyawa – is recorded visiting Asia Minor, a question could be raised: *did he lead Achaean military forces in Asia Minor or not?*

<sup>126</sup> Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Mitanni (Bryce 2003b, 11-41).

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/set-down>: '**set down**' = 'to **state officially** how something should be done' (Macmillan Dictionary: British).

<sup>128</sup> Ḫattušili asks 'diplomatically' of the Aḫḫiyawan King to order Piyamaradu to stop his military operations.

<sup>129</sup> Heinhold-Krahmer: "The previous King of Aḫḫiyawa" (Hoffner 2009, 389, note 260).



The reference of Hattušili to an “enmity between him and the Ahhiyawan King over Wilusa” could refer to a ‘Trojan War’ (Bryce 2003b, 207-208). As far as it is transmitted in the sources, the ancient Greek Literature does not keep any memory of a War over Ἰλίου with Achaeans and Hittites as major opponents, but only of Achaeans against a strong Troy supported by an independent alliance, as the *anti-Hittite* ‘Aššuwān Confederacy’, the members of which, after 1350 BC, were being transformed one-by-one into vassal-states of Hatti; for this vassalage of the western Asia Minor States no memory has been kept either. The “enmity” (ca. 1280 BC) suggests likely an Ahhiyawan King’s indirect action through his representatives/local-rulers (Piyamaradu) (see above the Hittite records) *and, for sure, not a massive expedition of Achaean forces*<sup>130</sup>; did Piyamaradu succeed to take temporarily control of Wilusa [see note 134 below], making it part of the Ahhiyawan zone-of-influence? Muwattalli II – as he was making ready for Kadesh – had already been led to cede Millawanda to “satisfy the Ahhiyawan King” and prevent his anticipated indirect reactions (see note 135 below), which Muwattalli did not avoid; this was the era, when “‘young’ Hattušili exercised considerable authority at Hattuša” (Bryce 2005, 232-233; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 121-122).

But what about Tawagalawa, who is mentioned only in §§ 1, 5, 8 of the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’?

“As the men of Lukka notified Tawagalawa, so that he came into these Lands. They likewise notified me (Hattušili III), so that I (too) came down to these Lands. When I reached the town Šallapa, he” was not present (§ 1); at the past, “earlier interpreters had thought that ‘he’ (= Tawagalawa)” (was not present), which could infer – in a very arbitrary implication based obviously on the phrase “he came” – that he could have led military forces into the Lukka-Lands. Yet, “the latest interpretations render ‘he’ (= Piyamaradu not Tawagalawa)”; which might indicate that Tawagalawa was not the military leader (Hoffner 2009, 302, 389 note 262; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 103; Gurney 1997, 134-135). This probability (‘might’) rise(s) to almost certainty based on the analysis cited in the following five paragraphs:

Tawagalawa is not recorded anywhere in the ‘Letter’ to lead military forces, since the ‘Letter’ records that Hattušili (§ 4) and Piyamaradu (§ 2) led: “Tawagalawa himself (as the representative of?) the Great King, crossed over to Millawanda”; “He often mounted [the chariot] with Tapala-Tarhunta”, a high-rank Hittite of the Royal family, who “in my youth mounted the chariot with me/Hattušili” (§§ 5, 8). Obviously, the “representative of the Great King of Ahhiyawa” did not need any military forces to “cross over to” “Millawanda” (which was under Ahhiyawan

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<sup>130</sup> See above ‘Tawagalawa Letter’ in the chapter ‘Hittite Records’. Freu/Mazoyer (2008, vol. 3, 112, 117): “Ahhiyawa was not operating on-land in Asia Minor” and Bryce (2006, 185): “even so, we are left far short of anything resembling a conflict of the nature or on the scale of Homer’s narrative; Troy was certainly not abandoned then”.

influence) and, also, his “mounting on a chariot” of the Hittite Royal Family, is *a pure diplomatic* and not military *mission*. Furthermore, it is clear that Ḫattušili was not afraid of/interested in him but only in Piyamaradu.

A boundary list (AHT 18) – official Treaty(?) – “describes the borders between many kingdoms in Asia Minor (Aḫḫiyawa is included), before Aḫḫiyawa’s disappearance at Tudḫaliya IV’s reign”. We imply (from the ‘Tawagalawa Letter’) that Ḫattušili III – surrounded by several parties – respected these borders very strictly, to avoid hostile reactions against him: he was, therefore, very careful not to violate the officially recognized borders of the Aḫḫiyawan territory<sup>131</sup>. The Aḫḫiyawan King pretended to respect them also but was inciting Piyamaradu to violate them repeatedly.

Ḫattušili complains to the Aḫḫiyawan King: “many civilian captives *have slipped across* to your(!) [territory] and you, my brother, have [taken?] 7.000 civilian captives from me”. “when my fugitives crossed over to him ... If some *servant* of mine flees [from me] will you ... run after that one?” (§§ 9, 10). Even this passage does not refer to any violent action of Achaeans: “7.000 civilian servants (or captives<sup>132</sup>) of mine (Ḫattušili) *have slipped across* to your(!) [territory]”! This recorded defection of 7.000 “Hittite subjects”, into the territory of Aḫḫiyawan influence, was either volitive (§ 9) or they were compelled due to the military activities of Piyamaradu (“because he, with force, brought”, § 9); no military action of an Achaean army was recorded.

“The Aḫḫiyawan King was looking for recruits to swell his labor-force for the large construction projects which the fortification of the Mycenaean citadels entailed; it was precisely in this period that massive new building enterprises were being undertaken on the Greek mainland” (Bryce 2003b, 203). The need to fortify the citadels – due to the rise of internal conflicts – had already become apparent (see “Mycenaean Palaces” above), which is why, moreover, *there was not any capability to dispatch Achaean troops abroad (much less for a massive expedition) and weaken even more the Achaean King’s power at home*.

Very reasonably, Beckman/Bryce/Cline (2011, 120; 251-252) like Bryce (2005, 290-291, also 292-293) suggest that: “Tawagalawa had apparently come to Asia Minor”, that is to Millawanda, Aḫḫiyawa’s bridgehead, governed not by an Aḫḫiyawan ruler but by Atpa, Piyamaradu’s son-in-law (Bryce 2003b, 204; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 144), the local-ruler, and a representative of Aḫḫiyawa: consequently, his military forces were not Achaean but local. “Tawagalawa had come to

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<sup>131</sup> Ḫattušili writes very carefully and in a humble way his apologies for intrusion in Millawanda (‘Letter’: § 5).

<sup>132</sup> The text above is a mixture: the first two lines from § 9 and the third and fourth lines from § 10; in § 9 ‘captives who slipped’ are referred to but in § 10 ‘servants who flee’ and in my opinion, Ḫattušili asks diplomatically from the Aḫḫiyawan King to run after/chase the servants who have fled or slipped (§ 9).

receive and transport/escort<sup>133</sup> local rebels to Ahhiyawan territory, (§9, 10), who had sought protection from Hittite authority. It may have been the intention of the phrase stating that: some of the Lukka people had been brought to him (Tawagalawa) by Piyamaradu presumably to arrange for relocation in Ahhiyawan territory, probably after a major rebellion against Hatti in Lukka (about this rebellion, also Gurney 1997). Hattušili set out for the west – with great reluctance(!?) – in order to re-assert Hittite authority over the region occupied by Piyamaradu. Even when he was on the march, he attempted to reach a” compromising “settlement with Piyamaradu”, because only Piyamaradu disposed of military forces and not Tawagalawa. “Piyamaradu, active by the reign of Muwattalli II until Tudhaliya IV’s<sup>134</sup> reign almost 35 years, was seen as the fomenter and leader of the anti-Hittite movements and was the chief target of the western campaign of Hittites, on this and probably other occasions” (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 120).

