

Western Anatolia: Caught Between Two Powers

**An Examination of the Cultural Interaction at Gordion,
Beycesultan and Miletus**

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Contents

1. Introduction	4
1.1 Research Questions	5
1.2 Corpus	6
1.3 Past Research	7
2. Historical Background	9
2.1 The Hittite Kingdom	9
2.2 A Theoretical Approach on Ancient Empires	10
2.3 The Hittite Problem	12
2.4 Hittite and Anatolian/Local Material	15
2.5 The Geography and the Political History of Western Anatolia	16
2.6 The Role of Aḫḫiyawa in western Anatolia and the Aḫḫiyawa Problem	18
3. Gordion	20
3.1 Pottery	21
3.2 Pot Marks and Sealings	25
3.3 The Rock Monument at Gâvur Kalesi	30
3.4 Conclusions	33
4. Beycesultan	35
4.1 Level III/6	37
4.1.1 Architecture	37
4.1.2 Pottery	38
4.2 Level II/5b	40
4.2.1 Architecture	40
4.2.2 Pottery	40
4.2.3 Various Finds	41
4.3 Level Ib/5a	42
4.3.1 Architecture	42
4.3.2 Pottery	44
4.4 Level Ia/4	45
4.5 Placing Beycesultan in context	46
4.6 A Possible Scenario	47
4.7 Conclusions	51
5. Miletus / Millawanda	52
5.1 The Archaeological Evidence: Phase V	53
5.1.1 Pottery and Clay Finds	53
5.1.2 Architecture	55

5.2 The Archaeological Evidence: Phase VI	56
5.2.1 Pottery and Clay finds	56
5.2.2 Pot Marks and Seals	57
5.2.3 Architecture	62
5.2.4 Tombs and Grave Goods	62
5.3 The Textual Evidence	64
5.4 Placing Miletus/Millawanda in Context	67
5.5 The Karabel Rock Monument.....	71
5.6 Conclusions.....	73
6. General Conclusions.....	75
7. Appendix	78
8. Abbreviations	116
9. Bibliography	117

1. Introduction

During the Late Bronze Age (ca 16th – 13th centuries B.C.E.) the Hittite Empire, based in central Anatolia, was one of the major powers in the Ancient Near East. The Hittite political history and state organization are well known mostly through the almost 30.000 fragments of clay tablets (mostly royal, administrative and economic texts) unearthed in the Hittite capital, named Ḫattuša which is located some 220 km east of Ankara. Furthermore, the Hittite texts from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. provide an insight into the political situation in western Anatolia at that time. More specifically, they inform us that the kingdoms situated in this area were vassals to the Great King of the Hittites and that the Hittite state politically controlled that area. In addition, there are explicit references in the Hittite texts of the same period to a foreign kingdom, that of Aḫḫiyawa, equated nowadays with the Mycenaeans, which undermined Hittite authority in this region (maps 1-2).



Map 1: Important Late Bronze Age sites in Greece and Turkey.



Map 2: The kingdoms of the ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age.¹

1.1 Research Questions

This paper will investigate the degree of the cultural interaction between the conqueror and the conquered in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. Via the examination of the archaeological and textual evidence from three sites of Anatolia, namely Gordion, Beycesultan and Miletus, I will address the following research questions in order to reconstruct the social and political situation in western Anatolia, which is not yet fully understood:

1. To what extent does the political situation described in the Hittite texts correspond to the material culture of these sites? Are the Hittites also visible in the material culture of the three sites in question?
2. To what extent are the Mycenaeans, mentioned in the Hittite texts, visible also in the material culture of these sites?
3. Is the local material aspect visible at these sites or did the two major powers manage to completely marginalize the local cultural identity?

¹ www.petersommer.com

4. What type of control did the Hittites and the Mycenaeans hold in western Anatolia, based both on the archaeological and the textual evidence?

1.2 Corpus

Taking the image provided by the Hittite texts for the political situation in western Anatolia as a starting point, I will examine the material remains that have been excavated in three western Anatolian sites, namely Gordion, Beycesultan and Miletus. More specifically, in this paper I will conduct a close analysis of the materials unearthed in the three aforementioned sites. Based on the excavation reports of these sites, this paper will take into account all the available and published materials (pottery, seals and sealings, rock monuments, architecture, burials and texts). These different kinds of materials will be critically compared with the corresponding materials unearthed in different cultural zones, such as the Hittite and Mycenaean cultural zones, in order to determine the degree of the cultural affiliations of these three western Anatolia sites. I have chosen to take into consideration, in my thesis, all the aspects of the material culture from these three sites, which are representative of the different areas of Anatolia, since only then I will be able to examine and compare the cultural influences in the entire region of western Anatolia. I have also chosen to deal with only three sites since there are not that many well documented and excavated sites in western Anatolia and these three sites represent few of the best-preserved sites in western Anatolia. My choice for these three sites is mainly based on location: Gordion is situated close to the Hittite heartland, Beycesultan is in between the two powers, namely between the power of Ahḫiyawa and the Hittites and finally, Miletus was the closest Anatolian site to the Mycenaean mainland.

1.3 Past Research

Over the last decades, the presence of different influences in western Anatolia has attracted the attention of several scholars who have tried to define the extent of these influences and place them into context. However, a problematic aspect of most ongoing research is that scholars analyze these influences either from an Aegean perspective or from a Hittite one and they rarely try to combine the evidence from both these regions in their analysis. The most comprehensive and elaborate study on the Hittite empire has been conducted by Claudia Glatz,² who, especially in her dissertation, examines the Hittite material remains from areas, such as Anatolia and Syria, in which the Hittite texts mention that the Hittites were expanded. By examining the pottery, the rock monuments and the administrative practices she tries to archaeologically investigate the imperial presence in the various areas that were politically dependent on the Hittite empire. Although her work is exemplary, she concentrates her research only on the Hittite material and she does not study or include the Mycenaean material present in Anatolia. Furthermore, the fact that she had to cover a vast number of sites, by following the quantitative approach, did not allow her to get in depth with the material that she analyzed, she only touches upon the material of the various sites and her work was restricted only to parts of the material remains. In other words, she does not take into account all the available material from each site. In her work, there is also a methodological problem since although she mentions the texts she does not try to combine them with the archaeological data but she rather questions the validity of these texts.³

Except for Glatz's work, who examines more than one archaeological material, there are studies on the Hittite empire that examine only one aspect of material remains in western Anatolia. One example is Horst Ehringhaus,⁴ who in his book describes all the available rock monuments of the Hittite empire by dividing them according to their corresponding region, for instance west Anatolian or southern Anatolian regions. Ehringhaus gives well-documented information concerning each monument but he does not discuss in great detail the historical implications of each

² Glatz 2007; 2009; 2011; Glatz and Plourde 2011.

³ Glatz 2007.

⁴ Ehringhaus 2005.

monument nor does he try to combine the described monuments with other archaeological or textual data.⁵

As for the Mycenaean presence in western Anatolia there are many articles⁶ that touch upon the Mycenaean presence in western Anatolia, however, in most cases, they do so from an Aegean perspective and they do not try to place the Mycenaean presence in Anatolia in its historical context. Other articles⁷ merely describe the sites that have Mycenaean artifacts and renumber the most important categories of each assemblage, most of the times the pottery assemblage. In other words, these articles do not combine the Mycenaean archaeological evidence in western Anatolia with the Hittite one in order to explain and interpret the Mycenaean presence in the area. They rather suffice with using the Hittite texts in order to document and explain the archaeologically observed Mycenaean presence in western Anatolia.

An exception is Jorrit Kelder⁸, who tries to change the focus of the western Anatolian research, namely he does not examine only pottery finds from this region but he examines any find that can be interpreted as Mycenaean, mostly from three western Anatolian sites, that of Ephesus, Miletus and Troy. The aforementioned archaeological information is often combined in his article with the Hittite textual evidence for western Anatolia during that period and thus his conclusions represent a very good overview, however mostly from an Aegean perspective. Finally, J. Eerbeek⁹ in his dissertation examines and describes all the Mycenaean tombs found in Anatolia but he does so only in a strictly archaeological way, from an Aegean point of view and without placing these tombs into their wider context.

My approach, when investigating this area, will be different in the following manners: 1) I will not focus on one region or site but on three sites from different areas of this particular region, 2) I will analyze all the available data (e.g. pottery, seals, texts etc.) from each of these sites, 3) I will combine textual and archaeological data and 4) I will discuss the Hittite, the Mycenaean and the local material culture.

⁵ Ehringhaus 2005.

⁶ e.g. Bryce 1989, 1-21; Mee 1978, 121-56.

⁷ Mee 1998, 137-48.

⁸ Kelder 2004-2005, 49-86.

⁹ Eerbeek 2014.

2. Historical Background

2.1 *The Hittite Kingdom*

The Hittite kingdom is dated roughly from the middle of the 17th century B.C.E. until the end of the 13th century B.C.E. (Table 1). From a geographical point of view, the core of the Hittite state was located in the north-central Anatolian plateau and within the curve of the Kizil Irmak river (Hit. Maraššantiya).¹⁰ The history of this kingdom begins when the Hittite king Ḫattušili I (ca 1650-1620 B.C.E.),¹¹ transferred his capital to a city called Ḫattuša, thus making this city the most essential part of his kingdom.¹² Based on the political history of the kingdom, scholars tend to divide the Hittite kingdom into two major phases, the Old Hittite kingdom (ca 1650-1400 B.C.E.) and the New Hittite kingdom (ca 1400-1207 B.C.E.). The Old Hittite period was characterized by various military campaigns conducted mostly in Syria. However, military victories and conquests of cities were not long lasting since the political life of the kingdom was too unsettled due to the constant coups that occurred against the Hittite kings from other members of the Hittite court. This political reality hindered any Hittite effort for expansion until the reign of Telipinu¹³ (ca 1525-1500). Towards the end of the Old Hittite kingdom the Hittites achieved to become a major military and political power in central Anatolia.¹⁴

The next period, namely the New Hittite kingdom, marks an era of intense expansive campaigns of Hittite kings in Syria, the Levant and in western Anatolia. Scholars characterize this phase as the Empire period, since in this period the Hittite state reached its full strength and prosperity.¹⁵ During this period, vast areas in Syria, the Levant and western Anatolia came under the Hittite sphere of influence mostly in the form of vassal states.¹⁶

¹⁰ Bryce 2005, 44.

¹¹ In this paper, I follow the chronology of Bryce with respect to dating of kings (Table 1). See Bryce 2005, XV; Glatz 2007, 372.

¹² Collins 2007, 37; Klengel 2011, 31.

¹³ Collins 2007, 40-1.

¹⁴ Klengel 2011, 31.

¹⁵ Klengel 2011, 31.

¹⁶ Collins 2007, 46-52; Klengel 2011, 38-40.

2.2 A Theoretical Approach on Ancient Empires

In principal, scholars nowadays, define empires as the effective political control imposed over the sovereignty of other political entities by a certain political state. The concept of the imperialism is considered the process of establishing and maintaining an empire.¹⁷ The documentation for the existence of a certain empire can be achieved, firstly, by the demonstration of the existence of some sort of control, secondly, by renumbering the reasons that made that certain state to expand and impose political control over another area and finally, by researching the reasons for the submission of a certain area. As imperial control, scholars define the exercise of asymmetrical influence and power over an area, since power manifests a sub-category of influence. Imperial control can be achieved either by force, or by political cooperation, or by economic, social or cultural dependence.¹⁸

There are various theories concerning the incentives of a certain empire to expand over another region. Firstly, there is the metrocentric model which suggests that local elite groups, located in the core area, dictated such expansive policies driven by economic and/or social motives.¹⁹ Secondly, there is the pericentric model²⁰ which indicates the fact that the peripheries of the empire, and not the core, dictated the foreign policies and the desire for expansion of a certain empire. More specifically, the supporters of this theory have proposed that external threats or boundary insecurity could drive a certain empire to launch an expansive attack in order to defend its boundaries.²¹ Finally, a third theory, called the Realist, international-systemic explanation of empire, argues that the international scene sets the need for expansion, since in a world full of empires which had conflicted interests on various areas, a failure to expand would have meant decline of this empire's power.²²

In the course of time, scholars have tried to apply the above theories to the reasons for the expansion of the Hittite empire.²³ I personally believe that in the case

¹⁷ Doyle 1986, 19; Goldstone and Haldon 2009, 17.

¹⁸ Doyle 1986, 45-6.

¹⁹ Doyle 1986, 22-4; Glatz 2007, 41.

²⁰ Robinson 1972, 117-8, 120-4, 138-40.

²¹ Doyle 1986, 24-6; Glatz 2007, 41. For the border insecurity scholars have used the paradigm of Rome which in order to confront its frontier problem followed an expansive approach. See Doyle 1986, 26.

²² Doyle 1986, 26-30; Glatz 2007, 42.

²³ For an overview of these theories see Glatz 2007, 42-3.

of the Hittite kingdom a combination of the second and the third theories applies. More specifically, the third theory, in my opinion, fits very well in the international scene of the Late Bronze Age since this period marks the era of the great empires, such as the Egyptian, the Babylonian, the Assyrian etc., in the history of the ancient Near East. These powers were fighting for political influence over, more or less, the same areas, such as the Levant and the area of modern-day Syria.²⁴ Thus, the Hittite kingdom opted for continuous military expeditions against not only the east but also the west in order to survive and be the leading power among these empires in the ancient Near East. As for the second theory, in my opinion, the Hittite kingdom was characterized for almost the entire course of the Late Bronze Age by a constant fear for the safety of its heartland. This became more evident when the Hittites started campaigning in the Levant and the Hittite troops were away from their homeland which fact made Ḫattuša extremely vulnerable to hostile attacks both from the north, from the so-called Kaška tribes and from western Anatolia, mostly from an area called Arzawa. Thus, almost each year the Hittite kings in order to be certain that their capital was not in danger by hostile attacks campaigned against these regions before going eastwards.²⁵

Moving back to the historically observed imperial practices, imperial control over a periphery requires some sort of collaboration of the local region. The degree of the cooperation of the local inhabitants with the imperial government creates, according to scholars, different forms of rule. The first form of rule is called direct (formal) rule and in this case the inhabitants of a certain periphery control only the lower parts of the imperial bureaucracy. However, when the governance of the areas of the periphery is entrusted to members of the local elite, under the supervision of the imperial officials, the scholars call this type of rule, indirect (formal). Finally, there is the so-called informal rule in which the elite of a certain periphery is considered to be independent (but in reality, this region is subordinate). The latter form is achieved via the influence of the environment, political articulation, aggregation, decision making and implementation and in most of the times with the collaboration of local peripheral elites.²⁶ The difference in the type of rule leads to different actions in case of a

²⁴ For more information on this period and these empires see Van de Mieroop 2007, 129-89.

²⁵ For information on the Kaška tribes, the Arzawa lands and the campaigns of the various Hittite kings see Bryce 2005.

²⁶ Doyle 1986, 38, 40; Goldstone and Haldon 2009, 19.

rebellion in a certain periphery. Historically, rebellion against formal empires leads to either police actions or to the replacement of rebellious collaborators. However, in the case of informal empires the actions are either indirect constraints, such as embargoes, or more direct, such as military campaign.²⁷

In the case of the Hittite empire I believe, that the type of rule is informal since when Hittite troops conquered an area they rarely stayed in place but they returned back to the core area of the Hittites.²⁸ Thus, the Hittite king entrusted the local administration and governance to a person, by making an official treaty and by mentioning in this treaty the obligations of the local king towards the Hittite king. The local king was, in most cases, a member of the local elite and after his appointment as the governor of the conquered state, he and his state were considered vassals of the Hittite king. However, some formal elements of rule can be detected at the Hittite empire. For example, the fact that the Hittite king launched a military campaign in order to crush a rebellion of a subject region can be possibly paralleled with police actions observed in later empires.

2.3 The Hittite Problem

One of the most puzzling problems of Hittite political history is the fact that Hittite texts mention that the Hittites made various states in the region of western Anatolia vassals to the Hittite king. Whereas, as yet, in the excavated sites at this region, although there are still many areas that remain unexplored, the revealed materials display very few Hittite influences. Very few finds, as will be shown in the subsequent chapters, have a Hittite character and in the meantime, very little evidence for Hittite administrative control in western Anatolia has been unearthed. The only domain in which there are parallels with the Hittites is that of the rock monuments.

²⁷ Doyle 1986, 40.

²⁸ One possible exception to this practice might be found to the indictment of Madduwata. More specifically, Bryce mentions that in paragraph 12 lines obv. 60-65 a Hittite general, called Kišnapili, and his troops, after restoring Madduwata as a vassal king to the throne of a land called Zippašla, stayed in this kingdom instead of returning to the Hittite heartland, as it was accustomed by the Hittite troops. However, I should mention that the text at this part is quite fragmentary and therefore we cannot be certain whether the Hittite troops stayed at the vassal state. For more information on this specific passage see Bryce 2005, 133 and for the translation of this passage see Beckman et al. 2011, 89.