During Muwattalli II’s till Hattušili III’s reigns only the Arzawan Piyamaradu’s local military forces have been recorded and not any Mycenaean forces of the Achaean Tawagalawa (cf. Hoffner 2009, 297: “Tawagalawa is a peripheral figure, by no means the main subject, which is Piyamaradu”). Military, partisan, local activities of the non-Achaean “representatives of Ahhiyawa’s King” in post-1295(+) BC Asia Minor was a top-secret diplomatic issue, which preoccupied the Royal Courts of Ahhiyawa and Hatti (during this period of turbulence) and was only kept within the Royal Courts as well as among the very few members of their literate bureaucracies. By its nature, it was: (a) indifferent and unknown to the overwhelming majority of the Greeks, (b) not tempting the folk imagination and (c) not compatible with a “pan-Achaean overseas expedition visible to all”. Therefore these activities, performed by ‘non-Achaean’, localized in Asia Minor’s mainland and focused eastern-wards, had neither passed into a collective memory nor had they been sung by bards: thus, poetry has not transferred to us any hint about a powerful Hatti (during its ‘Supremacy’ (Bryce 2005, 154-294)), in this way consigning the memory of the post-1350 BC Hittite ‘Great Kingdom’ to the oblivion of the Greeks, keeping in the *Iliad* only a faint recollection of pre-1400 BC “Halyzones”, to whom the *Iliad* does not attribute ‘larger weight than any other ally of Troy’ (likely, any other member of the Arzawa-Lands and Aššuwān Confederation), an image compatible with the period 1570/1560(-)-1400(+) BC of Hatti. The memory of the raids of marauders’ hordes – and not of a regular army – eastwards at 1200(-) BC, which swept wider eastern areas of the Aegean and Mediterranean, including Troy VII/VIIa, confused the authors of the Alexandrian period (Parian Chronicle,

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<sup>133</sup> The difference between transport and escort is not clear. The facts are: Piyamaradu facilitated (or forced according to *Hattušili*) the rebels of Arzawa to “slip” into Ahhiyawan territory, to meet Tawagalawa and he (Tawagalawa) took the final decisions if and who would cross the sea towards Ahhiyawa (this follows from the analysis earlier in this article). Obviously Tawagalawa could not escort 7000 [divided by] /less-than-50(per ship?) = more than 140 ships perhaps 200; the author believes that Tawagalawa approved or not the transportation.

<sup>134</sup> Hoffner (2009, 300): only during the reigns of Muwattalli II, Muršili III (Urhi-Teššub) and Hattušili III.

Eratosthenes, Dicaerchus, Timaeus, etc., based on Ramesses III records?) about the dating of the Trojan War; they contributed only the latest of ‘the alleged dates of Greek literature’ that originate from “the conflation of events of many centuries” (see above; Giannakos 2012, 112-113).

It has to be underlined also that, in the *Iliad*, “Carians held Miletus” with its surrounding area and participated in the ‘alliance of Troy’, underlining that Miletus was an enemy of the Achaeans<sup>135</sup>. Yet, Mycenaeans had been installed at Miletus since “(LH IIB) 1430 BC or 1425 BC”. An interval followed at the period 1320/1316-1280(+) BC, after the conquest of Millawanda by Mursili. During Muwattalli’s reign, Piyamaradu, Ahhiyawa’s representative, attacked and probably controlled Wilusa temporarily<sup>136</sup>. At that era, Millawanda did not belong to Hatti’s but to Ahhiyawa’s influence: consequently, it was not Troy’s ally against the “representative of Ahhiyawa”<sup>137</sup>. The “Hittites dispatched troops, attacked, ‘reasserted Hittite authority over Seha-River[-land] and Wilusa’, and forced Alaksandu (downgraded to a vassal-ruler) to sign the Treaty” at ca. 1280 BC. Until then, Wilusa was living a ‘period of waning-equality’, “exchanging messengers” with Hatti (cf. ‘Alaksandu Treaty’, CTH191, above), was independent (pro-Ahhiyawan? [Giannakos 2016: Aeneads]) and not a conquered/vassal-state of Hatti. Troy and Millawanda together did not participate in any ‘alliance/Confederacy’ against “Ahhiyawan-sponsored local-forces”, at that era. Ever since, some minor tensions over Wilusa took place, but it remained mainly under Hittite hegemony, since Millawanda remained an Achaean bridgehead. Homer portrays a ‘Trojan War’ at an era when Carians “holding Miletus” were one of Troy’s allies (as the Land-of-Karakisa/Caria in the Aššuwān Confederacy). Miletus was an *enemy of Achaeans* (my emphasis), and not a territory/ bridgehead of Ahhiyawa,

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<sup>135</sup> “Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφόνων, οἱ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ’ ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοᾶς Μυκάλης τ’ αἰπρινὰ κάρηνα· τῶν μὲν ἄρ’ Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάστης ἡγησάσθην”/ “And Nastes again led the Carians, uncouth of speech, who held Miletus and the mountain of Phthires, dense with its leafage, and the streams of Maeander, and the steep crests of Mycale. These were led by captains twain, Amphimachus and Nastes” (TLG, Hom. *Il.* 2:867-870; translation TLG/Perseus).

<sup>136</sup> ‘Alaksandu Treaty § 4’ records: “[that the men of the land of Arzawa] began war against me, and they entered [... your land(?)], then you (Alaksandu) called me for help. I came [to your aid] and I destroyed....” (Beckman 1999, 88). *This text does not – obligatorily – mean Troy’s conquest by “the men of Arzawa”, Piyamaradu most likely, but it explicitly records hostile relations between the former allies* (among the ‘Arzawan-Lands’ and the ‘Aššuwān Confederacy’) *Arzawa – with Masa – and Wilusa*; they did not form a “pro-Troy” alliance.

<sup>137</sup> According to the ‘Manapa-Tarhunta Letter’ (CTH 191), which is dated at Muwattalli II’s reign (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 140; Hoffner 2009, 293), Millawanda belonged already to Piyamaradu’s influence with Atpa as ruler, consequently Millawanda’s “ceding” to Ahhiyawa by Muwattalli II had been materialized earlier (1280(+) BC). After Piyamaradu’s attack against Wilusa (and its temporary conquest(?)), Muwattalli II “reasserted Hittite authority over Seha-River[-land] and Wilusa” (the “enmity” between “young” Hattusili and the Ahhiyawan King), but Millawanda remained under Ahhiyawan control. *Millawanda and Wilusa were never allied against Ahhiyawa, at this era.*

an image compatible with an earlier era than 1400 BC<sup>138</sup> (*terminus ante quem*). As a consequence, all the proposed dates for a fall of Troy after 1400(+)/1400 BC are contradicted by a very large number of archaeological evidence and historical records and neither do they match a – subtractively approached – minimal possible historical core in the Ancient sources. Contrarily, a 1400(+) BC ‘Trojan War’ is completely compatible with the archaeological evidence and historical records and matches a minimal historical core in the Ancient sources, as it is documented in this article.