Both their style and their use is almost the same as that of the Hittites.²⁹ Finally, another problem of the current research is that it is not quite clear what can be defined as Hittite.

In her dissertation Claudia Glatz argues that the archaeological evidence from western Anatolia contradicts the Hittite texts and therefore any sort of effective Hittite control over that region cannot be documented.³⁰ She adopts the hegemonic model in order to explain the political and material situation in various peripheral zones of the Hittite empire, such as western Anatolia.³¹ Doyle³² in order to distinguish imperialism and hegemony argues that the “control of both foreign and domestic policy characterized empire; control of only foreign policy, hegemony.” Glatz argues that in order hegemonic control to be achieved it is necessary for the two areas to interact, including the use of material objects, which would have been present in the material remains of western Anatolia.³³ However, by applying the term hegemonic control in order to describe the situation in western Anatolia, Glatz, should not expect to find any Hittite material objects since, based on Doyle’s definition, hegemony means no interference in the domestic policies of a vassal state. Thus, no Hittite officials, who possibly would have left material remains, would have been present at this area.

Moreover, Sinopoli argues that although empires display, generally, a high degree of imperial remains, such as monumental architecture, elaborate prestige goods etc., the absence of such imperial indicators is not a proof that specific areas were not under imperial control. She further argues that different practices in the imperial integration can lead to different imperial material indicators.³⁴ In my opinion, Glatz’s aforementioned arguments constitute some methodological problems since the archaeological data should not be used in order to challenge the textual evidence but they should be used in combination with the textual data, despite the fact that, up to a point, they represent some sort of royal propaganda. The latter applies mostly to the

²⁹ Glatz 2007, 349-51.

³⁰ Glatz 2007, 351.

³¹ Glatz 2007, 56-9.

³² Doyle 1986, 40; also, Postgate in his article describes that the hegemonic control, which was imposed in southern Mesopotamia during the Early Dynastic period (ca 3100-2390 B.C.E.), means no presence of administrators in the vassal area and thus no interference in the domestic administration, Postgate 1994, 9.

³³ Glatz 2007, 351.

³⁴ Sinopoli 1994, 169; Parallels from the Aztec empire have demonstrated that the absence of imperial material to a subject region is not only a Hittite phenomenon but it has been observed also to subject areas of the Aztec empire, Smith and Berdan 1992, 363-4.

annals of the Hittite kings and their rock inscriptions and, at a lesser degree, to the diplomatic letters and the oracle reports, which are relatively more reliable than the royal propagandistic texts. The above points out that we should not try to challenge the textual evidence by using the archaeological data but we should combine the two contexts, since not only the archaeological remains but also the texts represent aspects of the political reality of that time.

As I argued before, the Hittite empire belongs to the informal type of rule, namely the Hittites did not usually place any kind of official or governor in the vassal areas but rather they preferred to keep the local ruling elite as it was. Thus, a western Anatolian vassal state overall continued to operate as previously, and the ruling elite of that kingdom was responsible for the government of the state. The only difference to the previous situation, which indicates that the local rulers were subject to Hittite indirect control, was the fact that the local elite had to follow a foreign policy drawn by the Hittite king and also to provide troops to the Hittite king when necessary.³⁵ Having said that, the fact that Hittite administrative material is absent from western Anatolia should not be used as a proof for the contradictory role of the Hittite texts but on the contrary the absence of Hittite material documents the validity of the Hittite texts.³⁶ The absence of any direct administrative and military Hittite control on any western Anatolian kingdom can be verified also by the almost consecutively rebellions that took place in these areas,³⁷ since if there was any sort of direct Hittite control, the Hittite officials positioned in that area, would have been aware of the upcoming rebellion. Thus, in my opinion, it is not problematic the fact that the Hittite material is absent from western Anatolia since the Hittite state never had any sort of direct control in western Anatolia.

³⁵ For such a treaty see the treaty between Muwatalli II and Alakšandu, Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, 547-64, especially 555, 557.

³⁶ It is also important to bear in mind that administrative texts that could have documented Hittite bureaucratic presence in western Anatolia might have been written on wooden tablets. This is based on the so-called “Milawata letter”, where the Hittite king, probably Tudhaliya IV, describes that he made some wooden tablets for Walmu, the king of Wilusa. For more information on this passage see Beckman et al. 2011, 129, paragraph 7.

³⁷ Examples of such revolts can be found in the reigns of Muršili II and Hattušili III, see Bryce 2005, 192-98, 289-93. Another example that documents the constant fear of the Hittite kings for rebellions in subordinate regions is the Alakšandu treaty, see Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, 547-64.

2.4 Hittite and Anatolian/Local Material

In the process of the analysis of the material remains of the three western Anatolian sites, I will define and characterize the revealed materials as being of Hittite-Mycenaean/foreign or Anatolian/local origin. Although the Mycenaean material is easily recognizable and identifiable, what it is considered Hittite and what “Anatolian” is hard to define and for each scholar these terms might have different connotations. In central Anatolia, the pottery assemblages demonstrate that there is a noticeable continuity since the 3rd millennium B.C.E. until the end of the Empire period. During the centuries of the Old Hittite kingdom the produced pottery in north-central Anatolia was characterized by distinct types, namely a variety of shapes and high quality of slips or decoration. This pottery tradition it is believed to have been inherited from the Old Assyrian period. However, towards the end of the Old Hittite kingdom and especially during the imperial period this type of pottery ceased to exist. Instead of the aforementioned pottery characteristics, during this period the majority of the pottery belongs to the undecorated standard drab-ware fabric type. However, there are some elements that do not disappear at the end of the Old Hittite kingdom but they seem to continue also at the New Hittite kingdom, such as the depiction of a deity.³⁸ At the same time, a new imperial practice, namely that of depicting figures on rock monuments, appears.

After the destruction and collapse of the Hittite kingdom it seems that there is a change in pottery, rock monuments and in general material tradition in central Anatolia.³⁹ Based on the above information, in this paper, I consider as being of “Anatolian/local origin”, any material that is present in the material culture of Anatolia since the Middle Bronze Age and the Old Hittite kingdom whereas as “imperial Hittite” I consider any material that appears in north-central Anatolian culture during the empire period, such as rock monuments, undecorated pottery etc. However, at this point I should mention that this division is fluid and the “Anatolian/local” and “imperial Hittite” materials in many times overlap.

³⁸ In level Ib at Kültepe archaeologists have excavated a gold folio with the depiction of a deity which displays according to the excavator Hittite stylistic features. See Kulakoğlu 2008, 13-8; 2011, 1025.

³⁹ Schoop 2011, 267-8.

2.5 The Geography and the Political History of Western Anatolia

Western Anatolia is described in the Hittite texts with the geographical term *Arzawa*. It seems that this generic term was used by the Hittites in order to describe an area consisting of four or five states, representing the *Arzawa* lands. In a treaty between the Hittite king Muwatalli II⁴⁰ (ca 1295-1272 B.C.E.) and Alakšandu of Wiluša, we find the names of the four kingdoms that were included in *Arzawa* major, namely that of Mira, of Šeha River Land, of Wiluša and of Ḫapalla.⁴¹

In other cases, the term *Arzawa* seems to have been employed in order to describe a specific political entity in western Anatolia. The use of the term *Arzawa* as a political indication is more obvious in the annals of the Hittite king Muršili II⁴² (ca 1321-1295 B.C.E.), who mentions that he attacked the capital of *Arzawa*, called *Apaša*. Thus, scholars have proposed that the political entity *Arzawa*, called by the scholars as *Arzawa* minor, was part of the broader geographical area of *Arzawa*, named as *Arzawa* major by the scholars. The kingdom of *Arzawa* minor ceased to exist after its destruction by king Muršili II and from that period on the area of *Arzawa* minor was incorporated to the kingdom of Mira.

The location of the four western Anatolian kingdoms, that I mentioned before, was the source of a fierce debate among the scholars, but any suggestions and theories, concerning their location, were merely based on guess work.⁴³ However, in 1998 J. Hawkins managed to read the Karabel inscription, located in north-western Anatolia and based on its content he reconstructed the locations of western Anatolian kingdoms, which is generally accepted by the majority of the scholars.⁴⁴ More specifically, he suggested that Ḫapalla was the easternmost part of *Arzawa* major, Mira was located close to the Meander river and probably this kingdom's most

⁴⁰ Bryce 2011, 365-6.

⁴¹ Bryce 2011, 366; Kitchen and Lawrence 2012, 559.

⁴² Bryce 2011, 365-6.

⁴³ For previous theories about the location of the various Anatolian kingdoms see Garstang and Gurney 1959, 83-100.

⁴⁴ For more on Hawkins' suggestions and on the Karabel inscription see Hawkins 1998, 1-31; Hawkins 2015b, 16-35. More recently M. Gander published an article in which he expresses his concerns about the geographical reconstructions of J. Hawkins. In his article, he argues that the kingdom of *Arzawa* (latter Mira) was located in Lydia and the kingdom of Šeha River Land in the Meander valley, incorporating thus the city of Millawanda. However, in my opinion his arguments do not seem too persuasive in order his suggestions to be adopted instead of these of Hawkins. See Gander 2017, 163-90.

prominent city was Beycesultan. North of Mira the kingdom of the Šeha River Land was located and finally the kingdom of Wilusa was located north of the kingdom of Šeha River Land.⁴⁵

As for Arzawa's political history, the first time that we encounter the name Arzawa, in the Hittite texts, is in the reign of the Hittite king Ḫattušili I⁴⁶ (ca 1650-1620 B.C.E.) who launched a campaign against this territory. Arzawa is also listed among the various areas that rebelled against the Hittite king Ammuna⁴⁷ (ca 1560-1525 B.C.E.). Moreover, king Tudḫaliya I/II (ca 1400-1350) listed Arzawa among the countries that formed the so-called Aššuwa confederacy and rebelled against him.⁴⁸ The peak of the kingdom of Arzawa was reached during the reign of the Hittite king Tudḫaliya III⁴⁹ (ca 1400-1350 B.C.E.). During this period, the kingdom of the Arzawa launched an attack against the Hittites and the troops of Arzawa reached up to the southwestern borders of the so-called Hittite homeland in north-central Anatolia. This military success probably prompted the Egyptian king, Amenhotep III (ca 1391-1353 B.C.E.)⁵⁰ to initiate diplomatic contacts with the king of Arzawa, named Tarḫundaradu, in order a marriage alliance to be arranged. Scholars have suggested that Amenhotep's approach can probably be explained as a political move since the latter probably believed that Arzawa will be the next Anatolian superpower.⁵¹ However, the Hittite kingdom managed to regain its lost power and territories, under the reign of Šuppiliuma I⁵² (ca 1350-1322 B.C.E.). The end for the political entity called Arzawa came, as mentioned before, during the reign of Mursili II, who incorporated the area of Arzawa minor into the nearby kingdom of Mira.⁵³

⁴⁵ Bryce 2011, 366-7.

⁴⁶ Bryce 2011, 363.

⁴⁷ Bryce 2011, 363.

⁴⁸ Bryce 2005, 124-5; Bryce 2011, 363-4; Burney 2004, 33.

⁴⁹ Bryce 2005, 124-5; Bryce 2011, 363-4.

⁵⁰ Bunson 2002, 31.

⁵¹ Bryce 2011, 364; Burney 2004, 33.

⁵² Bryce 2011, 364.

⁵³ Bryce 2011, 367.

2.6 The Role of Ahḫiyawa in western Anatolia and the Ahḫiyawa Problem

Nearly thirty Hittite texts dating from the time of Tudḫaliya I/II to the time of Tudḫaliya IV (ca 1227-1209 B.C.E.) mention a political power, called Ahḫiyawa, which was active in western Anatolia and acted against the Hittite interests in the region. E. Forrer in 1924 proposed that the land of Ahḫiyawa should be equated with the Mycenaeans suggesting that the Hittite name Ahḫiyawa derives from the Greek name Achaiwia, an archaic form of Achaia.⁵⁴ He further argued that it was possible to link names mentioned in the Ahḫiyawa texts with names connected with the Trojan war. For instance, he identified that the Hittite geographical term Lazpa represents the island of Lesbos, Taruisa the city of Troy, Attarissiya and Tawagalawa Atreus and Eteokles respectively, who participated in the Trojan war.⁵⁵ At his time these suggestions were fought intensively by other scholars. Nowadays, the equation of Ahḫiyawa with the Mycenaeans (ca 1625-1200 B.C.E., table 2) is mostly accepted by the majority of the scholars.⁵⁶

The identification of the Ahḫiyawa in the Hittite texts with the Mycenaeans led to a further conflict, namely where on the map should we place the kingdom of Ahḫiyawa. There were many suggestions as the area of the Ahḫiyawa kingdom, such as the island of Rhodes, Thrace, Cilicia and northwest Anatolia.⁵⁷ However, a more persuasive suggestion came by J. Hawkins who, based on the reading of the Karabel inscription, demonstrated that there is no space left in Anatolia for Ahḫiyawa, thus Ahḫiyawa should be located either on the Aegean islands or in Greece mainland.⁵⁸ The majority of the scholars, nowadays, believe that Ahḫiyawa was located on the mainland of Greece.⁵⁹

However, the Ahḫiyawa problem does not stop there since there is another debate, namely whether the Mycenaean world was united or not and to which Mycenaean center in Greek mainland did the Hittite king write to. In principal, the majority of the scholars believe that the Mycenaean world was consolidated in minor

⁵⁴ Beckman et al. 2011, 1; Bryce 2011, 368-9.

⁵⁵ Beckman et al. 2011, 1.

⁵⁶ Beckman et al. 2011, 3; Neer 2012, 19.

⁵⁷ Beckman et al. 2011, 3; Mountjoy 1998, 47-52; Niemeier 1998, 44.

⁵⁸ Beckman et al. 2011, 3-4; Hawkins 1998, 30-1.

⁵⁹ Beckman et al. 2011, 4; Bryce 1989, 5; Niemeier 1998, 44.

political provinces which surrounded the various mainland sites, such as Mycenae, Thebes, Pylos etc.⁶⁰ However, a relatively new theory expressed by Jorrit Kelder⁶¹ suggests that the Mycenaean world should be seen as a more united political entity, than it is believed, and he proposes that the united Mycenaean kingdom would have controlled the Peloponnese, the Thebaid, various islands in the Aegean and Miletus on the Anatolia west coast.⁶² He further suggests that the center of this kingdom might have been Mycenae, since this site displays more international contacts than any of the other Mycenaean sites.⁶³ In my opinion, the latter theory, namely of a more united Mycenaean world, seems more plausible since it explains better the high degree of similarity in the Mycenaean cultural remains. Moreover, this theory combines also the available textual evidence from the Hittites, in which the Hittite king addresses to one king of Ahḫiyawa and thus it is more logical to assume that the kingdom of Ahḫiyawa represented a united kingdom and not that the Hittite king opted to address to one local king among the many in Greece mainland.

As for the presence of Ahḫiyawa in western Anatolia both archaeological and textual evidence indicate that Ahḫiyawa's interest in the region was intense. More specifically, the foothold of Ahḫiyawa in western Anatolia seems to have been the site of Miletus in southwestern Anatolian coast.⁶⁴ A more detailed textual and archaeological account about Ahḫiyawan interest at Miletus will follow in chapter 5.

However, Mycenaean interest in the region does not stop at Miletus but it ranges almost throughout the entire Anatolian coastline, since there are numerous Mycenaean artifacts in Ephesus, in Müsgebi and in other south-western Anatolian sites. Furthermore, although Mycenaean presence at north-west Anatolian coastline is limited there are still elements indicating Mycenaean interest also in that area, e.g. at Troy there are great amounts of Mycenaean pottery either imported or locally produced.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Bennet 2007, 29-36; Blegen and Rawson 1966, 419; Beckman et al. 2011, 4; Vermeule 1964, 271.

⁶¹ Kelder 2010.

⁶² Beckman et al. 2011, 4; Kelder 2010, 120.

⁶³ Beckman et al. 2011, 4; Kelder 2010, 93-9.

⁶⁴ Bryce 2011, 369; Kelder 2004-2005, 51.

⁶⁵ Kelder 2004-2005, 51.

3. Gordion

The archaeological remains excavated on a mound in west-central Anatolia, called nowadays Yassihöyük, are equated by scholars with the ancient city of Gordion. The site is located close to river Sakarya which in Classical times was called Sangarius (map 3).⁶⁶ The Bronze Age features of this site, like handmade pottery and stone artifacts, were firstly recognized by Korte, in 1900. Excavations at this site took place between 1950 and 1973 and were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania under the supervision of R. Young. However, this was not the last expedition since the University of Pennsylvania conducted two more excavation seasons in 1988 and 1989.⁶⁷



Map 3: Late Bronze Age sites in Anatolia.

As for the phases of the Late Bronze Age, the 1988 and 1989 excavations identified two Late Bronze Levels, namely levels 8 and 9. Archaeologists did not observe any architectural remains in level 9, the earlier between the two levels, which dates around 1400-1300 B.C.E. As for level 8, archaeologists date it based on pottery assemblages and Hittite hieroglyphs found on sealings, during the later phases of Late Bronze Age, thus 1300-1200 B.C.E. In this level archaeologists identified only one

⁶⁶ Gunter 1991, 1; Voigt 1994, 265.

⁶⁷ Voigt 1994, 49, 265; Archaeologists, between 1951 and 1953, excavated also the cemetery of Gordion which is dated in the Middle Bronze III and IV, or in Hittite terms in the old Hittite kingdom. This cemetery despite the fact that displays the local material culture of that period will not be analyzed in this paper since it belongs at the Middle Bronze Age. For more information on this cemetery see Mellink 1956.

well-preserved building which has been characterized by the excavators as a cellar, however the plan of this building has no parallels in the Hittite world.⁶⁸

3.1 Pottery

The Late Bronze pottery unearthed in Gordion, during the first expedition, was found mostly from two soundings, one below Megaron 10 and another below Megaron 12.⁶⁹ Whereas the pottery of the second expedition was found at the area of the cellar house mentioned before.⁷⁰ Despite their fragmentary condition, the diagnostic sherds helped scholars to identify some shape categories.⁷¹ Even in this fragmentary condition the regularization of the pottery production at Gordion was quite noticeable. This was due to the fact that vessel shapes are quite limited and even these shapes are not too elaborate. Thus, it is evident that pottery production at Gordion aimed mostly at a mass production.⁷² Henrickson⁷³ identified three main ware categories: “Common ware (87-90% of all sherds recovered) has a rather dense paste with variable amounts of medium grit temper. Fine ware (1-5%) has no visible temper. Cooking ware (5%) has a less dense paste with large amounts of medium grit and voids from burnt-out chaff temper.” The application of red slip or paint on vessels was very limited, only a 3-4% of the overall pottery.⁷⁴

The potter’s wheel and the turntable are the most common means of pottery production, however, sometimes hand-made pottery is identified. The potter’s wheel was used mostly for vessels which were of small size. The potters used their hands for the construction of larger vessels and usually they applied the coiling technique. Albeit, no Late Bronze Age kilns have been found at Gordion some experimental studies demonstrated that common and fine wares were fired at 800-1000°C. This is not a temperature that can be achieved without the aid of a kiln, thus the use of kilns

⁶⁸ Voigt 1994, 266-7; Because of the fragmentary condition of the building and the fact that no parallels have been suggested for it, this building will not be analyzed in the present paper. Thus, this chapter will suffice with the analysis of the pottery, the seals and sealings and the nearby rock monument.

⁶⁹ Gunter 1991, 27.

⁷⁰ Henrickson 1995, 84.

⁷¹ Gunter 1991, 27.

⁷² Henrickson 1995, 84.

⁷³ Henrickson 1995, 84.

⁷⁴ Henrickson 1995, 84.

at Gordion is plausible. However, kilns are not necessary in the case of cooking ware since they can be baked at a lower temperature.⁷⁵ The aforementioned production techniques used at Gordion are almost identical with these used by Hittite potters at sites of the Hittite heartland.⁷⁶ In the following part the most important vessel types will be examined and in the meantime, I will provide, whenever possible, parallels from other Anatolian sites.⁷⁷

The most common category of vessels at Gordion is that of bowls. The latter have been divided into sub-categories based on comparisons with better preserved assemblages from other sites.⁷⁸ A sub-category which is also present at Beycesultan and Bogazkoy⁷⁹ is that of a rounded bowl. It had two handles on it, its rim was thickened and a red-slip was applied entirely or partially on it (figs. 1-2). During the last phases of the Late Bronze Age two types of bowls seem to have been among the most common varieties; the first one was characterized by an inverted rim, it did not have any handles and a red or a buff slip was applied on it (figs. 3-4). This type, like the previous one, has many parallels from Anatolia and more specifically from Bogazkoy and Beycesultan (figs. 5-6). As for the second type, it could be both slipped, with red or buff color, and unslipped. Its rim was thick and wide and its lip probably was rounded. Hittite parallels from Bogazkoy have been identified for this type as well.⁸⁰

Another noticeable group of vessels is that of jars. Unfortunately, the preserved condition of the fragments is not ideal and only some speculations about their shape can be made by drawing comparisons to better preserved assemblages from Anatolia.⁸¹ Based on these parallels the Gordion jars have been reconstructed having narrow necks, oval bodies, rounded atilt shoulders and having their handles attached at the neck and the shoulder of the vessel.⁸² The best parallels are these excavated at Bogazkoy (figs 7-8). Finally, jars with everted rim have been recognized. This type is to be found at several Hittite sites, like Asarcik and Bogazkoy (fig. 9).

⁷⁵ Henrickson 1995, 84-5.

⁷⁶ Henrickson 1995, 87.

⁷⁷ The following pottery analysis is based on the pottery publications of Gunter 1991 and of Henrickson 1995.

⁷⁸ For more information on Hittite bowls see Fischer 1963, 63-8; Schoop 2011, 243-6.

⁷⁹ Fischer 1963, 144.

⁸⁰ Gunter 1991, 30-2.

⁸¹ Gunter 1991, 33.

⁸² Gunter 1991, 33; Henrickson 1995, 86.

Cooking pots⁸³ were characterized by their coarse ware. Like at major Hittite centers, potters made them with high content of coarse stone grit.⁸⁴ The most common cooking pot is the wide-mouthed vessel (fig. 10).⁸⁵ This vessel was made by hand and as Henrickson⁸⁶ describes: “it had rounded base, slightly enlarged rounded rims and vertical loop handles. The lower body may have been formed in a mold but the sides were built by coiling.” This type of vessel is known from other Anatolian sites, like Beycesultan (fig. 11).⁸⁷

In Gordion archaeologists have created a separate category of vessels in order to describe their lower part which has a pointed base. Gunter⁸⁸ describes that there are two groups belonging to this category: “Those with conical to ovoid lower body and pointed to gently rounded base. The second group displays a conical lower body and pointed or small flat base.” The first type has many parallels from Bogazkoy, Tarsus and Masat (fig. 12), whereas the second type has parallels only from Bogazkoy (fig. 13).⁸⁹

A very widespread category of pottery in the Hittite world, present also in Gordion, is that of zoomorphic vessels. Parallels from Hittite sites demonstrate that these vessels were equipped with spouts in the form of an animal’s head.⁹⁰ In the Hittite world vessels bearing zoomorphic representations on them were linked with deities.⁹¹ For example, the bull was associated with the Storm God, Tešub.⁹² It does not seem that the animal forms were limited to a specific type of vessels but instead they were used to a wide range of vessels.⁹³ The aforementioned vessels are dated only in the Old Hittite kingdom and their use ceases during the imperial period. The production of zoomorphic vessels is an Anatolian/local practice rather than a Hittite one since these types of vessels are present in Anatolia since the Old Assyrian

⁸³ For more information of Hittite cooking pots see Schoop 2011, 249-51.

⁸⁴ Gunter 1991, 33-4; Schoop 2011, 249.

⁸⁵ Gunter 1991, 33-4.

⁸⁶ Henrickson 1995, 87.

⁸⁷ Gunter 1991, 34.

⁸⁸ Gunter 1991, 35-6.

⁸⁹ Gunter 1991, 36.

⁹⁰ Gunter 1991, 36.

⁹¹ However, the fact that at Boğazkoy the zoomorphic vessels have been found in fill or disturbed contexts does not allow scholars to provide a reliable chronological or typological sequence, Gunter 1991, 36.

⁹² Larsen 2008, 77.

⁹³ Gunter 1991, 36-7.

period.⁹⁴ The fact that zoomorphic vessels represent a local material tradition rather than a Hittite one is evident also in the case of Gordion since the use of such vessels started in the Middle Bronze Age and continued throughout the Late Bronze Age. Zoomorphic vessels have been unearthed, at Gordion, both from stratified and miscellaneous contexts (fig. 14). Three fragments of such vessels have a hole in the center of the back (fig 14, lowest row).⁹⁵

The shapes of the vessels analyzed before are present at all the sites situated in the core of the Hittite. Actually, the Gordion assemblage manifests a more simplified version of the Hittite one. I mentioned before that the potters at Gordion also followed the Hittite vessel production techniques and this fact in connection with the shape similarities demonstrate that there are strong links with the Hittite ceramic tradition. It is not a rare phenomenon, potters to adopt vessel shapes under foreign influence but what it is rare is potters to adopt pottery producing techniques under foreign influence.⁹⁶

Chemical analysis was conducted on samples of the pottery unearthed at Gordion and the results demonstrated that the conciseness of the clay of the majority of the vessels was the same as that of the soil taken from the banks of Sakarya river. Thus, these vessels were made at Gordion and they do not represent imports.⁹⁷ As I have analyzed before, at Gordion the shapes of the vessels and their simplicity demonstrate that the potters who were present at this site were producing a vast amount of pottery which exceeded the needs of a medium size city, like Gordion. The most plausible scenario is that the surrounding sites were supplied vessels from Gordion. The fact that Gordion had such a vast production of pottery indicates that professional potters might have been present at the site. The possibility for the existence of pottery specialists at Gordion might manifest for the presence of other specialists at this city as well.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Kulakoğlu 1999, 157-8; Özguç 1983, 423.

⁹⁵ Gunter 1991, 36-7.

⁹⁶ Henrickson 1995, 87-8.

⁹⁷ Henrickson 1995, 87; Henrickson and Blackman 1996, 77.

⁹⁸ Henrickson 1995, 87.

3.2 Pot Marks and Sealings

At Gordion archaeologists have found a few vessels bearing signs. More specifically, these signs represent three different categories, namely 1) incised triangular signs 2) stamped concentric circles and 3) stamped seal impressions.⁹⁹

The first category is described by Gunter¹⁰⁰ as graffiti, because they were incised before firing. They are triangular signs and they are incised on a noticeable area of the vessel, either on the wall or close to the base. Except for the fact that they seem to be associated with closed vessels, it does not seem plausible these signs to be connected with a specific type of vessel (fig. 15).



Fig. 15: Incised fragments of Vessels from Gordion.¹⁰¹

There are parallels of such signs from other Anatolian sites as well and it has been proposed that they should be linked with the Hittite hieroglyphic sign for “king” or “royal”. If this is the case, then it is possible these signs to have been used in order to mark that these vessels or their content has been distributed from a central authority.¹⁰² However, this practice is not only present in Anatolia during the Late

⁹⁹ Dusinberre 2005, 40; Gunter 1991, 37-8; Henrickson 1995, 88.

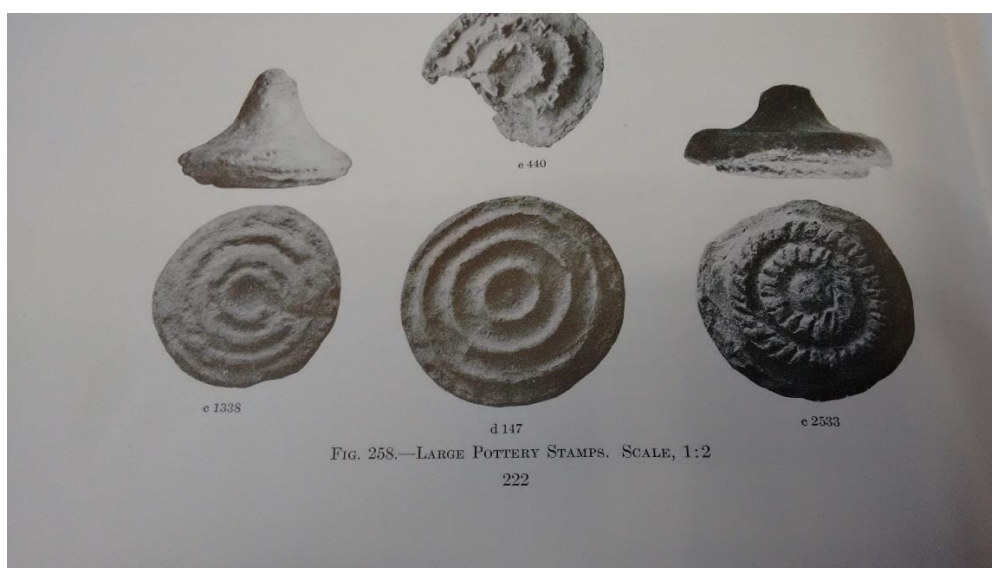
¹⁰⁰ Gunter 1991, 37.

¹⁰¹ Gunter 1991, pl. 28, figs. 517-20.

¹⁰² Gunter 1991, 37.

Bronze Age but also in the Aegean and in Egypt since the Neolithic period. Glatz argued that these signs cannot be assigned to Hittite imperial central control since such signs appear very rarely in the archaeological context. If these signs functioned as central bureaucratic mechanisms one would expect to find a bigger volume of vessels bearing such signs and not only a few.¹⁰³ Thus, the use of these signs is problematic, however due to their wide-spread and, as yet, limited use, in various regions of the Near East, it is almost certain that they do not represent an institutionalized practice.

The second category is well-known from the early second millennium onwards at central and western Anatolia. The fact that at Gordion archaeologists found such stamps in levels corresponding to the Hittite empire period is an indication that this motif continued in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. To this can be added the fact that in level I at Masat Höyük, which corresponds to the 13th Century B.C.E. archaeologists found such motifs (figs. 16-17).¹⁰⁴

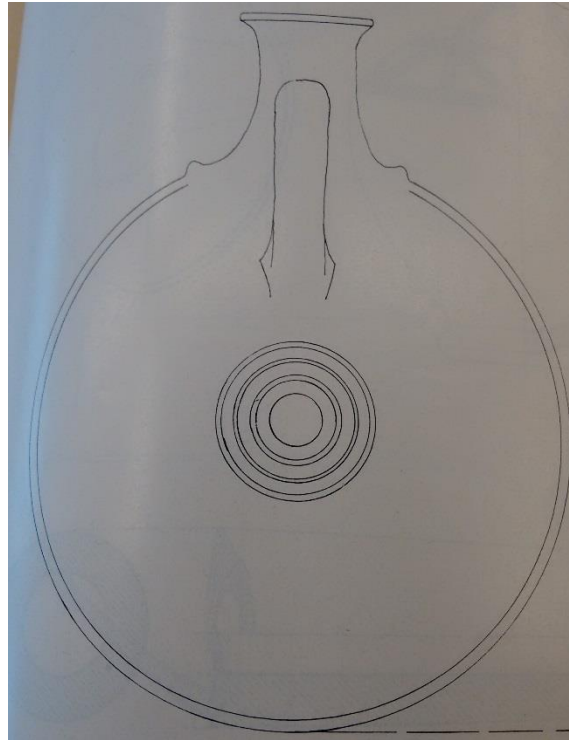


*Fig. 16: Pottery stamps with concentric rings from Alisar Hoyuk.*¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Glatz 2012, 25-32, 34-5.

¹⁰⁴ Gunter 1991, 38.

¹⁰⁵ Osten 1937, fig.258, nos. e 440, c 1338, d 147 and c 2533.



*Fig. 17: Vessel bearing impression of concentric rings.*¹⁰⁶

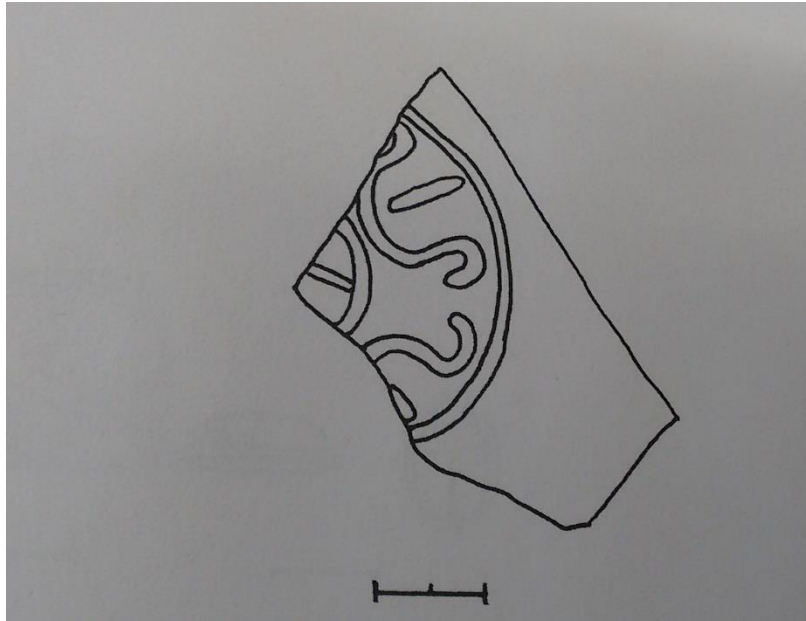
Finally, the third category, namely the seal impressions, has been found on a storage vessel rim and on two jar shoulders.¹⁰⁷ According to Henrickson, one of the two stamped jars bore the “*signe royale*”.¹⁰⁸ The “*signe royale*” is a sun symbol, which has been identified by some scholars as a mark of the royal administration. Another explanation is that this symbol marked the cult vessels, which does not seem to be the case. Whatever the function of this symbol might have been it does not seem probable that the symbol on the jar shoulder at Gordion is the “*signe royale*” since studies on finds at Hattusa have demonstrated that probably it disappears at the beginning of the Empire period (fig. 18).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Özgüç 1982, figs. 21-8.