Furthermore, it has to be reminded that “literary analysis” of the Homeric Epics, “might well suggest that” the Trojan War “had already been sung, by bards/lyre-players, since 1450(-1050) BC”, obviously, “after the sack of Troy” (Giannakos 2016, 71, 67-69; cf. Nagy 2008, ‘Dialectology’; 2011, 12-28, 141-146, 211-217, 273-310; Ruijgh 2011, 283, 287; Cline 1997, 196, 198: “*unless we should date the Trojan War in the 15th century BC*”). This ascertainment supports strongly an early dating (1400(+) BC) of the Trojan War too: the Fall of Troy (Ἰλίου Πέρις) could not “been sung” before, but after it had taken place, whereas ‘the early phase’ of the Homeric Epics is dated too, “deep into the Bronze Age” – that is “deeply” before 1200 BC – “and it is marked by one central event: the Trojan War” (Nagy 2011, 131; cf. 133-134. Cf. note 12, Janko’s opinion).

### Annex 1: Mycenaean technology

The first ashlar-masonry originates during EM (3350-2150 BC) Crete (Vasiliki), and was applied on a large-scale in palaces and mansions after MM II (1800-1700 BC), and in Pre-Hellenic mainland (pre-2200 BC). In Crete and Akrotiri (on Thera/Santorini), wooden-beams were used as earthquake-resistant reinforcement (Fig. 8), a precocious and efficient stratagem to undertake tensile-stresses. Stone-masonry tensile-strength is negligible; reinforcement is mandatory to avoid failure.

“Ashlar-masonry became part of a ‘Mycenaean-style’”, used in central ‘seats-of-power’ (Wright 2006, 17, 7, 9: “Nelson (2001, 187-191), Barber (1992, 1, note 6), Vermeule (1964, 41, fig. 6), Sakellarakis (1967, 277, 287-288), Pelon (1976, 208, note 5)”.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. also Latacz (2004, 247-248, 229, 312 note 74): the Mycenaean colonies in western Asia Minor are not included in the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, so the situation sung in the *Iliad* is dated at 1400-1200 BC. The *Iliad* itself, following the current paradigm, is of much later date. However: many of the experts in early Mycenaean linguistics, people like Nagy, Janko, West, Ruijgh, Lejeune etc., prefer an earlier date. Tom Palaima wrote to me (and Peter Warren e-mailed me) “**The Warren-Palaima thesis is how archaeology and textual evidence can coincide.** Peter and I came up with similar results using very different bodies of evidence independently”. Latacz (2004, 261-263, note 17, 312-313) also, believes that some verses e.g. about Meriones and Enyalios, etc., are dated at early Mycenaean language (1600-1450 BC); see for example Ruijgh 2011. Also, Ruijgh 2011, 257-258, 283, 287; Kirk, 1962, 200; Page 1959, 142-143; Giannakos 2012, ch.8, “Dating the Epics Linguistically”, 114-119; Giannakos/Γιαννάκος 2016, ch.7, a largely extended version of ch. 8 of the English version, 183-192.



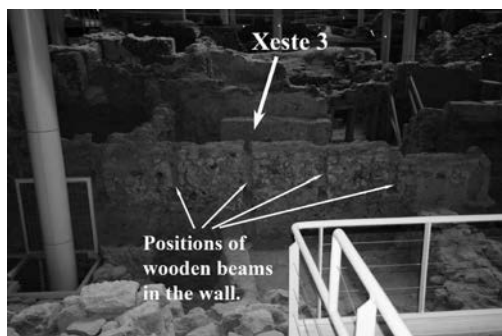


Fig.8a-b.  
Akrotiri: antiseismic-reinforcements.

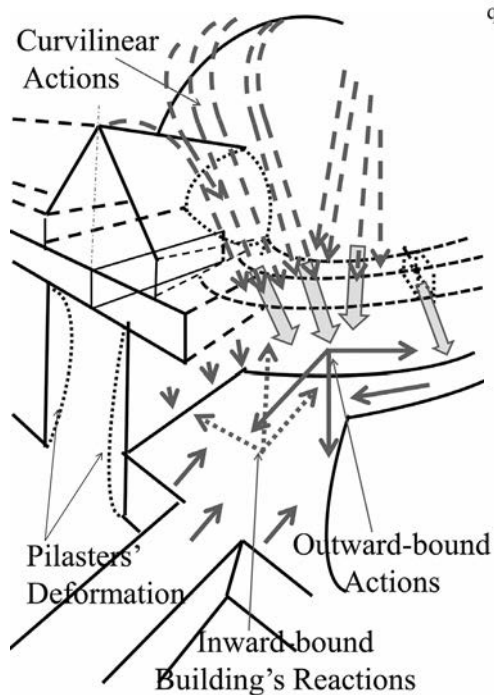
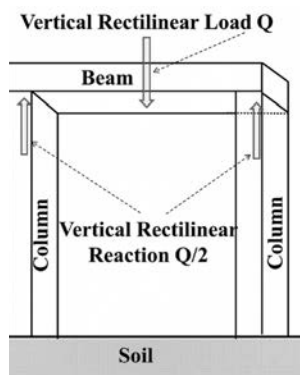
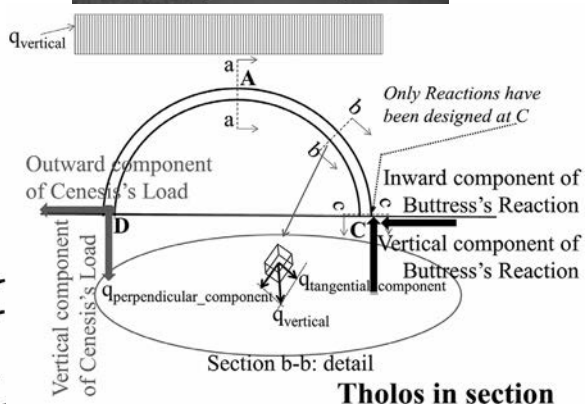


Fig. 9a-b. Tholoi; Actions-Reactions.  
Beam-on-Column





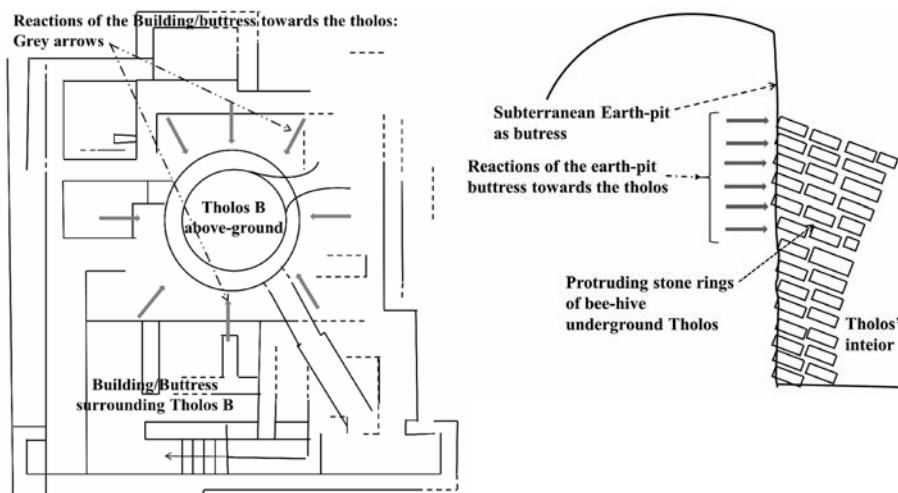


Fig. 10. Buttresses to above-ground (left/Fourni) and subterranean (right) *tholoi*.