¹⁰⁷ Dusinberre 2005, 40; Henrickson 1995, 88; For more information on the *signe royale* see Seidl 1972, 65-8.

¹⁰⁸ Henrickson 1995, 88.

¹⁰⁹ Dusinberre 2005, 40; Schoop, 2011, 259-60.



*Fig. 18: Seal Impression.*¹¹⁰

The stamp on the rim of a storage vessel bore the name of the person, written in hieroglyphic Luwian which has been transliterated as Arma-ziti. It is rare to find a stamp on a rim of a vessel since usually rounded stamps were impressed on the shoulders of jars or leaf-shaped stamps were impressed at the bases of the handles (figs. 19-20).¹¹¹ However, clay analysis on the storage vessel has indicated that it was locally produced and thus somebody stamped the vessel at Gordion. This could indicate, although this conclusion is quite conjectural, that a Hittite official might have been present at Gordion, since this fragmentary stamp demonstrates Hittite bureaucratic mechanisms.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Dusinberre 2005, fig. 22.

¹¹¹ Dusinberre 2005, 41.

¹¹² Henrickson 1995, 83, 87-8.



Fig. 19: Stamp Seal Impression with a Hieroglyphic Hittite Inscription.¹¹³

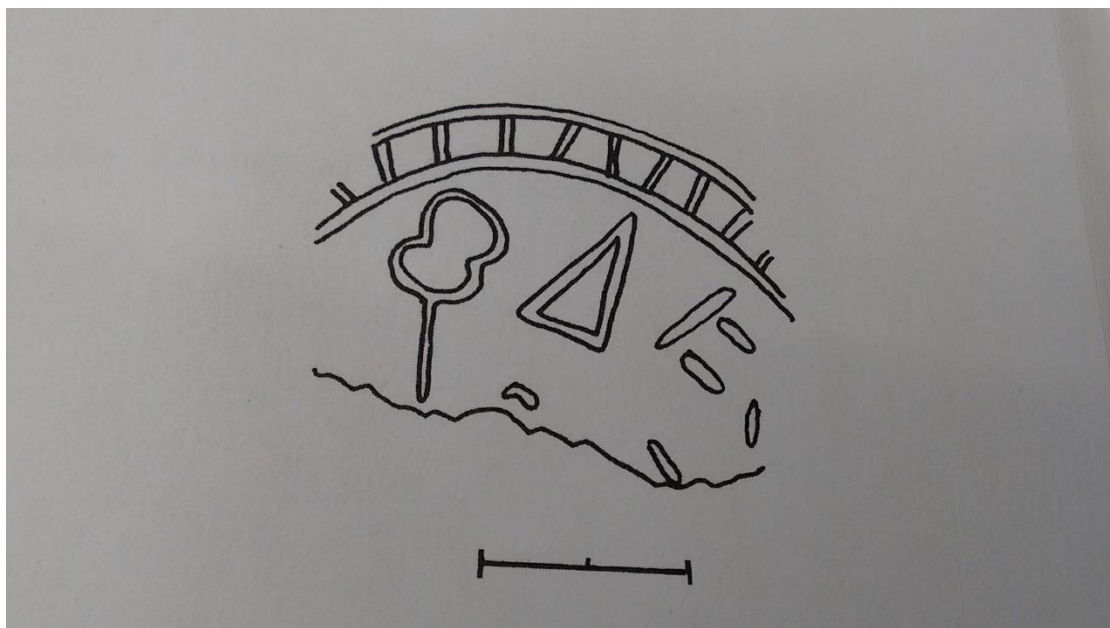


Fig. 20: Seal Impression with a Hieroglyphic Hittite Inscription.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Henrickson 1995, 83.

¹¹⁴ Dusinberre 2005, fig. 24.

3.3 *The Rock Monument at Gâvur Kalesi*

Except for clay finds another aspect of material culture that can be examined in the case of Gordion, or at least at the vicinity of Gordion, is that of rock monuments. Such a rock monument exists at Gâvur Kalesi (fig. 21) and it is located around 60 km east of Gordion. It is actually a natural hill which overlooks the valley. On this hill and on its southern side archaeologists, have discovered some reliefs carved on the limestone.¹¹⁵ Both the architectural structures and the rock reliefs are dated during the second part of the Late Bronze Age.¹¹⁶ As far as the reliefs are concerned they are carved in Hittite style and the figures depicted on it are three Hittite deities, two male and one female.¹¹⁷ The female deity is seated whereas the male deities are standing and they wear multi-horned crowns, short kilts and upturned shoes.¹¹⁸ The rock on the left side of the female deity is smoothed and this has been explained by scholars either as an area where they intended to carve another figure or as a place for a statue of a deity.¹¹⁹ The fact that these reliefs are carved in Hittite style possibly demonstrates that this monument was an imperial establishment.

One may wonder, at this point, why the Hittite political administration was interested in constructing such a monument in this area.¹²⁰ There various theories concerning the function of this rock monument and scholars have suggested a military, a ritual or a propagandistic function.

Scholars that suggested a military function were based on the fact that the hill, where the rock monument is carved on, was located on a very important road which connected western Anatolia with the Hittite heartland (fig. 22).¹²¹ It is believed that the main road which led from central to western Anatolia was passing through the Sakarya region, which is the region where this monument is located. In his annals

¹¹⁵ There are also some architectural remains on the same hill but this paper will not analyze these remains as they belong to another site. For more information concerning this site see Lumsden 2002, 111-25.

¹¹⁶ Glatz and Plourde 2011, 54-5.

¹¹⁷ Glatz and Plourde 2011, 54; Lumsden 2002, 111, 114-5.

¹¹⁸ Lumsden 2002, 111, 114-5.

¹¹⁹ Kohlmeyer 1983, 46-7.

¹²⁰ Hawkins has suggested that this rock monument alongside with the architectural remains on the site can represent either a "stone-house" tomb or a *hekur* mortuary precinct, Hawkins 2015a, 2; Lumsden 2002, 120.

¹²¹ Garstang 1943, 40; Lumsden 2002, 120.

Muršili II (ca 1321-1295)¹²² mentions that on his way against Arzawa (text I), he crossed the Šeḫiriya river and at the city of Šallapa he was joined by his brother, Šarri-Kušuh, the viceroy of Carchemish. Some equate this city with the classical city Spalia or Palaia near modern Sivrihisar.¹²³

Text I
KUB XIV 16/ KUB XIV 15 + KBo XVI 104
“The Extensive Annals of Mursili II”¹²⁴

Third Year
Vs II

7’-10’ *‘When I, My Majesty, reached Šallapa, because I had written to my brother Šarri-Kušuh, the king of Karkamiš, he led my troops and chariotry up to Šallapa and I reviewed (the army) to Šallapa. Then, I marched against the land of Arzawa.’*

Šallapa is mentioned as well in the so-called “Tawagalawa” letter (text II), which is possibly dated in the reign of Hattusili III (1267-1237).¹²⁵ In this letter Hattusili mentions that on his way towards the city of Millawanda, which is equated with classical Miletus, he passed through the city of Šallapa.¹²⁶ These two passages and the fact that two Hittite kings in order to approach western Anatolia traveled through this city confirm that the main military road leading to western Anatolia was through that area.¹²⁷

Text II
KUB XIV 3
The “Tawagalawa Letter”¹²⁸

§1.

1’-2’ *‘Next he went (there) and destroyed the town Attarimma, and burned it down including the fortification wall of the royal acropolis.*
3’-4’ *As the men of Lukka notified Tawagalawa, so that he came into these lands.*
4’-5’ *They likewise notified me, so that I (too) came down into these lands.*

¹²² Bryce 2005, XV.

¹²³ Garstang 1943, 40-1; Gunter 1991, 105; Mellaart 1983, 348.

¹²⁴ This English translation made by the present author was based on an Italian translation of the original text made by del Monte 1993,79 and on a German translation of the original text made by Götze 1933, 49.

¹²⁵ Bryce 2005, XV.

¹²⁶ Hoffner, 2009, 300; Gunter 1991, 105.

¹²⁷ For more information on Hittite Geography see Garstang and Gurney 1959. Especially, information concerning the city of Šallapa can be found in pages 76-7 of the same book.

¹²⁸ Hoffner 2009, 302.

6'-7 *When I reached the town Šallapa, he (i.e., Piyamaradu) sent a man to meet me, (saying:) “take me as (your) vassal. Send the crown prince to me, that he may escort me to your majesty.”*

Other scholars have pointed out the ritual connotations that Gâvur Kalesi might have had. Areas with springs close to high rocks, overlooking a valley, were considered by the Hittites as sacred places and this seems to be the case for Gâvur Kalesi as well.¹²⁹ Moreover, Lumsden¹³⁰ has suggested that this rock is located at the boundary of two different landscapes, namely there is an open landscape, a valley which connects Ankara with Konya and a closed one, with many mountains, which is located at Haymana, where Gâvur Kalesi is situated. He compares also this fact with practices observed in western Europe where people constructed such monuments in order “to capture” a dangerous landscape. Thus, the construction of such a monument may indicate the fact that the “capture” of this landscape, where such an important road was located, was a military and ritual endeavor.

Finally, the fact that this monument is not claimed by a particular person, by virtue of personalized inscriptions led some scholars to propose that Gâvur Kalesi may have functioned as a broader way of promoting political legitimation and thus there was no need for a specific designation of a certain person.¹³¹

In my opinion, there is another possible explanation for the function of this monument. The fact that figures identified as Hittite deities are combined with such a possible important military road may offer a hint for the reason of the construction of this monument at this area.¹³² It is possible that these divine images were placed on this road in order their aid and protection to be asked for the forthcoming campaign of the Hittite troops and the Hittite king, so their campaign to be successful. It is also plausible that these depictions acted as morale boosters for the Hittite troops, so that the soldiers would be aware that the gods were on their side and thus the soldiers would be fearless and brave as they were getting away from Hittite heartland. Thus,

¹²⁹ Lumsden 2002, 120.

¹³⁰ Lumsden 2002, 120-1.

¹³¹ Glatz and Plourde 2011, 55.

¹³² However, this road would not have been used only by military forces but also by regular persons, such as merchants.

this monument could have acted both as a pictorial representation of divine protection and also as a confidence booster for the Hittite military forces.

3.4 Conclusions

To sum up, Gordion during the Old Hittite period seems to have strong cultural connections with the rest of western Anatolia and the local Anatolian tradition in general whereas the Hittite state does not seem to have any form of cultural influence over Gordion. This is evident in the ceramic remains where it seems that Gordion has common traits with western Anatolian sites such as Beycesultan and Kusura. There is also a connection with the local Anatolian tradition which is mostly based on the zoomorphic vessels which have been found at Gordion since the Middle Bronze Age.

However, this situation changes in the New Hittite kingdom, an era which marks a strong and continuous Hittite influence over Gordion. The evidence presented in this chapter points towards a very intense cultural interaction between Gordion and the Hittite state. First and foremost, the preserved material unearthed at the site of Gordion, namely the pottery assemblages and the stamp with hieroglyphic Hittite signs on it, demonstrate that Gordion had very close cultural relations with the Hittite material, however this is evident only in the pottery domain. The fact that Gordion itself is located in an area on the periphery of the core of the Hittite state, in west-central Anatolia, and in the meantime, the intense cultural interaction between the two areas, namely the area of Gordion and the Hittite heartland, however only in the pottery domain, constitutes a corroboration that possibly the Hittite state during the empire period launched an intense effort to expand its core area. This effort was probably due to the need of the Hittites to protect the most essential parts of the empire, such as Ḫattuša. However, it is not certain what kind of control Ḫattuša had over Gordion, since the evidence is quite scarce in order to safely suggest that the Hittites directly controlled this settlement. As stated earlier, only the pottery assemblages can be used as a more concrete piece of evidence since the techniques used in the pottery production and the majority of the pottery shapes have close parallels with sites in the Hittite heartland. In addition, at Gordion we have one

example for the presence of a possible Hittite official based on the stamp seal found at the site. However, these is not enough evidence in order to suggest a more direct control of the Hittite state over Gordion, since we lack evidence such as administrative texts or more seals, that can prove with certainty that an official resided at Gordion. In my opinion, even though we lack any solid information for the presence of any Hittite bureaucratic mechanisms at Gordion, the bulk of the Hittite influenced pottery cannot be ignored. Thus, I conclude that possibly some Hittite professional potters resided at Gordion, during the Late Bronze Age, and based on the big volumes of the locally produced pottery, it is probable that Gordion exported vessels to nearby settlements. Therefore, although we are not certain if any official was present at Gordion, we can possibly conclude that Gordion adopted, up to a certain degree, during this period, some Hittite economic mechanisms in certain domains of the settlement's economy, such as in the pottery production. However, for the latter assumption we cannot be certain of whether the settlement of Gordion opted for such an economic orientation or if the Hittite state forced Gordion to adopt such an economic system.

4. Beycesultan

The site of Beycesultan is situated some 320km south-west of the site of Gordion and it is close to the modern town of Hivril in the Denizli province (map 4). It was located on a fertile valley at the Upper Maeander river. The site had a strategic location since it was situated nearby a road through which access from western Anatolia to the Anatolian plateau was possible.¹³³ In general, in west Anatolia archaeologists have identified various cultural groups based on the archaeological material unearthed from various sites, namely the Aegean coastline culture,¹³⁴ the north-west Anatolian culture¹³⁵ and the inland south-west Anatolian culture.¹³⁶ Beycesultan belongs to the latter culture, in which the site of Kusura belongs as well. Scholars have argued that these various cultural groups may designate unified states or ethnic groups. However, this cannot be proved based only on the archaeological material.¹³⁷



Map 4: Late Bronze Age sites in Anatolia.

¹³³ Mac Sweeney 2009, 107; 2011, 94-5.

¹³⁴ This group has a very strong presence of Mycenaean material, especially Mycenaean pottery influence, either imported or locally produced.

¹³⁵ This group is mostly found around the area of the site of Troy and it is characterized mostly by finds that have, up to a degree, neither Aegean influences nor Hittite ones.

¹³⁶ This group has also a strong local material orientation, the most prominent sites of this group are the site of Beycesultan and the site of Kusura.

¹³⁷ Mac Sweeney 2011, 69.

As far as the excavation of this site is concerned, it took place from 1954 to 1959 by S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart and in 2007 E. Abay and F. Dedeoğlu started new excavation seasons at the site.¹³⁸ This paper will mostly use the analysis of the material known from the excavations of Lloyd and Mellaart whereas the preliminary results from the latter excavation project will be consulted whenever possible, since the excavations are not yet completed.

The previous excavation project suggested that the Late Bronze Age at Beycesultan is represented by four levels, namely levels III, II, Ib and Ia. The two last levels were dated after the fall of the Hittite kingdom, namely in the 12th century B.C.E. Mellaart dated level III at the beginning of the fourteenth century based on a Mycenaean pottery fragment (see below), corresponding either in LH III A or B (table 2), which was found in a platform of Beycesultan III.¹³⁹ However, Mac Sweeney suggested that this Mycenaean pottery fragment and thus level III in general, cannot be dated before 1360 B.C.E. Furthermore, she mentions that if we consider the fact that the deposition of this vessel in the platform would not have happened immediately after its construction, then level III should be dated around 1300 B.C.E.¹⁴⁰ As for level II, Mellaart dates it to the thirteenth and early twelfth century.¹⁴¹

The new excavation project based on C-14 samples proved that Late Bronze Age Beycesultan is comprised by four levels, namely level 6 which corresponds to level III of the old excavations, 5b to level II, 5a to level Ib and 4 to level Ia. However, they documented that a new dating should be applied for the Late Bronze levels at Beycesultan. More specifically, level 6 is the earlier Late Bronze Age level but for this level no date has, as yet, been proposed. As for the rest of the levels, level 5b is dated ca 1830-1685 B.C.E. the earliest and ca 1530-1410 B.C.E. the latest, level 5a around 1600-1500 B.C.E.¹⁴² and finally level 4 is dated between the 14th and 12th centuries B.C.E.¹⁴³ Levels 5b and 5a ended with fire destructions and level 5a was constructed immediately after the destruction of level 5b (table 3).¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ Mac Sweeney 2011, 94, 97.