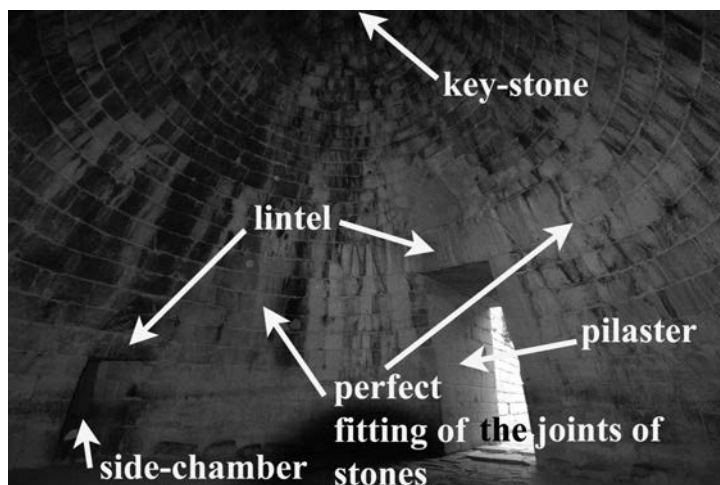


Fig. 11a. Mycenae, Atreus Treasury.

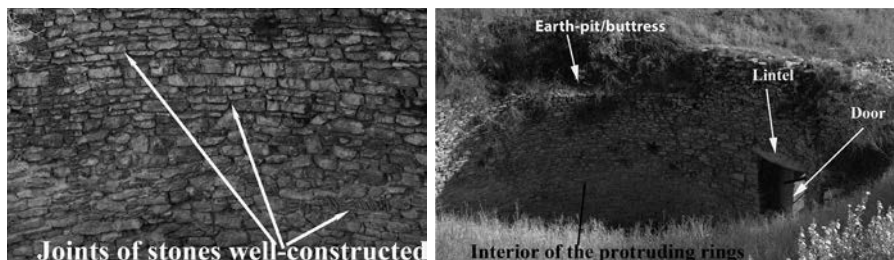


Fig. 11b. Mycenae, *Tholos* of Aigisthos.

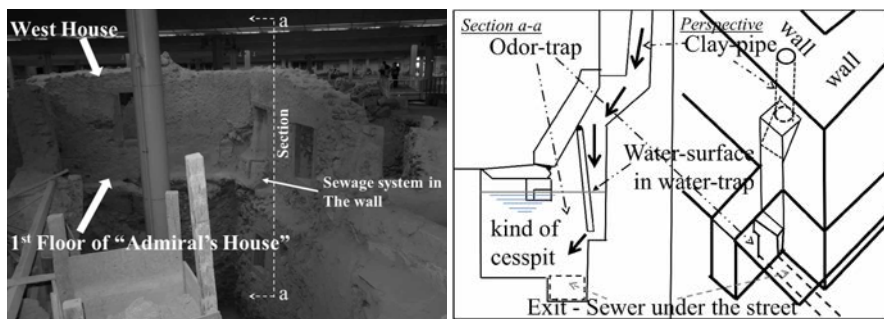


Fig. 12a-b. Akrotiri, Odor-trap.

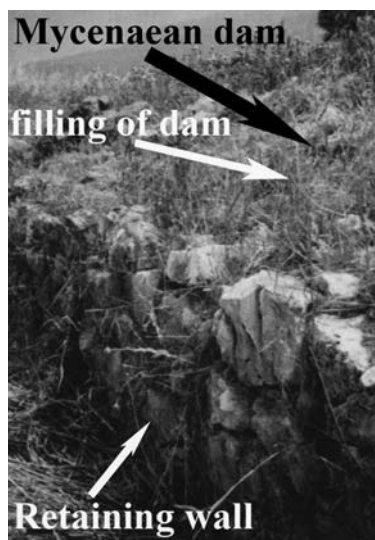
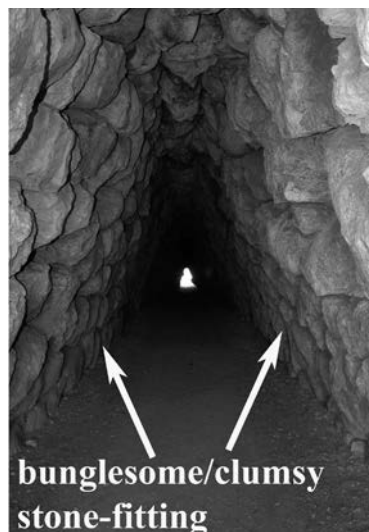


Fig. 13a-b. Kopais, dams.

Fig. 14. Hattuša, arc.



The Three-dimensional ashlar corbelled-vault in *tholoi*, is the most pre-eminent ‘Mycenaean-style’ achievement, with perfect fitting of stone-blocks (since EM II [2900-2300 BC]; inherited from Minoan Crete<sup>139</sup>), presenting lateral, outward-bound load-components (Fig. 9a)<sup>140</sup>, exceeding the stone-masonry tensile-strength. In “beam-on-column” constructions (Fig. 9b), only vertical, compressive-stresses appear.

In EM II Crete, buildings-buttresses<sup>141</sup>, surrounding above-ground *tholoi*, (Fig. 10, left)<sup>142</sup>, retain (like a ‘retaining structure’) these lateral-forces (Fig. 9a). On the mainland, *tholoi* with surrounding ‘earth-pits’/buttresses (to control the outbound-forces, attributing also unearthly ‘monumentality and prestige’) were adopted in the early-Mycenaean period (MH III-LH I) (Fig. 10, right; Fig. 11a [Atreus Treasure, 14,5m span, no paper-sheet can intrude in the joints]; Fig. 11b [Aigisthos *tholos*, early-LH IIA]).

The ‘Finite-Element-Method’ for the Atreus *tholos*, under earth-pressure and seismic-loading<sup>143</sup>, gave displacement-diagrams, maximum compression-stresses [0.8%-11.4% of capacity/strength] and tensile-stresses [0.7%-8.5% of capacity/strength] (Giannakos 2016; Askouni *et alii* 2008).

By the 3rd millennium, Minoan/Mycenaean Greeks had developed a high-level technology in routine-conceptions [modern-day sewage-systems [odor-traps (Fig. 12)<sup>144</sup>] and in monumental large-scale projects [dams, artificial ports, large-scale drainage/land-reclamation works (Kopais lake<sup>145</sup>)], demanding “technical expertise and outstanding ability for the management/mobilization of large numbers of labor-force, two hallmarks of Mycenaean palatial states”<sup>146</sup> (Fig. 13)<sup>147</sup>.

Giannakos (2016, 59-60) documents a flow of technology from Greece to the East, refuting aspects about Hittite elements in Mycenaean architecture; an example: Hattuša’s two-dimensional arc, inside the wall-mass (Fig. 14) [of primitive technique (bunglesome/clumsy stone-fitting, compared to *tholoi*)], presents a significantly shorter span (~2m→stressing: 2% of Atreus Treasure), an incomparably easier construction which was constructed more than one-thousand years after the first *tholoi* and two-thousand years after Phylakopi’s “cells-in-wall-mass”.

<sup>139</sup> Pelon 1994, 174, Girella/Marini/Palmieri 2013, Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1997, 181, 170.

<sup>140</sup> [Left]: Based on Santillo/Frizell-designs.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Hagia-Sofia (6th century AD), Constantinople, the edifice-mass is buttress; Notre-Dame (12th century AD), Paris, the buttresses are external architectural elements.

<sup>142</sup> Based on Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1997, 170.

<sup>143</sup> Response to first-5 seconds-accelerogram/North-South-Component, of 1940 El-Centro strong-motion-earthquake.

<sup>144</sup> Right: based on Palyvou’s plans.

<sup>145</sup> Giannakos 2016, 53 note 7; Tassios 2008, 12.

<sup>146</sup> Crowley 2008, 269; Wright 2004, 41.

<sup>147</sup> Courtesy of prof. Tassios.