¹³⁹ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 93.

¹⁴⁰ Mac Sweeney 2011, 98-9.

¹⁴¹ Mac Sweeney 2011, 98-9; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 93.

¹⁴² Dedeoğlu 2016, 16; Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 2, 39, table 1.

¹⁴³ Dedeoğlu and Konakçı 2015, 193.

¹⁴⁴ Dedeoğlu 2016, 16; Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 2, 39, table 1.

Lloyd-Mellaart Stratigraphy	New Stratigraphy	Period	Relative Chronology	Absolute Chronology
	1	Sejuk-Ottoman Principality Period	13-14.century AD	
	2a1-2	Byzantine Period	11-12.century AD	
	2b			
	3	Iron Age	9.century AD	
la	4	Late Bronze Age		Cal BC 1600 to 1500
lb	5a			
II	5b			Middle Bronze Age

Table 3: The new stratigraphy of the site of Beycesultan.¹⁴⁵

In this paper, for level 5b I use the latest chronology, namely ca 1530-1410 B.C.E. since this chronology gives enough time-span to level 6, which otherwise would have been dated outside the limits of the Late Bronze Age. Thus, in this paper, I date level 6, roughly in the 16th century, level 5b, as mentioned before, ca 1530-1410 B.C.E., level 5a around the 14th century¹⁴⁶ and level 4 between the 14th and the 12th century.

4.1 Level III/6

4.1.1 Architecture

Level III/6 and the next level, II/5b, have a very strong local character. As far as architecture is concerned, a feature that implies strong local connotations is that in

¹⁴⁵ Dedeoğlu and Abay 2014, 39, table 1.

¹⁴⁶ Although the new dating suggests that this level is dated between ca 1600-1500 B.C.E., the fact that firstly, I use the latest chronology for level 5b and secondly, the type of chalices found in level 5a have parallels with the Uluburun shipwreck, which is dated in the 14th century, drives me to slightly change the dating of level 5a and thus date it around the 14th century.

two houses, of level III/6, (rooms 3 and 18, see figs. 23-24), archaeologists found in domestic hearths a so-called “horse-shoe” construction that functioned as a support for a cooking pot over a fire (fig. 25).¹⁴⁷ Similar heart-shaped constructions have been unearthed also in the nearby site of Kusura¹⁴⁸, reinforcing the local character of this level (fig. 26). Another element that demonstrates the strong local character of the site are the twin shrines that have been found in this and the next phases and which are more or less the same with these that have been excavated from the Early and Middle Bronze Age levels.¹⁴⁹ In nearby Kusura archaeologists have identified shrines that have many parallels with those of Beycesultan.¹⁵⁰

4.1.2 Pottery

In the pottery domain in level III/6 Beycesultan has a very strong local culture as well and it seems that the pottery assemblage was characterized by a high degree of standardization both in shape and style. The division of the pottery into categories based on their decorative types led to the conclusion that in comparison with the other excavated levels at Beycesultan, level III/6 has the biggest degree of standardization in the decorative types.¹⁵¹ Mac Sweeney¹⁵² mentioned that level III/6 “has the highest proportion of its recorded ceramics belonging to a single type, with 56.7 percent of its ceramics belonging to type C1, warm-colored burnished wares. Taken together with type C2, warm-colored slipped wares, this means that 75.6 percent of recorded vessels had a very similar decorative scheme and would have presented a very similar visual image.” This impressive similarity among the ceramic styles at Beycesultan is also present in the vessel shapes. Only a small percentage of the revealed assemblage belongs to shapes originated in other regions whereas the biggest part of the pottery, 54.3 percentage, belongs to shapes that are typical for the south-west Anatolian

¹⁴⁷ Lloyd 1972, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Lamb 1937, 37.

¹⁴⁹ For more information on these shrines see Lloyd 1972, 24-37. A difference that may indicate a change in local religious traditions is the fact that during the Early Bronze Age archaeologists found in the shrines stelae which were considered to have been used for the cult of the deities whereas in the Late Bronze Age these stelae were replaced probably by cult objects, Yakar 1974, 161.

¹⁵⁰ Lamb 1937, 225; 1956, 88; Yakar 1974, 153 and 154-5. Because of the strong local character of these phases I will suffice mostly with the description of the foreign finds excavated at Beycesultan.

¹⁵¹ Mac Sweeney 2011, 103-4.

¹⁵² Mac Sweeney 2011, 104.

culture. A big proportion of the shapes of the unearthened vessels, during this phase, was characterized by drinking cups, chalices, fruit-stands and goblets, namely shapes that are associated with dining activities.¹⁵³ In addition to the aforementioned practices, potters in Beycesultan have been trying to imitate metallic vessels by applying various decorative practices such as ribbing on stems, incised decoration and carination in bowl profiles. This fact has been linked with the Hittite pottery which is considered to be quite simple and it does not seem to have been used to demonstrate social status. Thus, some scholars have proposed that the vessels which were destined to display social status were made, in the Hittite world, out of metal.¹⁵⁴ Based on this assumption scholars have suggested that this effort for metal skeuomorphism in Beycestultan was a cognitive choice made by the inhabitants of the site in order to imitate the Hittite metal vessels. However, I agree with Mac Sweeney who has proposed that this practice does not represent an influence and therefore an effort to imitate Hittite metal vessels but it demonstrates a local feature.¹⁵⁵ The latter theory is emphasized by the fact that there is no clear indication for such Hittite practice in order to assume that the community of Beycesultan tried to imitate these Hittite vessels. It is also, in my opinion, too far-fetched to assume that a part of Beycesultan's ceramic assemblage would have had such a strong influence since this level in other respects is so locally oriented and barely has any foreign influences.

As for the foreign contacts at Beycesultan, in level III/6, is evident that were very scarce if not completely absent; this phenomenon is not only restricted towards material coming from the central Anatolian plateau but also from material of other western Anatolian cultures. One of the rare examples of contact with western Anatolia, and more specifically with the area of the Troad is that of the grooved pottery decoration which kind of decoration is characteristic of the Troy VI and VII phases. The aforementioned Mycenaean stirrup-jar which acted as a documentation for the date of this level indicates some contacts with the Aegean coast. However, one vessel is not enough to establish contacts but it is possible to have been obtained by a certain person as an "exotic" product.

¹⁵³ Mac Sweeney 2011, 104.

¹⁵⁴ Mac Sweeney 2011, 109; Reeves 2003, 201.

¹⁵⁵ Mac Sweeney 2011, 109-10.

There is also another case apart from the Mycenaean stirrup-jar that bears paint on it, namely that of a zoomorphic vessel (fig. 27), for which archaeologists have not offered any possible parallels.¹⁵⁶ In my opinion this vessel probably represents a bird-shaped vessel since it resembles a lot a LH III bird vessel found in a Mycenaean chamber tomb in Mycenae (fig. 28).¹⁵⁷

4.2 Level II/5b

4.2.1 Architecture

As for level II/5b, the remains unearthed in Beycesultan document that this phase represents a continuation of the previous level. However, this phase marks a period of intense social differentiation expressed mostly through the architecture, since the domestic buildings are characterized by major differences in size, for example the biggest building of the site is eight times bigger than the smallest building. These differences in architecture may constitute a change in the way the various social groups of Beycesultan opted for expressing their prestige and power in contrast to level III/6.¹⁵⁸ The new excavations at Beycesultan demonstrated that each house, during this phase, not only had a living area but also a storage area attached.¹⁵⁹ No parallels have been suggested by the excavators for these houses.

4.2.2 Pottery

These marked differences are not only limited to the architecture but are also visible in various small finds such as necklaces and daggers etc. and they indicate the above-mentioned change. As far as the pottery is concerned, Mellaart¹⁶⁰ did not notice any major change between the two levels. The only difference with the previous level is the fact that the percentage of vessels bearing the metallic slip, which is present

¹⁵⁶ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 1.

¹⁵⁷ For more information on this Mycenaean bird vase see Miller 1983, 230.

¹⁵⁸ Mac Sweeney 2009, 113; 2011, 111-2.

¹⁵⁹ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 10.

¹⁶⁰ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 21-2.

since level III/6 in the pottery assemblages, has increased.¹⁶¹ In the meantime, in this level there are the first scarce connections with the central Anatolian plateau during the Late Bronze Age. This contact has been established by the excavation of a group of pottery fragments with red concentric zones. At first it was believed that these fragments were actually Mycenaean imitations but after careful examination of these fragments archaeologists came to the conclusion that they actually represent the so-called pilgrim bottle with painted circles which are present in Boğazkoy (figs. 29-30).¹⁶²

4.2.3 Various Finds

The pilgrim bottle vessels, described before, form the only pottery assemblages from Beycesultan that indicate contact with foreign areas. However, in this level archaeologists unearthed objects of different materials that indicate contacts. Such an object is a stamp seal made out of stone (fig. 31)¹⁶³ and as Murray¹⁶⁴ describes it bore on it “a crouched griffon surrounded by two circles of ladder design. The stamping face is circular with a conical neck rising from it to a perforated knob.” This representation has a very close parallel from Bogazkoy where a seal bearing an almost identical motif has been discovered. The only difference between the two seals is the material used for the seals since that from Bogazkoy is made out of clay. The depiction of a griffon is rare in the Hittite world since only four seals representing this motif have been found, dating to the same period, one in Bogazkoy, one in Alaca Höyük and two in Alisar (fig. 32).¹⁶⁵

Another object that has been paralleled with a find in Alaca Höyük is a horn-shaped polygonal object made out of bone which according to Murray was used as a horse cheek piece (figs. 33-34).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 8; Mac Sweeney 2011, 111-4.

¹⁶² Mellaart and Murray 1995, 21-2.

¹⁶³ Mac Sweeney 2011, 70, 117; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 123.

¹⁶⁴ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 123.

¹⁶⁵ The seal from Alaca Höyük has the same shape with that of Beycesultan and it is also made out of stone. A photograph and a drawing of this object can be found in Kosay 1951, pl. LXXX, no. 4 a and b; Boehmer and Güterbock 1987, 22; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 123.

¹⁶⁶ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 126.

Finally, further contacts with the west can be observed since in Beycesultan a fragment of a helmet made out of boar's tusk has been unearthed (fig. 35). Such helmets have been revealed in mainland Greece and they are considered part of the Mycenaean military equipment. These helmets are also known to us through the various depictions, in several Mycenaean tombs, of Mycenaean warriors wearing such helmets.¹⁶⁷ In my opinion, the discovery of a distinctive Mycenaean object in such an inland site like Beycesultan and the fact that it is a unique piece indicates that someone considered it as a luxury or "exotic" and prestigious object which could differentiate him from the rest of the community. Mac Sweeney¹⁶⁸ has suggested that this helmet might have been a battle trophy, showing thus a hostile rather than a friendly contact.

Phase II/5b ended with a violent fire destruction, around ca 1530-1410 B.C.E. The new excavators suggested that this destruction was possibly caused by an invasion since they found in some rooms human skeletons. More specifically, these skeletons were found in hiding positions, such as pithoi, and this fact enhances the possibility of an invasion.¹⁶⁹

4.3 Level Ib/5a

4.3.1 Architecture

I date this phase, as mentioned before, roughly around the 14th century B.C.E. and this level was immediately built after the destruction of the previous phase. In this phase, the inhabitants performed some modifications and repairs to the buildings of the previous phase. During this phase archaeologists have identified a change in the architectural plan of the settlement. More specifically, I described before that the houses in the previous phase were characterized by a living room and a connected storage room. In phase Ib/5a the houses of the settlement had only a living room and an "L" shaped court (fig. 36) and they lacked a storage area. The latter excavators

¹⁶⁷ Mac Sweeney 2011, 117.

¹⁶⁸ Mac Sweeney 2011, 117.

¹⁶⁹ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 7; For more information on the human skeletons and their find position see Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 4-6.

suggested that this development manifests for the fact that since private houses do not have any storage rooms there might have been a central storage facility at the site.¹⁷⁰ The latter assumption, namely for the existence of a central storage facility at Beycesultan, although I should admit that it is quite speculative, might reflect a Hittite practice, since archaeologists at Ḫattuša found large-scale silos which probably functioned as central storage facilities.¹⁷¹ Alongside the archaeological evidence there is a possible reference in a Hittite diplomatic text that such a central storage house possibly existed in the Hittite kingdom, however, this text does not make clear if this storehouse is in the Hittite capital or in another city. More specifically, in a letter (KUB 21.38) written by the Hittite queen Puduhepa (ca middle of the 13th century B.C.E.) to the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II (ca 1250 B.C.E.), the Hittite queen mentions that the storehouse of Hatti was destroyed (text III).¹⁷²

Text III

KUB 21.38

Letter from Queen Puduhepa of Hatti to Ramses II of Egypt¹⁷³

1§

Obv. 10⁷-11⁷

“At the moment [I am not able to give] her to you. As you, my brother, know the storehouse(?) of Hatti, do I not [know that it is] burned-out structure?”

Thus, this unique reference to such a storehouse and the excavation of grain silos at Ḫattuša document that the Hittites most likely had some sort of a central storage area.¹⁷⁴ If such a central storage area existed, at all, at Beycesultan, then it possibly reflects a Hittite practice. All in all, it seems that in level Ib/5a the inhabitants of the site although they tried to reuse and repair the destructed buildings of the previous phase they planned and built the new houses of the settlement in a more modest way.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, except for the changes in the domestic architecture the shrine area R in which shrines can be detected since the Early Bronze Age, was

¹⁷⁰ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 7, 10; Lloyd 1972, 17.

¹⁷¹ Glatz 2011, 881; Seeher 2000, 270. For more information on the silos found at Ḫattuša see Seeher 2000, 270-8.

¹⁷² Beckman 1996, 126; Bryce 2005, 282-3.

¹⁷³ Beckman 1996, 126.

¹⁷⁴ However, the storehouse mentioned at the text, it was not used, in all probability, for edible goods, such as grain etc., as it was probably in the case of Beycesultan, but most likely it was used as the royal treasury since the dowry for the royal marriage between the Hittite and the Egyptian courts would have possibly come from this building. For more information on this see Bryce 2005, 282-3.

¹⁷⁵ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 7, 10; Lloyd 1972, 17.

abandoned during this period.¹⁷⁶ Thus, Abay and Dedeoğlu have suggested that these changes in the overall settlement architecture document a change in the settlement organization.¹⁷⁷

4.3.2 Pottery

As far as the pottery of this level is concerned the analysis of the pottery assemblages of the previous excavations indicated that there is an introduction of almost 20 new pottery shapes, a differentiation in the ornamentation of the pottery in contrast to level II/5b and finally an adaptation of a new pottery style, namely the use of the burnished ware. As mentioned in the phases III/6 and II/5b at Beycesultan the big majority of the pottery consisted of drinking cups, chalices, fruit-stands, goblets, craters etc. However, the above-described situation changes in level Ib/5a since there is a dramatic decrease in the number of the drinking vessels and only one type of chalices was used, which replaced the earlier chalices, goblets and fruitstands.¹⁷⁸ The previous excavators found parallels for this type of chalice to the Uluburun shipwreck, found at the southern coast of Turkey.¹⁷⁹ Scholars believe that this ship sunk around the 14th century B.C.E., however the previous excavators, did not consider it, at that time, a parallel since they believed that this level was dated much later.¹⁸⁰ The new excavators found parallels in addition to the Uluburun shipwreck to the Levantine coast (fig. 37).¹⁸¹ Furthermore, some shapes of the newly introduced pottery have parallels with north-central Anatolia sites. More specifically, Beycesultan, in this phase, documents the introduction of Hittite burnished red, orange or porcelain-colored flasks, tall jars with crescentic handles,¹⁸² lentoid bottles (fig. 38),¹⁸³ libation arms (fig. 39),¹⁸⁴ hemispherical bowls and large dishes in coarse ware with rope-impressed ornament (fig. 40). All the aforementioned shapes have

¹⁷⁶ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 56.

¹⁷⁷ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 7, 10.

¹⁷⁸ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 57.

¹⁷⁹ For more information on the Uluburun shipwreck see Pulak 1998, 188-224; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 58.

¹⁸⁰ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 58.

¹⁸¹ Dedeoğlu 2016, 17-9.

¹⁸² For the Hittite parallels see Fischer 1963, 47-50.

¹⁸³ For the Hittite parallels see Fischer 1963, 50-3.

¹⁸⁴ For the Hittite parallels see Fischer 1963, 72-3.

parallels at Hattuša, however since the previous excavations dated this phase after the collapse of the Hittite kingdom and this kind of pottery, especially the flasks and the bottles, is dated in the ca 15th and 14th centuries B.C.E., they believed that the new shapes did not represent a Hittite influence. They rather believed that the new pottery demonstrated an influence from the Konya region.¹⁸⁵ Finally, except for pottery shapes archaeologists found a pithos rim fragment with a stamp on it. This stamp has clear parallels with central Anatolia since the seal impressions on the pithos fragment can be matched almost exactly with stamps from Hattuša (figs. 41-42).¹⁸⁶ Thus, the above elements document a dramatic change, especially in the pottery assemblages, after the fire destruction occurred in level II/5b.¹⁸⁷ Finally, this level ended also with a fire destruction, however it seems that the destruction this time affected only certain areas of the settlement and it was not that intense as the destruction of level II/5b.¹⁸⁸

4.4 Level Ia/4

In level Ia/4 the archaeologists did not observe any noticeable change either in the architectural plan of the settlement or in the pottery assemblages. There is a decrease of the houses during this phase, however this might have been due to the fragmentary condition of the architectural remains. As for the pottery, the shapes that were introduced during the previous period continue to be in use and moreover, in this phase there is an introduction of four more shapes.¹⁸⁹ The new excavators pinpointed that some new pottery shapes of this level have parallels with central Anatolia, especially with the sites of Gordion and Demircihoyuk, however, they also indicated that the same shapes have parallels with western Anatolia, as well and more specifically with the sites of Aphrodisias, Troy, Panaztepe and Limantepe.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 93-4; For more information on the Hittite parallels of the Beycesultan's pottery see Mellaart and Murray 1995, 58-60.

¹⁸⁶ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 120; For more information on these Hittite stamps see Seidl 1972, 69.

¹⁸⁷ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 57.

¹⁸⁸ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 7.

¹⁸⁹ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 2-3; Mellaart and Murray 1995, 57.

¹⁹⁰ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 3-4.

4.5 Placing Beycesultan in context

The Late Bronze Age remains at Beycesultan have been interpreted in historical and social terms by Mac Sweeney,¹⁹¹ however her interpretations were based on the previous excavation dating and therefore some of her observations and suggestions need revision. Thus, in this part of the paper I will use the preliminary reports of the new excavations at Beycesultan in order to reach to some conclusions concerning the historical implications that the archaeological evidence at Beycesultan combined with the Hittite textual evidence suggest.

In the course of the analysis of the various Late Bronze Age phases, I demonstrated that levels III/6 and II/5b had a strong local character. More specifically, in level III/6, Beycesultan constituted a solid and wealthy society, but the buildings revealed so far do not indicate any effort for social differentiation among the population. This situation possibly changes slightly in the next level, namely II/5b, in which, although there is no noticeable change in the pottery assemblages, the architectural evidence, described earlier, indicate a possible tension for social differentiation at the settlement. This is based not only on the architectural evidence but also on the foreign objects found at the settlement, such as the Mycenaean helmet or the Hittite styled seal, which possibly reflect an effort, made by the inhabitants of Beycesultan, to acquire “exotic” or “luxurious” products. These objects possibly functioned as a display of the wealth and the power of some elite members at the site. The fact that during this phase, the relatively large number of drinking vessels, consisted a large proportion of the excavated pottery shapes, manifests for the performance of community feasting.¹⁹² Mac Sweeney suggested that these feasting were addressed to all members of Beycesultan’s society, however the new excavators proposed that only the elite members participated in these feasting.¹⁹³ The latter suggestion, I think, fits very well with the archaeological evidence, since it is more probable that these feasting were addressed to members of the settlement who possessed some kind of wealth and power and not to all the inhabitants of the settlement. This is based mostly on the fact that dining vessels were found in various

¹⁹¹ Mac Sweeney 2009; 2011.

¹⁹² Mac Sweeney 2009, 109-10; 2011, 102-6.

¹⁹³ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 19.

locations and not only in one. Thus, the participation of the elite members in such feasting would have been a perfect opportunity to display their prestigious objects in an effort to posit themselves among the foremost members of the community. Apart from having a wealthy and thriving elite, Beycesultan itself seems to have been a wealthy and important regional site. This is based mostly on the fact that the previous excavators found a building underneath the Middle Bronze Age “burnt palace”, which they called “little palace”. This “little palace” has been interpreted by both the old and the new excavators as an administrative building, since it does not seem to have any plausible domestic use.¹⁹⁴ The existence of such a complex on the settlement’s mount documents that Beycesultan during level II/5b possibly had a centrally controlled administration. If we combine the existence of an, at least seemingly, wealthy elite with the fact that during the same phase such a building existed at the site, we can conclude that Beycesultan represents a wealthy and perhaps a strong regional site at inner south-west Anatolia.

However, this thriving community of level II/5b seems to have ended with a violent attack towards the end of the 15th century B.C.E. The fact that the new documented chronological data from the new excavations have been published quite recently has not allowed to any scholar, up to my knowledge, to place this destruction layer to its wider historical context. Thus, at this part of the paper I will try to combine the new dating, provided by the new excavations, the possible swift at the material influence documented in the archaeological material and the available textual evidence from the Hittites. The aforementioned analysis will provide a better insight into who may have caused this destruction, for what reason and finally what does this historical development tell us about the political affiliations of Beycesultan’s level II/5b.

4.6 A Possible Scenario

Having said the above, I mentioned earlier in this chapter that the new excavations concluded that the destruction of this phase happened between 1830-1685 B.C.E. the earliest and 1530-1410 B.C.E. the latest. I have argued that the latest

¹⁹⁴ Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 10; Lloyd 1972, 10.

chronology seems more logical since the earliest chronology would have been too early in the Late Bronze Age, especially if we consider that there is a preceding Late Bronze Age phase, namely level III/6. So, taking the latest chronology as a starting point, in the Hittite texts there is no other military expedition mentioned against western Anatolia, except that of Hattusili's I (ca 1620 B.C.E.), before the end of the 15th century.¹⁹⁵ Even in his campaign against Arzawa, Hattusili I does not mention any city's conquest but it seems that his campaign was a raid rather than a fully developed campaign.¹⁹⁶ Thus, it seems that the Hittites until the end of the 15th century B.C.E. did not destroy any city in western Anatolia including the settlement of Beycesultan. However, at the end of the 15th century, Hittite texts provide us with the first surviving description of a Hittite military expedition against western Anatolia. According to the texts this Hittite aggression wreaked havoc on various western Anatolian cities.¹⁹⁷ More specifically, the aforementioned Hittite campaigns were mentioned in the annals of the Hittite king, Tudhaliya I/II (ca 1400-1350 B.C.E.). He is the first Hittite king, who is known to have conducted military campaigns in western Anatolia after the time of Hattusili I. The Arzawa lands, as I mentioned in the introduction of this paper, were characterized by various politically independent kingdoms, however sometimes these kingdoms formed political confederacies in order to outclass a common enemy, such as the Hittites. These confederacies were the main concern of the Hittite kings, since otherwise the isolated Arzawan kingdoms did not constitute any real threat for the Hittite kingdom. At the time of Tudhaliya I/II it is plausible that such a confederacy was created in western Anatolia and this was the reason for Tudhaliya's western campaign. Thus, his first campaign against the west probably aimed to stop the creation of such confederacies and Tudhaliya achieved his objective by conquering the Arzawa lands. However, this Hittite aggression drove a big number of western Anatolian states to create a new confederacy in order to fight the Hittites. This confederacy was called collectively the Assuwan confederacy in the king's annals. However, this political entity did not achieve to defeat the Hittites and more specifically Tudhaliya I/II mentions that he

¹⁹⁵ I should mention here that it is possible that we lack references from other Hittite kings who might have conducted campaigns before the end of the 15th century in western Anatolia.

¹⁹⁶ Bryce 2005, 73-4.

¹⁹⁷ Although a destruction of the site of Beycesultan could have been caused by another enemy rather than the Hittites, we lack any evidence for such an attack.

crashed their combined armies.¹⁹⁸ After this campaign Tudhaliya conducted two more campaigns at the west but the two first campaigns, namely prior and against the Assuwan confederacy, were the fiercest. I imagine that what followed the defeat of the western Anatolian armies in the battlefield was an extensive conquest and looting of various cities that were part of these kingdoms. Tudhaliya I/II mentions for the first time in Hittite history the deportation of western Anatolian population at Hittite heartland.¹⁹⁹ Thus, we can conclude that the Hittite troops raided various western Anatolia cities and then forced their population and their cattle to move at the central Anatolian plateau.

The above historical evidence from the Hittites demonstrates a rather violent era with a series of battles conducted in western Anatolia and which era ended with an extensive looting and raiding of various western Anatolian cities. I believe that the intense destruction that was observed both by the old and the new excavators at Beycesultan was possibly caused by Tudhaliya's campaign against the Assuwan confederacy. The fact that archaeologists found at Beycesultan various human skeletons in hiding positions demonstrates the violent nature of the destruction and moreover, the effort of the local population to hide, indicates the fact that either they were caught off guard or the armed part of the population was not at the site. Therefore, the warriors of Beycesultan, if they existed, were possibly at the battlefield and thus after their defeat the site was left unprotected. This is based on the fact that in this phase archaeologists found a very wealthy assemblage of weapons of unspecified foreign origin. More specifically, archaeologists found arrow-heads, spear-heads, blades and a mace-head and the excavation of all these weapons not only demonstrates that this phase ended with a violent destruction but also that possibly the local population had very few means to protect itself.²⁰⁰

Many scholars will argue that we do not have sufficient evidence in order to suggest such a theory, however, the fact that this period marks the beginning of the Hittite imperialism is not irrelevant to the destruction of this level. More specifically, I believe that the inhabitants of Beycesultan possibly were aware of the fact that their hostile neighbor would not have sufficed with keeping the status quo, but rather the

¹⁹⁸ Bryce 2005, 123-5.

¹⁹⁹ Bryce 2005, 124.

²⁰⁰ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 116-17.

Hittites would have initiated, sooner or later, expansive campaigns beyond their western borders. If we combine the aforementioned information with the fact that Beycesultan at that period was a wealthy and a strong local administrative center, it is logical to conclude that especially the local elite would have had a vast interest in keeping the Hittites away from their area of control. Thus, when the Hittites under Tudhaliya I/II conducted the first campaign against the Arzawa lands, the inhabitants of Beycesultan might have understood that their very existence was at danger. Therefore, it does not make sense for a site like Beycesultan, which would have suffered first the consequences of a successful Hittite campaign at the west, to not have participated in a coalition of many western Anatolian areas against the Hittites.

The probability of this scenario can be strengthened by the fact that in the archaeological record during the next phase, namely Ib/5a, archaeologists found a group of newly introduced pottery shapes, approximately 20. The majority of these new pottery shapes has parallels with various Hittite cities, including the Hittite capital, in north-central Anatolia. However, the fact that pottery of Hittite origin is present at Beycesultan does not mean that the site came under the direct control of the Hittites, but it rather indicates that the Hittite state at the dawn of its imperial phase started possibly to export its material culture in areas with no prior Hittite influence. Apart from the new pottery shapes, it seems that changes occurred also in the architectural plan of Beycesultan during this phase since it appears more modest. First of all, the so-called “little palace”, which was destroyed at the end of phase II/5b, seems to have been abandoned completely and thus the site during level Ib/5a does not seem to have a central administrative building, as in the previous phase. Furthermore, none of the revealed, as yet, private houses has a storage room, in contrast to the previous phase, but rather only a living room. The aforementioned changes not only in the pottery assemblages but also in the architectural planning of the site documents a possible change in the structure of the society at Beycesultan. Thus, Beycesultan seems after the destruction of the previous period to have had a more modest economy in contrast with the past and it seems also that the local elite lost much of its power, prestige and wealth. This is based on the fact that the elite class is not that easily recognized as in the previous phase, where archaeologists found both evidence for social differentiation, e.g. differences in domestic houses, and

for communal feasting among the elite members of the community, which are no longer that visible.

In the final phase of the Late Bronze Age, namely level Ia/4, which is dated around the 14th and 12th centuries B.C.E., the declining course of Beycesultan's importance seems to continue, since the architectural plan of the settlement becomes even more modest than in the previous phase. Thus, it is plausible to assume, that the Hittite destruction of the previous phase hindered any economic growth and prosperity that the settlement had achieved before.

4.7 Conclusions

To sum up, the change in the dating of Late Bronze Age Beycesultan by the new excavations have brought forward new historical implications concerning both the history of the site and of the inner south-western Anatolia in general. During the first two Late Bronze Age phases, level III/6 and II/5b, Beycesultan seems to have been a prosperous and thriving community with a strong and wealthy local elite, which was trying to display its wealth to the other members of the elite and in the meantime, Beycesultan seems to have a strong central administration, mostly based on the building complex called "little palace". The presence of such a building in a prosperous settlement can indicate that Beycesultan during the early stages of the Late Bronze Age functioned as an important administrative center for the whole inner south-western Anatolia region. However, this prosperity and wealth came to an end around the end of the 15th century B.C.E when possibly Tudhaliya I/II confronted a western Anatolian military entity called Assuwan confederacy. Retaliation was very intense by the Hittite army which after the defeat of the united western Anatolian army, in which also possibly armed members of Beycesultan participated, raided and looted various western Anatolian sites, possibly among these sites was also the site of Beycesultan. In the next phase, namely level Ib/5a, the archaeological evidence displays the outcome of this destruction and it seems that the violent destruction at Beycesultan took its toll both on the wealth and prosperity of the settlement but also on the self-identification of the members of the local elite. In other words, the elite members stopped to display, as intense, their wealth and their power. The destruction

was followed by a bigger influence of the Hittites and their culture on Beycesultan's material culture, especially if the materials of this level are compared to the materials of the two previous phases. Finally, the next phase, namely level Ia/4, did not constitute any major change in the culture of the site since Hittite influences in pottery assemblages continue to be present.

5. Miletus / Millawanda²⁰¹

The classical city of Miletus is, nowadays, equated by the majority of the scholars with Millawanda, name that can be found in a number of Hittite tablets and which it was used to designate a city in western Anatolia. The city was located on the mouth of Meander's river, on the Aegean coastline, and it possessed a strategic location since through the Meander's river one could reach the Meander's valley and through this valley to the central Anatolian plateau (map 5).²⁰² A series of excavation seasons took place in Miletus, the first of which in 1899 under the supervision of Th. Wiegand. Then, C. Weickert resumed the excavations in 1930 and in 1960 the excavations were conducted by G. Kleiner. More recently in 1998 W. D. Niemeier and B. Niemeier initiated more excavation seasons at the site.²⁰³



Map 5: Late Bronze Age sites in Anatolia.

²⁰¹ This chapter represents an expansion of a seminar paper of mine entitled: "Millawanda: A Crossroad between the East and the West."; I used as a starting point for the archaeological evidence the publication of the last excavator of the site, Niemeier 2005, 1-36.

²⁰² Pavuk 2015, 91.

²⁰³ Niemeier 2005, 1.

Archaeologists in Late Bronze Age Miletus have identified, so far, two building phases. Due to the bulk of the Mycenaean pottery revealed in this site, archaeologists have used the Aegean dating system (table 1). Thus, the first Late Bronze Age phase, namely V, starts in LH IIIA₁ (1445/15 – 1390/70 B.C.E.) whereas the destruction of this phase corresponds to LH IIIA₂ (1390/70 – 1320/300 B.C.E.). The beginning of the next phase is dated by the excavators in the 13th century whereas it is not certain when this phase ends, possibly during the 11th century.²⁰⁴

5.1 The Archaeological Evidence: Phase V

5.1.1 Pottery and Clay Finds

Archaeologists in phase V have recognized a wide range of Mycenaean material cultural remains and especially in the pottery assemblages they found almost exclusively fragments of locally produced Mycenaean vessels, such as lipless bowls, tripod cooking pots and pithoi. A very small percentage of vessels recognized by the excavators as being of western Anatolian character.²⁰⁵ More specifically, it is estimated that only a 10-15%²⁰⁶ of the overall ceramic assemblage at Miletus belongs to Anatolian shapes and techniques. A technique that resembles an Anatolian practice, described already in the chapter about Beycesultan, is the imitation of metallic features on kraters. Kaiser and Zurbach demonstrated that the commonest shapes, like drinking vessels, have no parallels with Beycesultan and thus in general with local Anatolian sites whereas bigger vessels, such as the kraters, have some similarities with Beycesultan. They proposed that the local pottery at Miletus has regional characteristics which separate it from other Anatolian sites, like Beycesultan, for

²⁰⁴ Niemeier 2005, 10.

²⁰⁵ Neimeier 2005, 11.