## Annex 2: Hittite Kings and Pharaoh Chronologies: a comparison

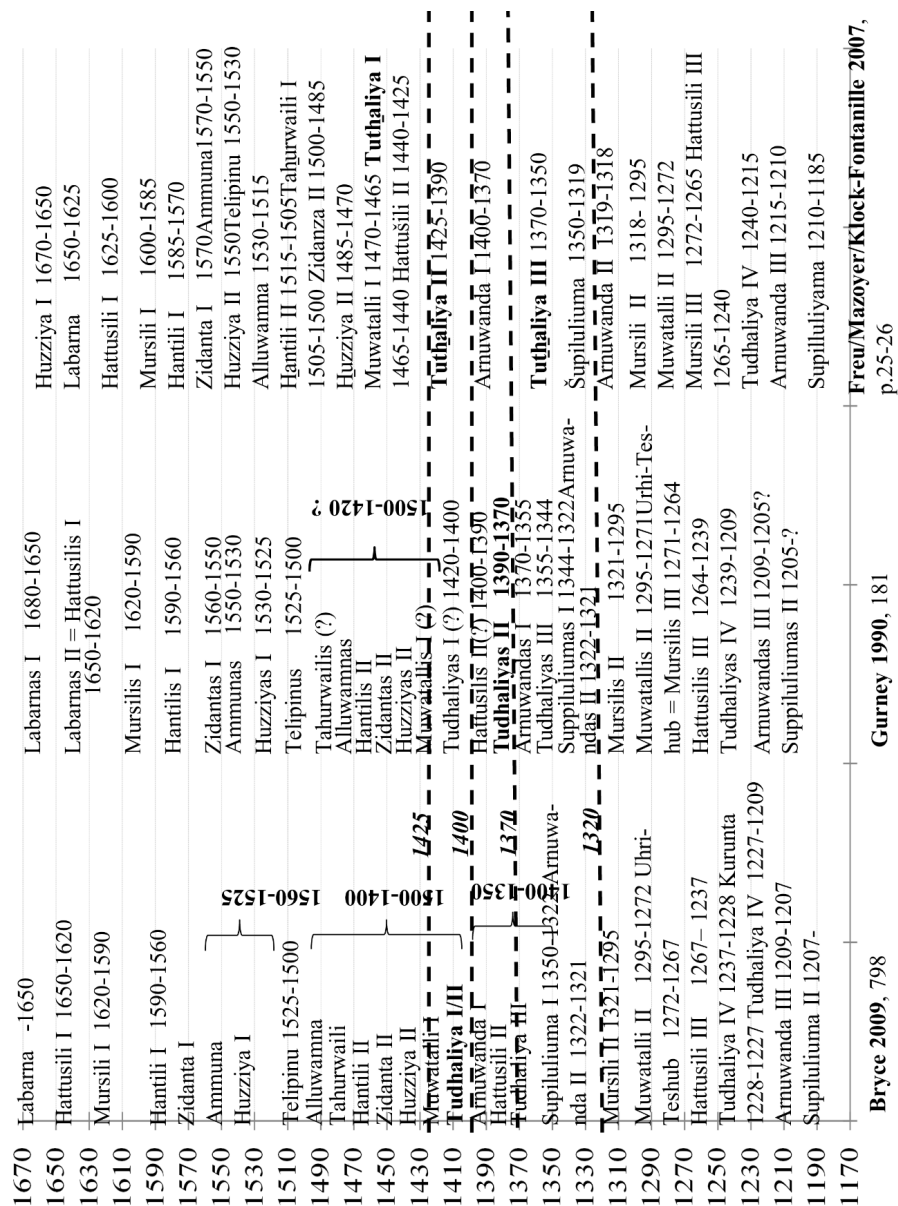


Fig. 15a. Chronologies of the Hittite Kings (Bryce 2009, 798; Freu/Mazoyer/Klock-Fontanille 2007, 25-26; Gurney 1990, 181).





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## Annex 3: Dates of Middle-Helladic and Late-Helladic periods

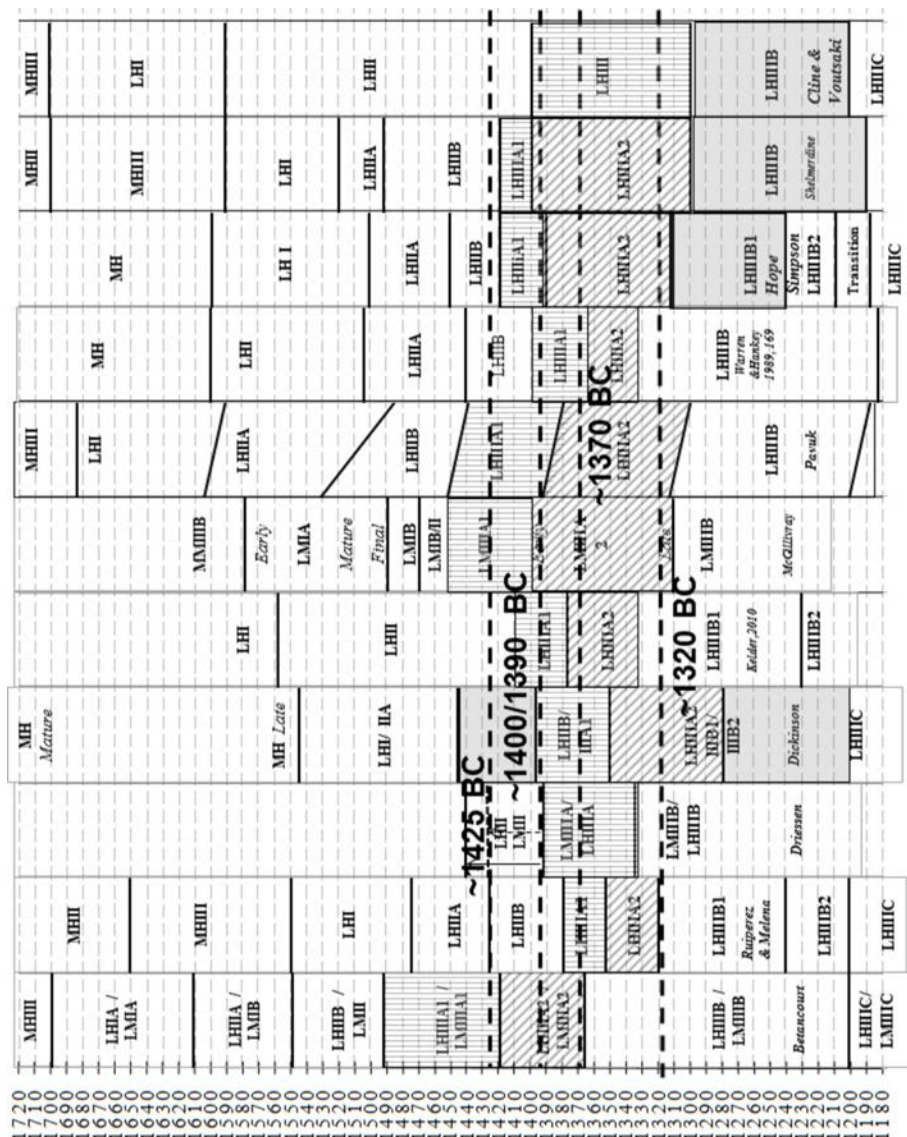


Fig.16. Datings of the periods MH-LH (besides of Shelmerdine 2008): Betancourt 1987, 48; Ruiperez/Melena 2002 (1996), 13; Driessen 2008, 69; Dickinson 2002, 19; Kelder 2010, 137-138; Warren/Hankey 1989, 169; McGillivray 2009, 154; Pavúk 2007, 475; Hope-Simpson/Hagel 2006, 22; Shelmerdine 2008, 4-5; Cline (ed.) 2012, table 1, xxx, (Cline & Voutsaki).