²⁰⁶ This percentage mentioned by Kaiser and Zurbach contradicts the estimation made by Niemeier, namely that only 5% of the ceramic assemblage belongs to Anatolian ware, for more information for Kaiser's and Zurbach's analysis see Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 573-4 and for Niemeier's suggestions see Niemeier 1998, 32-3.

instance the local ceramics at Miletus bear no slip on them whereas at Beycesultan, in some degree, slip was applied.²⁰⁷

The orientation of the site towards a locally produced Mycenaean pottery is emphasized by the fact that eight pottery kilns have been unearthed in the site and all of them belong to phase V. Neimeier identified two different types of kilns: “the kilns of the first type are round and have a central pillar or two benches in the chamber for placing the pottery to be fired. The second type had a series of parallel channels.”²⁰⁸ Although the first type of the kilns has parallels with mainland Greece, from the so-called Belvedere area of Pylos and the potter’s quarter at Berbati, where such kilns are present since the Middle Helladic period, this type of kiln is also present in western Anatolia, in sites like Limantepe, since the Middle Bronze Age and thus before any Mycenaean presence or influence in western Anatolia.²⁰⁹ On the other hand, the second type is clearly of Minoan origin, since up to ten pottery kilns of this type have been unearthed on Crete in sites like Phaistos, Zakros and Knossos.²¹⁰ The kiln assemblage from Miletus constitutes one of the biggest unearthed in any Bronze Age Aegean site and this fact clearly documents that Miletus during the Late Bronze Age was one of the most important pottery production centers in western Anatolia. The Mycenaean pottery produced in Miletus, during this period, was exported in southwestern Anatolia.²¹¹ Other objects made out of clay and which have a strong Mycenaean character are some painted terracotta figurines, probably having a ritual function. Neimeier found three zoomorphic figurines having the shape of bull whereas from past excavations two female figurines of the so-called phi-type have been unearthed (figs. 43-44).²¹²

²⁰⁷ Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 570, 573-4; For more information on the characteristic of the Anatolian vessels see Kaiser and Zurbach 2015, 568-77.

²⁰⁸ Neimeier 2005, 11.

²⁰⁹ Neimeier 1997, 348-9; 1998, 31-2; 2005, 11-2; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 197.

²¹⁰ Neimeier 1997, 350; 1998, 31-2; 2005, 11-2; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 197.

²¹¹ Neimeier 1998, 31-2; 2005, 11-2; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 197.

²¹² Neimeier 2005, 10-1; Schiering 1960, 30; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 198; For more information on the phi-type figurines see French 1971, 116-21.

5.1.2 Architecture

As far as the architecture is concerned, in this phase, only two houses are well preserved and can therefore be compared to the domestic architecture of other sites. They represent two different types of houses and both have parallels in mainland Greece.²¹³ Niemeier mentions that the first one (figs. 45-46): “belongs to G. Hiesel’s type of the Anta-house with open vestibule whereas the second one (figs. 45 and 47) belongs to Hiesel’s Oikos 2 type with closed vestibule.”²¹⁴ The Anta House is characterized as a rectangular building with a series of unequal and non-equivalent rooms. Thus, the space at the narrow input side is always substantially shorter than the subsequent main space. As for The Oikos 2 type house, is characterized by unequal spaces, by virtue of dimensions, which lie one behind the other. One difference between this type and the Anta type is that in Oikos 2 type the Anta room is closed.²¹⁵ Moving back to Miletus, inside the Hiesel’s Oikos 2 type house Niemeier found in the south-eastern corner a rounded clay hearth which has parallels with hearts found in houses in Mycenae and Tiryns (fig. 48).²¹⁶ However, the Anta House and the rounded clay hearth are not only present in mainland Greece since the Anta House seems to have a long tradition in western Anatolia (fig. 49)²¹⁷ and such rounded hearths have been unearthed in Middle Bronze Age Beycesultan IVa (fig. 50). Oikos 2 type, however, is present in mainland Greece from the Early Bronze Age onwards whereas the earliest example in western Anatolia is a building of Late Bronze Age Troy the so-called “pillar house” built in Troy VI (fig. 51).²¹⁸ Phase V in Miletus, ended after a fire destruction, unearthed in all the excavated areas of the site, during the late 14th century B.C.E.²¹⁹

²¹³ Niemeier 1998, 30-1; 2005, 11; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 196-7.

²¹⁴ Niemeier 1998, 30-1; 2005, 11; The second type of house was excavated by Schiering, however he provides no parallels for this house. For more information see Schiering 1960, 10-1.

²¹⁵ Hiesel 1990, 38, 59.

²¹⁶ In the so-called Panagia Houses at Mycenae, archaeologists found such a hearth. It had a central position in room 5, where it was unearthed. For more information on this hearth and these houses see Mylonas 1987, 17-8.

²¹⁷ At Troy, a number of rectangular houses, resembling the Anta House, came to light and Blegen dates these houses in early Troy I, which demonstrates the long tradition that this type of house has in western Anatolia. For more information concerning these houses see Werner 1993, 7; Niemeier 2005, 12.

²¹⁸ For more information concerning the pillar house at Troy see Blegen et al. 1953, 119-29.

²¹⁹ Niemeier 2005, 12; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 198.

5.2 *The Archaeological Evidence: Phase VI*

5.2.1 Pottery and Clay finds

The picture described before, namely of a strong Mycenaean material presence in Miletus, continues in phase VI, only even more intensified. Unfortunately, the pottery of this phase has been unearthed only in few deposits because later building phases at the site and the early excavations of the site disturbed the archaeological assemblages of this phase. However, even this patchy condition of the pottery assemblage documents again the prevalence of the Mycenaean pottery which was again locally produced. Among the most common categories of shapes are these of jugs (fig. 52), of lipless bowls (fig. 53), of carinated kylixes (fig. 54) and of the shallow angular bowls (fig. 55).²²⁰ The majority of these shapes has developed in the Mycenaean world since LH IIIA. Of particular note is a Mycenaean krater fragment, locally produced, which is dated around 1200 B.C.E. (fig. 56). This fragment bears on it a bird's head looking to the left towards a pointed conical object with symmetrical horns curling up along the sides. Niemeier mentions that at first this conical object was considered by the excavators as a cult stand whereas it actually represents a horned conical crown.²²¹ These crowns were depicted, in various portraiture, on the heads of Hittite gods (fig. 57), and from the middle 13th century on, they were used also for the depiction of Hittite kings.²²² The fact that a Hittite horned crown is painted on clay is extremely rare in the Hittite world. More specifically, scholars, as yet, have found only one such representation incised into a Hittite clay tablet (KUB 20.76, figs. 58-59), otherwise the practice of incising or painting such a motif on clay is unknown.²²³ Even this example is not an exact parallel since at Miletus the horned crown is painted on the clay fragments whereas the figure on the clay tablets is incised. This fact, in my opinion, possibly represents a regional feature. It is plausible that an inhabitant of Miletus was familiar with such a horned-shaped figure, representing thus a Hittite influence, and imitated this figure by painting it on a

²²⁰ Mountjoy 1993, 84; Neimeier 2005, 12.

²²¹ Neimeier 2005, 12, 20.

²²² Helft 2009, 126; Güterbock 1984, 115; Maner 2015, 844; Neimeier 2005, 20; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 207.

²²³ Ünal 1989, 507-8. There is also another depiction of such a horned crown deity, from Kültepe, incised on a gold folio. However, this artifact is dated in the Old Assyrian period and more specifically in level Ib of Kültepe. See Kulakoğlu 2008, 13-8; 2011, 1025.

pottery fragment. It is logical to assume that he chose to paint it on a pot instead of carving it or incising it on an artifact due to the strong Mycenaean tradition and influence present at Miletus, since Mycenaeans used paint on the pottery extensively. As for the bird on the right side of this horned crown Niemeier has tentatively suggested that it reflects an imitation of an inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian. He based his interpretation for the bird's head on the fact that a bird-sign on an inscription at Karabel is in a similar position, namely in front of the crown as in this fragment's depiction.²²⁴

Moving back to the analysis of the pottery assemblage, the local character of the pottery is documented again by the two examples of kilns unearthed in this level which belong to the Minoan kiln type, described in the previous chapter. In this period, the Mycenaean pottery produced in Miletus is not only destined for regional exports but also Mycenaean vessels produced in Miletus have been found in Tiryns, in mainland Greece, and in Ugarit, in Syria.²²⁵ Terracotta zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines have been unearthed from this level, as well, however, in contrast to phase V, the anthropomorphic figurines belong to the so-called psi-type.²²⁶

5.2.2 Pot Marks and Seals

In level VI a peculiar practice has been noticed by the excavators, namely that of signs incised on pithos-necks. Two such examples have, as yet, been found and each pithos-neck bears one sign on it, possibly a Linear B sign. These signs have been incised before firing on these vessels which are locally produced. Niemeier mentions that the first sign (fig. 60), if indeed represents a Linear B sign, can only be sign no. 20, namely *-zo-* (fig. 61).²²⁷

²²⁴ Niemeier 2005, 20; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 207.

²²⁵ Especially in Ugarit petrographic analysis on kraters, belonging to the transitional period of LH IIIB and LH IIIC, showed that the clay of these vessels is closely connected with the area of Miletus. For more information on the Mycenaean vessels from Ugarit see Courtois 1973, 149-65; Niemeier 2005, 12; Vaessen 2016, 56; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 202.

²²⁶ Niemeier 2005, 13; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 203; For more information on the psi-type figurines see French 1971, 126-39.

²²⁷ Niemeier 1998, 37; 2005, 12; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 202.

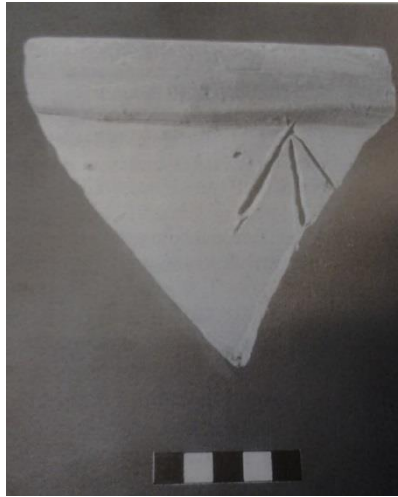


Fig. 60: Arrow-shaped incised sign on a pithos fragment from Miletus.²²⁸

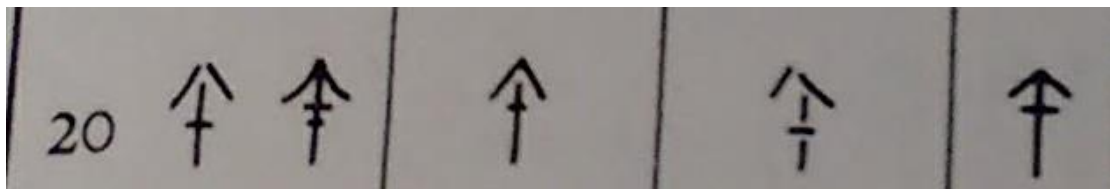


Fig. 61: Linear B sign no. 20.²²⁹

However, this sign is not completely preserved since there is a missing horizontal line. Neimeier suggests that this horizontal line might have been drawn lower than usually and thus it is plausible that the line was not preserved on this fragment. He bases this assumption, namely that the horizontal line could have been placed lower than usually, on a similar sign found at Knossos where the preserved horizontal line of the sign is lower than usually (fig. 62). On the other hand, this is not the only possible parallel since this arrow-shaped signs are present also on Hittite clay vessels (fig. 63).²³⁰

²²⁸ Neimeier 1998, 37, photo 14.

²²⁹ Chadwick and Ventris 1956, 41, fig. 9.

²³⁰ Neimeier 1998, 37; 2005, 12.

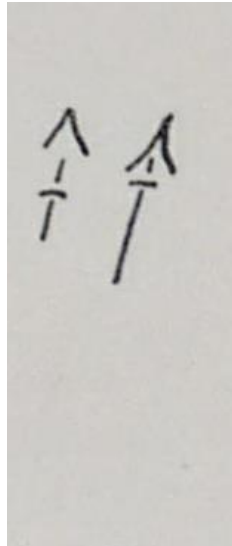


Fig. 62: Linear B sign no. 20 from Knossos.²³¹

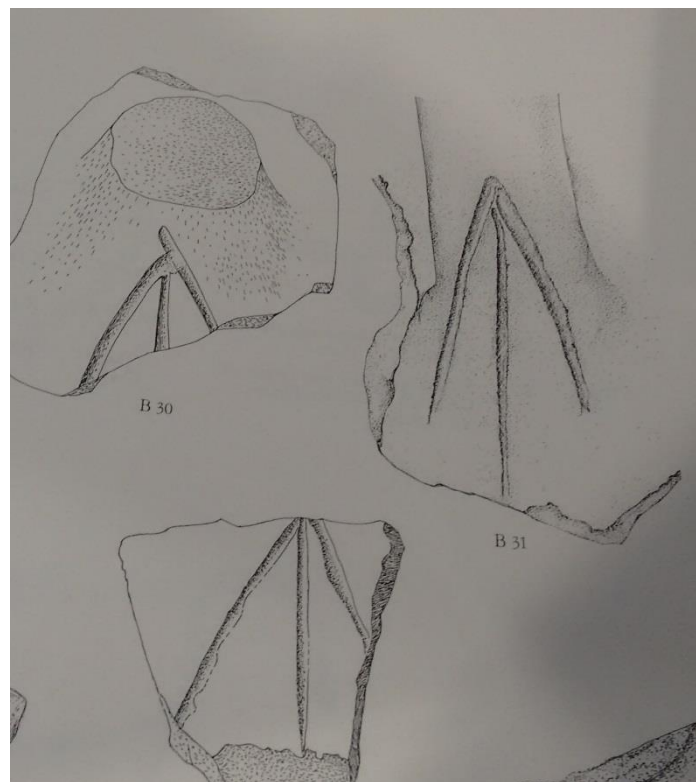


Fig. 63: Arrow-shaped pot marks from Hattuša.²³²

I personally believe, that the pot mark found at Miletus, resembles more the ones found at Hattuša, since the shape and the way it is incised on the pot is almost identical to the Hittite whereas there are some differences with the Linear B sign, the

²³¹ Olivier 1967, table XLII.

²³² Seidl 1972, 61, pl. 23, figs. B30, B31 and B33.

biggest of which is the absence of the horizontal line. However, even the Hittite parallel is not certain since this kind of sign represents a very generic one, taking into account that this specific pot mark has been found in Troy and Gordion.²³³

As for the second sign (fig. 64), it has no Hittite parallels and it is possible to represent Linear B sign no. 52, namely *-no-* (fig. 65),²³⁴ since it is quite similar with an incised sign found on a jar in Thebes (fig. 66).²³⁵

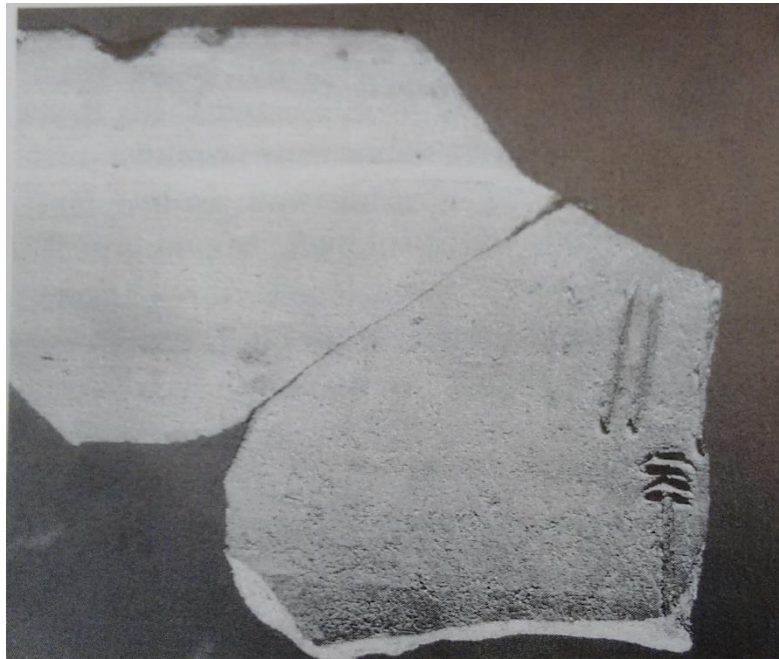


Fig. 64: Possible Linear B sign from Miletus.²³⁶



Fig. 65: Linear B sign no. 52.²³⁷

²³³ For the pot marks from Gordion see Gunter 1991, 37.

²³⁴ Niemeier 1998, 37; 2005, 12; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 202.

²³⁵ Niemeier 1998, 37; 2005, 12.

²³⁶ Niemeier 1998, 37, photo 13.

²³⁷ Chadwick and Ventris 1956, 41, fig. 9.