**Editorial comment**

As regards the ‘Egyptian records’, I noticed that the author did not consult some basic literature, like – e.g. – Helck, H.W. 1977: *Ägypten und die Ägäis im 16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Chronologisches und Archäologisches*, Frankfurt; Helck, H.W. 1962: *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (series: Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, vol. 5), Wiesbaden; and Helck, H.W. 1995: *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (series: Erträge der Wissenschaft), Darmstadt as well as some more recent works like – e.g. – Brooke Anthony, F. 2017: *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt. Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty* (series: Bloomsbury Egyptology), London/New York [discussing TT-paintings (i.e. not royal but nobles’ tombs) till the courtiers of the Amarna pharaohs]. Perhaps these books may add/might have added but little to the author’s theory (or data) but they could have been, nevertheless, worthwhile to have been consulted, if only because notably Helck’s *Die Beziehungen* (still) is a ‘classic’ in this field [Jan P. Stronk].

**Reply**

Helck in his classic work (1977, 26-37), as Dr. Stronk commented, deals with the ‘Aegean List’ of Amenhotep III at Kom-el-Hetan and transliterates<sup>148</sup> – with quotations of several scholars’ opinions – : (5) *di-qa-ê-s* is Dikte or Tegea, (6) *mi-sa-n-ê* = Messene could be located at the inner part of Messenian Gulf (cf. note 63 above), (7) *nu-pi-ra-ji* (cf. Cline/Stannish 2011, 9: “*npry* = *nw-py-r-y* = *generally agreed to be Nauplion*”) besides Nauplia could be – likely – the port Asomato at Tainaron, between Messene and Kythera (No 8), based on *na-pe-re-wa* (PY Cn 868,4) and the belief that the Egyptian sculptor/scribe of the 14th century BC had an accurate knowledge of the real geography and topography of distant Greece (!), and (9) for *w-ṛi-li-ja* (that is *wiry*) cites several opinions: *ῥελεία*, Elaea in Crete, Aulis etc. (as Cline/ Stannish 2011), for which see the chapter ‘Egyptian Records’ above. Helck does not present any analysis based on phonetics, even while Lejeune 1987, Grammont 1971 and Ruijgh 1967 had already appeared. Furthermore, Helck analyzes that *Ka-f-tú* (*Keftiu*) = Crete and dates Amenhotep III’s reign at 1403-1364 BC, overlapping with LH IIIA1 and LH IIIA2 (p.147), chronology included between the maximum and minimum dates in this article (see note 112); thus, Helck places Amenhotep III as the Pharaoh during the Troy’s “extended housecleaning” (ca. 1400 BC). *Three more comments*: (a) on *Dikte*: *di-ka-ta-de* = *Diktan-de* (KN Fp7+) and *di-ka-ta-jo* = *Diktaios* (ethnic-name; KN 200=Fp1,2) were read (Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 146, 305-307; Ruijgh 1967, 228-229, from the mountain Δίκτᾱ); both were formed by the guttural voiceless occlusive (-k-) + the

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<sup>148</sup> For the numbers see Fig. 3 above.

dental voiceless occlusive (-t-)<sup>149</sup> and were phonetically quite different from the Egyptian word at Kom-el-Hetan, in which the sonorous labiovelar<sup>150</sup> ‘qa’ = ‘g<sup>w</sup>a’ sounded, as it sounded in Linear B’s ‘te-qa/Thebes’ too<sup>151</sup>, where the thick (fricative dental) -θ- was noted by the tenuis -t-syllable-sign, (which, – phonetically in Linear B – is *stop/voiceless dental occlusive*), different from the middle *dental sonorous occlusive* -d-<sup>152</sup>. In Egyptian hieroglyphics the symbol “hand” (‘di-’ in *di-qa-ê-s*) was embossed in relief (Fig.17) representing both sounds “-t/τ-” and “-d/δ-”<sup>153</sup> (there was not any symbol for the “-θ-sound”<sup>154</sup>), consequently it sounded *ti-qa-ê-s* also, like Linear B’s *te-qa*, (b) on Tegea: it should be written ‘te-g(e)’ + ‘ê-wā-ending’ (see Ruijgh 1967, 165, note 347; Garcia Ramon 2011, 239) with a ‘gê’-syllable, a loud sound of an *-ê-long* before the digamma ‘f’: it sounded *tegēwā* and not *teg<sup>w</sup>a* as it did in ‘*Theg<sup>w</sup>a/te-qa*’ (see note 62) and (c) on na-pe-re-wa: it cannot represent Nauplion phonetically, since neither ‘-u-’ nor ‘-i-’ sounded, opposite to *na-u-pi-ri-jo-i* = Nauplioihi = “men rather from Nauplion”<sup>155</sup>; also “*na-u-si-ke-re-we* = *Ναυσικλέφης* from *ναῦς* (= ship)” (Lejeune 1987, 149), for ‘*Nau-*’ too: e.g. *na-u-pi-ri-jo-ja* = *Nauplijo/ja*.



Fig. 17. *di-qa-ê-s/ti-qa-ê-s* in hieroglyphics, at Kom-el-Hetan; the “hand” hieroglyph (upper-left) [in combination with the double reed below it] sounded as -di- or -ti-.

<sup>149</sup> Lejeune 1987, 28, 285, § 324 note 2, 38-39: *kt* is derived from Sanskrit \*k<sup>s</sup>>κτ, e.g. *ki-ti-me-no*, *a-ki-ti-to*, *ko-to-i-na*.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Lejeune 1987, 34 (conversely to the voiceless labiovelar \*k<sup>w</sup>), 43, 28 (consonants’ classification).

<sup>151</sup> See note 62 above; Ruijgh 1967, 222: *te-qa-ja* = Θηγ<sup>w</sup>αία ethnic of Thebes attested at Mycenae (MY X 508), Θῆβη, Θῆβαι; also, *ti-qa-jo* = Θισγ<sup>w</sup>αῖος, from Θισβη, beginning with -θi-.

<sup>152</sup> Lejeune (1987, 58-59, 54): “the Mycenaean syllable-signs don’t dispose distinct signs for the stop/voiceless occlusive ‘aspirates’, which are written with the same syllable-signs with the stop/voiceless occlusive”, that is with not-aspirates; “the Greek” (language) “utilized *tet* for the “aspirate” θῆτα (-θ-) and the sign of *taw* for the non-aspirate ταῦ (-τ-)” (cf. Ruijgh 1967, 42: the distinction between τ/θ leads to the conclusion that the occlusive aspirates had already been voiceless in the Mycenaean language). The “dental sound -δ/-d- is – conversely – sonorous/voiced spirant/fricative” (cf. Grammont 1971, 50-52; also Melena 2014, 14: table, 15: only in apical series different signs existed (*da* vs *ta*) for voiced and voiceless aspirations, 27-46: labiovelar *q*).

<sup>153</sup> Wallis-Budge 1920, xi, lxiv, cviii; Allen 2014, 17, 20: the unilateral hieroglyph-sign “hand” is transcribed as “-d-” and sounded either “like -t- in the US-English *matter* or English -d- as in (the word) *sadder*”; Gardiner 1927, 27: only -d-.

<sup>154</sup> Wallis-Budge (1920, cxlii) gives the phonetic value “-th-” for the “*tethering rope/hobble*” hieroglyph without any other signification (is it -θ- or -δ- ?); but he is the only scholar among a series of Egyptologists who gives this phonetic value, since all the rest do not give any -th-sound (cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transliteration\\_of\\_Ancient\\_Egyptian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transliteration_of_Ancient_Egyptian)). Allen (2014, p.17, 19) transliterates the “*tethering rope/hobble*” hieroglyph as ‘-t-’ (second t) which was pronounced originally as ‘-č-’ or ‘-tj-’ (cf. also Gardiner, 1927, 27), which sounded as “‘-t-’ followed by ‘-j-’ as in the British word ‘tune’ or as the ‘-ch-’ in ‘chew’” and not -θ-.

<sup>155</sup> Palaima, T. 1991, 280: KN Fh 5432+FR I/2+FR I/2+FR I/2-29.

Brooke Anthony's book (2016) has a limited subject, *the symbolism* in the depictions of foreigners in ancient Egyptian Theban tomb-paintings, with the latest painting(s) dated on Amenhotep III's reign (p. 93). The tomb-owners (pp. 13-14, 55, 83, 87, 97-98) "were below only the king" (Pharaoh) "in the social rank, having created the extreme élite of the population and were acting as intermediaries" (lobbyists) "between the king and foreign tribute bearers"; they had been living in (and affected by) the real (historical) conditions of their era and their only concern had not obviously been exclusively the after-life symbolism, quite separately and unaffected by the environment where they were living (cf. p. 85: "these images were not created in a *historical vacuum*", but they "are grounded in a *historical reality*" [my emphases], which was "morphed through a filter of symbolism"). An impression has been created to me that among all the scholars who had dealt with these tomb-paintings, Brooke Anthony (pp. 12, 65) mentions positively (only) prof. Panagiotopoulos, who – conversely to her – suggests that: 1.- "these scenes provide, within certain iconographical conventions, an accurate record of historical reality, thus offering a valuable insight into the mechanisms of pharaonic power" (Panagiotopoulos 2001, 263) and 2.- "it is necessary to stress that the images refer to specific episodes from the carriers of the tomb owners" (Panagiotopoulos, 2009, 386). Furthermore, despite the orientation of her study on symbolism, Brooke Anthony records some interesting "archaeological parallels" (p. 65) /data: (a) "Levantes and Aegeans are the only people-types that bring weapons" (pp. 74, 77); three questions arise: why only them? would that happen to prevail – among the very few members of the Egyptian-élite, "just below the Pharaoh in the social rank" – the belief that only the Levantes and Aegeans were so dangerous militarists? and why did the Egyptians permit them to enter in the Palace armed (see relevantly note 84 about 'Minoan colonists in Nile Delta' above)? (b) "one Keftiu is depicted with iconographically Levantine attributes" (p. 62) since "an Aegean (Keftiu) skirt is found in a Levantine register, perhaps due to *conflation of these two areas*" [my emphasis] (p. 24) and (c) "Bull's *rhyta*" are depicted "in the hands of Levantes, though Wachsmann (1987) attribute this to transference and not historical accuracy" (pp. 75-77, with a great number of many other Aegean objects, besides bull's *rhyta*, in the tomb-paintings). Brooke Anthony (p. 63) suggests: "it is not fruitful to look at these images through a historical lens" but "to read them through hybridism" (p. 61). Yet, her ascertainment about a "*conflation of these areas*" (Levant and Aegean) is based on "historical/archaeological" and geopolitical grounds: for the Egyptian-élite the two regions were obviously "conflated"/combined in a whole<sup>156</sup>. This "conflation" is quite compatible with the – supported by archaeological evidence – ascertainment (see chapter Mycenaean expansion 'beyond-the-sea', also note 84) about "places in the Levant

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<sup>156</sup> <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/conflate>: conflate = "to combine two or more separate things, especially pieces of text, to form a whole".


which were under the influence of<sup>157</sup> Minoans by 1650/1600 and of Mycenaeans by 1450/1400 BC”, which contributes also to the phrase in chapter Conclusions I: “Mycenaean ῥᾶναξ integrated through raids, a ‘network’ of bridgeheads – governed by his representatives/local-rulers – in *the Aegean, the Levant, Cyprus and Asia Minor*” between 1450-1350 BC.

As far as another work of Helck is concerned, which appeared in 1962, he describes the battle at Kadesh (1962, 205-234) and cites the names of the Hatti’s allies with the positions of their Countries/Lands on the map of Asia Minor (1962, 205-207): “ᾶ-ṛú-ša-wi = Arzawa, pi-da-ša = Pidasas, Land in the inner Asia Minor (at the same region as in Fig. 2, here), da-r-da-ni-ja = likely the Dardanoi in western Asia Minor, má-ša = either the later Pamphylia or the later Lydia (since today is identified most likely with the later Mysia), qa-r-a-qí-ša = Karkisa neighbor of Lukki at the west coast of Asia Minor (see Caria/Karakisa in Fig. 2 here), lú-kú = at the southwestern edge of Asia Minor, probably later Lycia, former Lukka Lands, ṽl-ša = likely Wilusa as in Garstang/Gurney (1959, 101) at Propontis, but Garstang and Gurney do not mention at all the list of Egyptian catalogue for the allies of Hatti, consequently Helck’s identification is not related to the opinion of Garstang/Gurney, ṽar-wan-na = Arawanna at the Euphrates river, k-š-k-š = Kaskeans, qí-šú-wa-d-na = Kizzuwatna the later Cilicia, ga-r-ga-mu-ša = Carchemish in Syria, qadi = alternative name for Kizzuwatna, ḥi-l-ba = Aleppo, nù-ga-ša = Nuḥašše, qad-š = Kadesh at the Orontes river, ṽa-kú-ri-ta<sub>2</sub> = Ugarit, mú-ša-na-ta = Unknown, q-b-šú = Unknown, ṽ<sub>4</sub>-ni-š = Unknown”.

Furthermore, Helck does not give an exact location on the map, for the Land of Dardanoi, and locates it either at the region of Masa and Arzawa (according to Goetze, who located Masa and Arzawa at the south coast of Asia Minor, approximately at the location of Lukka-Lands in Fig. 2 of this article) or at the region around Smyrne according to Garstang/Gurney(?), without any citation of the latter; yet, Garstang/Gurney (1959, 105) write: “Wilusa, can actually be located in the region of the Troad”, and not Smyrne, “even though historical considerations seem to preclude the identification of the persons (i.e. Alaksandu with Paris) themselves”. Garstang/Gurney (1959, 105-108) discusses also the issue of the Egyptian archives (without the detailed list of names based on Wainwright (1939, 165; note 18 below) and underlines that “the equation of this name (Dardanians) with that

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<sup>157</sup> “*Under the influence of*” since the craftsmen in royal palaces were attached to the King; if a foreign ruler wanted to employ craftsmen from abroad, he had to submit an official request to his counterpart king. Skilled craftsmen were in short supply and the rulers were unwilling to allow them to leave abroad. Homer (*Il.* 9.165) calls them “κλῆτοί/kletoi” from Greek verb “καλῶ/invite”; “we do not have craftsmen free to travel” in Greece of Homer’s epics but this happened also in the Near East of 13th century BC (Muhly, J. 2005, 685-686, 690: Travelling Craftsmen: Love ‘em or Leave ‘em, in Laffineur/Greco 2005, 685-690; cf. also Michailidou/Voutsas, 2005; Michailidou 2005, 42: “the artists/artisans were “commodity” belonging to ῥᾶναξ”. Consequently, we can imply that if an Achaean/Danaos King decides to permit them to go to another country, in that case this country’s King must be very close to and influenced strongly by (agent/representative of?) the Achaean King.

of the Homeric Dardanians of the Troad seems inescapable”; on p.102 they cite an extract from the Alaksandu Treaty which obliges Alaksandu to follow Muwatalli II at Kadesh: “Also the following campaigns from Hattusas are obligatory on you: the kings who are of equal rank with the Sun, the King of Egypt, the King of Sanhara, the King of Hanigalbat, or the King of Assyria; if thence anyone marches against me, or if from within anyone stirs up rebellion against the Sun, and I write for infantry and chariotry from you, let infantry and chariotry at once come to my help”; they imply (pp. 103-104): “for he (Alaksandu) must be prepared to send his infantry and chariotry as far afield as Egypt and the other great powers”. Moreover, – besides Dardanoi – he mentions that the word “ʿl-ša” in the Egyptian records is likely Wilusa, separating it from Dardanoi; in any case “ʿl-ša”, whichever its transcription is, was situated (according to Helck) northern of Arzawa and Lukka. For the peoples who followed Muwatalli II at Kadesh, as his allies, the bibliography of the battle is cited in Giannakos (2016, 66-67 and notes 47-50); Wilusa is not mentioned anywhere. Detailed translations of the so-called “*Poem*” and “*Official Record/Bulletin*” of the battle, in the Egyptian records, are cited by Breasted (2001, 136, 135-142, 142-147), Lichtheim (2006, 57-71), since Gardiner (1960) presents in the Appendix (56-57) the summarizing list of the allies of Ḫatti; in all three works, Wilusa and “ʿl-ša” are not included among the place-names of Muwatalli II’s allies. Yet, Gardiner (1960, 57-59) gives the following list – including an analysis – of the allies of Muwatalli II: Arzawa, Dardany “doubtless the Δάρδανοί of Homer’s *Iliad*”, Keshkesh, Masa, Pidasa, “Arwen(?) from *Tr(?)*-wn reading doubtful, Goetze mentions a place Aruna in Ḫatti-country, but Ilion had been suggested by Wainwright<sup>158</sup> (1939, 150); there is a possibility, however, that the initial hieroglyph  originally *i* had lost its *r* and had been reduced to *ā* or *ē* in pronunciation; in that case we might have to read Awen”, Karkisa, Luka, Kizzuwadna, Carchemish, Ugarit, Kedy, Nukhashshe, Mushanet, Kadesh, Inesa, Khaleb. Obviously, Gardiner’s “*Tr(?)*-wn” is quite different from “ʿl-ša” of Helck. For “*Tr(?)*-wn” a supportive argument for Gardiner’s final opinion – against Ilion – is

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<sup>158</sup> Wainwright 1939. Wainwright too early – *in 1939* – examines the locations of several place-names in Asia Minor based on the assumptions of the Hittitologists before the World War II, which (assumptions) have been changed and/or fixed till now. As an example Wainwright (1939, 150-151 and note 2) cites a number of possible locations on the map of Asia Minor for Wilusa, Troy is included too; he connects Wilusa with ʿl-šw and he concludes “*the absence of anything like a F (digamma) from the Egyptian word would make the identification of Irunena and Ilion impossible*” [my emphasis]. He (pp. 151-153) analyzes also the Egyptian word Tursha and – contrarily to Gardiner’s citation – he concludes that, *it should be “the people of Tarsus”* and “not of Troy” and they are also hardly likely to be the Tyrsenoi or Etruscans”. For Dardanoi, he writes (p.150): “the Dardany, which however seem to have been a quite unimportant tribe, *for the name does not occur under any other Pharaoh*” [my emphasis]; this is compatible with my analysis for an independent ʿl-šw (wiry), ‘Achaeanized’ – under Dardanaean Aeneas – between 1400(+) BC and 1377/1349 BC (when it appears in Egyptian records), which ([had already been established as] ʿl-šw of Dardanians [till the battle of Kadesh, ca. 1285 BC]) was downgraded to vassal-state ([during the reign of] Alaksandu, see CTH191 above) and later [after 1237 BC] was even more downgraded under a vassal State of Ḫatti (see Milawata Letter, above).

On the other hand, Breasted (2001, 141, note c) cites that Brugsch identified with “Ilion(!)<sup>159</sup>” the military reinforcements, which arrived to support Ramesses II and changed his difficult position in the battle of Kadesh and that Müller<sup>160</sup> read their first syllable (*Yr*) as *y*<sup>o</sup> producing Yawan or Ionians; yet, according to Breasted “for this reading the evidence is insufficient”. Bryce, (2005, 235) cites also the same names (cf. also Giannakos 2016 *supra*) from Gardiner (1960, Appendix) without any reference to Wilusa; only Dardany are referred to. Moreover, Bryce (2005, 454 note 46) refers that only Mellaart (1986, 82) disagrees (among all the scholars) on the identification of Dardany and Troy (cf. also Bryce 2005, 235, 454 note 45), who (Bryce) cites Goetze<sup>161</sup> for the discussion of the matter; also Freu/Mazoyer 2008, vol.3, 140; Gurney 1990, 47: probably Dardanoi were situated at Wilusa which was a part of Arzawa; Gardiner 1964, 262, 270, 262 note 2: Dardanoi are without any doubt they who are referred by Homer; Breasted 2001, vol. 3, 136, note c.; Lichtheim 2006, 72 note 10, suggests to consult Gardiner (1960, Appendix) for the names of the foreign countries).

<sup>159</sup> The exclamation mark is included in the Breasted's original text.

<sup>160</sup> There is not an exact reference of the work.

<sup>161</sup> Goetze 1975, 253, as it is cited in Bryce 2005.



- AHT* = Beckman, G.M./T.R. Bryce/E.H. Cline (eds./transl.) 2011: *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (series: Writings from the Ancient World, 28), Atlanta, GA.
- BNJ* = Worthington, I. (ed) 2001→: *Brill's New Jacoby*, <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby>. [Subscription required].
- CAH* = Edwards, I.E.S./C.J. Gadd/N.G.L. Hammond/E. Sollberger (eds.) 1975: *Cambridge Ancient History*, second edition, (originally published in fascicles), vol. II, 2: The Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1360-1000 B.C., Cambridge.
- CTH* = Laroche, E, 1971: *Catalogue des textes Hittites*, Paris.
- EA* = Moran, W.L. (edited and translated) 1992: *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore, MD/London; also see: <http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/amarna.html>, a hub-page, offering an English translation of (most of) the tablets.
- KNS* = Bennett, E.L./J. Chadwick/M. Ventris (eds.) 1959: *The Knossos Tablets. A transliteration*. Second edition with corrections and additions by John Chadwick with the assistance of Fred W. Householder (University of London Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement No. 7), London.
- KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy*, in at present 60 volumes (1921-1990), most of them presented as well in *CTH*.
- StBoT* = *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (vols. 1-48), Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Alten Orient der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1965-2006 [the last published volume], Mainz/Wiesbaden.
- TLG* = *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <<https://www.stephanus.tlg.uct.edu>>, A digital library of Greek literature, University of California, Irvine, CA (Brumet, Th./M. Pantelia, eds.).

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Konstantinos Sp. Giannakos  
 Civil Engineer, PhD, Fellow ASCE  
 Secretary General of the Association of Ancient-Greek  
 and Byzantine Technology (ABuT)  
 108 Neoreion str., 18534 Piraeus,  
 Greece  
[kongiann@otenet.gr](mailto:kongiann@otenet.gr); [kyannak@gmail.com](mailto:kyannak@gmail.com)

<http://giannakoskonstantinos.com/wp>

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