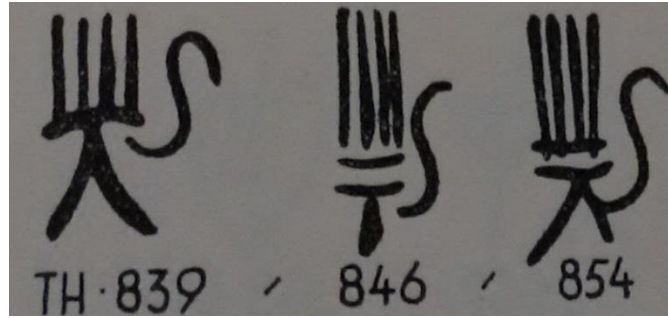


Fig. 66: Linear B sign no. 52 from Thebes.²³⁸

In the beginning of the paragraph I used the term peculiar practice in order to describe the aforementioned signs since, if they represent Linear B signs, such incision of Linear B signs on vessels is very rare, even in the Aegean world. Possible examples of incised Linear B signs on vessels have been found, as yet, only at phase VI and VII (namely LH I and LH II respectively, see table 2) at Ayia Irini on the island of Kea.²³⁹

It is quite problematic the fact that only two such pot marks have been unearthed at Miletus and although this might have been due to the patchy condition of the revealed material, these two fragments cannot ascertain the existence of some sort of administration in the site. However, the existence of some kind of administration can be possibly documented by a lentoid-shaped seal made out of onyx-marble which bears the depiction of a quadruped on it.²⁴⁰ The motif of the seal probably belongs to Younger's so-called "island Sanctuaries Group" of seals. This group was characterized by elongated animal forms and by legs fashioned as simple strokes, both elements seem to be present on the seal of Miletus. There is also similarity in the shape of the seal from Miletus and the seals of "the island sanctuaries group" which is lentoid. This group of seals is located at the Cyclades and at Rhodes and it is dated

²³⁸ Sacconi 1974, 199, nos. TH 839, TH 846 and TH 854.

²³⁹ Bikaki 1984, 4, 26, 31. At the same site there are examples of possible Linear A signs incised on vessels which practice documents an existing tradition of incising Linear signs on vessels in the Aegean since the Middle Bronze Age. For more information on this see Bikaki 1984, 22-3. This is an interesting phenomenon since at Miletus archaeologists found six Linear A incised signs on vessels and they are all dated to LM IA (see table 2). For more information on these Linear A signs see Niemeier 2005, 7. Thus, the fact that at Ayia Irini and at Miletus archaeologists found Linear A signs incised on vessels combined with the fact that at Ayia Irini this practice continues in the Late Bronze Age with Linear B signs makes plausible the scenario that such a development occurred at Miletus as well; namely that possibly these two incised signs represent Linear B signs.

²⁴⁰ Niemeier 2005, 12; Younger 1981, 265; 1987, 61-2.

between LH IIIA and LH IIIB, date which corresponds to the seal from Miletus (figs. 67-68).²⁴¹

5.2.3 Architecture

As for the architecture of this period, unfortunately only one house has been preserved relatively well in order its shape to can be understood.²⁴² Niemeier identified this house with the Hiesel's type of the corridor house. The most characteristic element of this house is a central corridor, which divides the house into two parts; one part represents the residential area of the house and the other has magazines and storerooms.²⁴³ This type of house is very common during the Late Bronze Age in the Mycenaean world, there are examples both in the mainland Greece, such as in the Argolid and Laconia, and on the islands, such as on Crete at Ayia Triada²⁴⁴ and Gournia, but outside the Mycenaean world this type is unknown.²⁴⁵ Domestic architecture is not the only architectural evidence since, in this period, Miletus was surrounded by a fortification wall (fig. 69). This wall has no parallels with Mycenaean fortification systems but it is rather of Hittite origin (fig. 70) based on its rectangular bastions spaced at regular intervals and its casemate system.²⁴⁶ This fact represents a contrast between other western Anatolian sites, such as Troy, where the towers and the bastions are not positioned at regular intervals.²⁴⁷

5.2.4 Tombs and Grave Goods

Furthermore, period VI constitutes the first phase in which we have evidence for burial practices. The cemetery of Miletus was located on a hill, called Değirmentepe and it is situated 1.5 km south of the site. The excavation of the

²⁴¹ Niemeier 2005, 12; Younger 1981, 265; 1987, 61-2. For more information on this group of seals see Younger 1981, 263-72; 1987, 61-4.

²⁴² Niemeier 1998, 35; 2005 12-3; Schiering 1960, 14.

²⁴³ Hiesel 1990, 111-2; Niemeier 1998, 35; 2005, 12-3; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 200.

²⁴⁴ For more information on the corridor house at Ayia Triada see Cucuzza 1997, 73-84; Niemeier 1998, 35; 2005, 12-3.

²⁴⁵ Niemeier 1998, 35; 2005, 12-3; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 200.

²⁴⁶ Helft 2009, 129; Maner 2015, 844; Niemeier 2005, 20; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 200, 206-7.

²⁴⁷ Maner 2015, 844.

cemetery took place in 1908 and archaeologists found two chamber tombs of Mycenaean type (figs. 71-72).²⁴⁸ Not only the tombs were of Mycenaean type but also the majority of the goods found in them were of Mycenaean character.²⁴⁹ Among the finds were vessels of LH IIIB-C date, jewelry, such as flat beads of blue glass with volute (fig. 73) and gold rosettes (fig. 74).²⁵⁰ Close parallels for the first category exist at the Peloponnese and more specifically at Mycenae made out of gold and at tomb 2 at Dendra made out of glass (fig. 75)²⁵¹ whereas parallels for the latter category exist at the tholos tomb at Dendra where the gold rosettes are made out of two pieces of gold joined together (fig. 76).²⁵²

Moving back to the tombs at Miletus these tombs contained also bronze weapons, such as spearheads, arrowheads and swords (figs. 77-78).²⁵³ However, among the grave goods, apart from the objects of Mycenaean origin, archaeologists found bronze objects that are of Anatolian origin. Especially, a group of swords found in these tombs belongs to a type which is completely unknown in the Aegean (fig. 77, second to fourth from the left).²⁵⁴ Niemeier describes this type as follows: “These swords have a rod tang and if preserved a grid with two curved flanges at top and bottom. The hilt is crescent-shaped and has a socket-like extension for holding the blade.”²⁵⁵ This type has many parallels from Alalakh (fig. 79)²⁵⁶ and Ugarit (figs. 80-81).²⁵⁷ The shape of the hilt has parallels with a sword that was found in the upper city of Ḫattuša. Therefore, it seems that the swords excavated from the Mycenaean tombs at Değirmentepe are of Near Eastern origin and most probably Hittite. Niemeier suggested that a pair of horse bits for chariot-horses were of Anatolian origin and more specifically they belong to K. Bittel’s type A2 and J.H. Crouwel’s type 4.

²⁴⁸ Cavanagh’s and Mee’s book can give a good overview of such tombs since they describe among other tombs the architecture, the finds and the position of the dead in chamber tombs during the LH IIIA-B period from Greece mainland, Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 65-9, 71-6; Eerbeek 2014, 241; Niemeier 1998, 36; 2005, 13.

²⁴⁹ Eerbeek 2014, 241; Niemeier 1998, 36; 2005, 13; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 200.

²⁵⁰ Eerbeek 2014, 241; Niemeier 1998, 36; 2005, 13.

²⁵¹ Higgins 1961, 79.

²⁵² Persson 1931, 40.

²⁵³ Eerbeek 2014, 241; Niemeier 1998, 36; 2005, 13.

²⁵⁴ Helft 2009, 126; Niemeier 2005, 20; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 208.

²⁵⁵ Niemeier 2005, 20.

²⁵⁶ Niemeier 1998, 39; 2005, 20; Woolley 1955, 276.

²⁵⁷ Niemeier 1998, 39; 2005, 20; An almost identical one with that one sword from Miletus (fig. 82) has been excavated in Ugarit (fig.83). For more information on this sword see Sandars 1963, 141 and Schaeffer 1956, 277-8.

However, Niemeier mentions that a Hittite connection is not certain since such horse bits of Anatolian origin have been found at Mycenae and Thebes.²⁵⁸

5.3 *The Textual Evidence*

There are several Hittite texts which mention, during the Late Bronze Age, the city of Millawanda as a participant in a series of rebellions in western Anatolia and in the meantime, the same texts indicate this city's close associations with the power of Aḫḫiyawa. The first Late Bronze Age Hittite texts that mention the city of Millawanda are the annals of Muršili II. It seems that in his third year of reign a coalition of western vassal kingdoms rose against the Hittites. The main power of this coalition was Arzawa and it was supported by the city of Millawanda. The latter seems to have acted under the instructions of the king of Aḫḫiyawa. Muršili mentions that he launched a campaign against this coalition and he crushed the rebellion, he conquered the land of Arzawa and its capital and overthrew its king named Uḫḫaziti. As for Millawanda, Muršili dispatched two Hittite generals, Gulla and Mala-ziti, with an expeditionary force and they conquered and burned the city to the ground (text IV).²⁵⁹

Text IV

KUB 14.15 + KBo 16.104.

“The Extensive Annals of Mursili II”²⁶⁰

1§

23’-26’ ‘*When spring arrived, [because Uḫḫa-ziti had supported the king of Aḫḫiyawa] and [...] the land of Millawanda to the king of Aḫḫiyawa, [I, My Majesty, ...] and [dispatched] Gulla and Mala-ziti, infantry [and chariotry, and they] attacked [the land of Millawanda]. They captured it, together with civilian captives, cattle and sheep, [and brought them to Ḫattuša].*’

Another text which mentions the city of Millawanda is the so-called “Tawagalawa letter” and it belongs to the reign of Hattušili III. This text describes the malevolent actions of a certain person called Piyamaradu who acted against Hittite

²⁵⁸ Eerbeek 2014, 241-2; Niemeier 1998, 39; 2005, 20.

²⁵⁹ Niemeier 2005, 17; Vaessen 2016, 57; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 210.

²⁶⁰ Beckman et al. 2011, 29.

interests in western Anatolia. He acted for the interests of the king of Ahḫiyawa in western Anatolia by raising revolts of the vassal kingdoms against the Hittites. The center from which Piyamaradu acted in western Anatolia appears to be the city of Millawanda and thus it is logical to assume that Muršili's conquest of Millawanda was not long lasting. Due to Piyamaradu's actions Hattušili decided to write a letter to the king of Ahḫiyawa, whom he calls his equal, his brother, in order the latter to contact with Piyamaradu and make him stop these activities (text V).²⁶¹

Text V

KUB 14.3

"The Tawagalawa Letter"²⁶²

6§

ii 9'-50' *'But when [the messenger of] my brother met me, he did not bring me [any greetings] or any gift. He just spoke [as follows]: "He has written to Atpa: 'Turn [Piyamaradu] over to the King of Hatti!'" [...] Then I went to Millawanda; I went because of this matter: "May the subjects of my brother hear the words [that] I will speak to Piyamaradu." Then Piyamaradu departed by ship, while Atpa and Awayana listened to the charges that I made against him. Why are they covering up the matter—because he is their father-in-law? I made them take an oath that they would report the whole business to you. Didn't I send over the Crown Prince (saying): "Go drive over there, take him by the hand, set him on the chariot [with] you in order to bring him here before me"? He refused. When Tawagalawa himself, (as the representative of?) the Great King, crossed over to Millawanda, Kurunta was [already(?)] here. The Great King drove to meet you—wasn't he a mighty king?'*

To this letter a clay analysis has been conducted which demonstrated that the letter was not composed in Hattuša but in western Anatolia.²⁶³ Heinhold-Krahmer has suggested that this letter was written in Millawanda.²⁶⁴ In my opinion, this suggestion seems plausible since Hattušili during his campaign mentions that he reached the city of Millawanda in order to arrest Piyamaradu and then because he failed to do so he

²⁶¹ Niemeier 2005, 17; Vaessen 2016, 57; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 211.

²⁶² Beckman et al. 2011, 107.

²⁶³ Maner 2015, 842.

²⁶⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer 2010, 192; Maner 2015, 842.

decided to write a letter, on the spot, to the king of Ahḫiyawa in order the latter to hand Piyamaradu to the Hittite king.²⁶⁵

The last time that the city of Millawanda is mentioned is in the so-called “Millawata letter” which was written by Tudḫaliya IV (1237-1209 B.C.E.). Unfortunately, the name of the addressee is not preserved but it seems that Tudḫaliya addresses to a vassal ruler in western Anatolia calling him “My Son”. There are many theories about the recipient of this letter, some scholars have suggested that he was the ruler of Millawanda, or of the Seḫa River Land or of Mira. If the addressee was indeed the ruler of Millawanda then it means that the city was no longer under Ahḫiyawan political control but it had rather came under the Hittite sphere of influence (Text VI).²⁶⁶

Text VI
KUB 19.55 + KUB 48.90
“The Millawata Letter”²⁶⁷

7§

rev. 45’-47’ ‘As I, My Majesty, and (you), my son, have established the borders of the land of Millawata, you shall [not] withhold your [good-will]. I, My Majesty, [will put my trust] wholeheartedly in your good-will. [And the ...] that I did not give to you within the border territory of the land of Millawata [...].’

Finally, Miletus is mentioned in some Linear B tablets from Mycenaean mainland. More specifically, at the palace of Pylos there are references to women called *mi-ra-ti-ja*, namely woman from Miletus. There is not many information concerning these women or their association with Miletus but it seems that they were working in the textile industry.²⁶⁸ They are not the only foreign women mentioned in Linear B tablets, since in many occasions we find women working in Pylos from

²⁶⁵ However, one problem to this theory is the fact that the letter was found at Ḫattuša, which probably means that the Hittite king wrote a draft first before sending the letter to the king of Ahḫiyawa.

²⁶⁶ Niemeier 2005, 17; Vaessen 2016, 57; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 212; The fact that Ahḫiyawa lost the control of Millawanda and therefore Ahḫiyawa lost any presence in western Anatolia has been explained by Bryce as the reason for the erasure of the king of Ahḫiyawa in a treaty between Tudḫaliya and Sausgamuwa, ruler of Amurru, from the list of kings that were considered equals to the Hittite king. Bryce explains that the fact that Ahḫiyawa was not any more politically present in an area, where the Hittites were directly interested in, can explain why the king of Ahḫiyawa was erased from this list. However, I do not think that this is acceptable since Bryce seems to divide the south-eastern Mediterranean by modern scholarly terms, namely between Near East and Greek world, which was not the case for this period of time, a time in which trade and communication between a wide range of areas, including Mycenaean Greece, was very intense. For more information on Bryce’s interpretation see Bryce 1989, 297-310.

²⁶⁷ Beckman et al. 2011, 129.

²⁶⁸ Chadwick 1988, 52, ad380, 79, 81; Niemeier 2005, 16; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 204.

areas of western Anatolia or from east Aegean islands. It has been proposed that these women are actually slaves that were purchased at Miletus. Except for these women there is another tablet from Thebes, which mentions a *mi-ra-ti-jo*, namely man from Miletus. It seems that he had an important role in the Theban court and he was involved in some sacrifices that took place in the palace.²⁶⁹

5.4 Placing Miletus/Millawanda in Context

Now that I have analyzed both the archaeological and the textual evidence concerning the city of Miletus it is worth combining these two contexts in order to place Miletus into its wider historical context. As I mentioned earlier, phase V ended with a major destruction found all over the excavated parts of the site. This can be combined with the textual evidence from the annals of Mursili II, in which the Hittite king mentions the destruction of Miletus by the Hittite forces. His campaign took place during his third year of reign and thus it matches with the destruction layer found by the excavators which is dated at the end of the 14th century.²⁷⁰ Around this period the excavators also date the fortification walls built around the city of Miletus. As described earlier, this wall is of Anatolian origin and thus the construction of an Anatolian type fortification wall supplements the aforementioned archaeological and textual evidence and documents the earlier described conquest of the city by Mursili. It seems that the Hittite king intended to protect the city from any future efforts made by the Ahhiyawan king to re-conquer the city. However, in the next phase, namely VI, archaeologists found a wide range of Mycenaean material culture at the site and this fact combined with the description of Hattušili III that Piyamaradu, probably Ahhiyawa's agent, had as center for his operations the city of Miletus, they document that Ahhiyawan control was re-established over the city and Hittite control was not long lasting. Finally, the Millawata letter informs us that Miletus came under Hittite political control around the second half of the 13th century B.C.E. At that time, there are relatively more intense than previously signs of Hittite influence at Miletus, based

²⁶⁹ Neimeier 2005, 16; Vanschoonwinkel 2010, 204-5.

²⁷⁰ Neimeier 2005, 19.

on the swords or the conical crown depicted on a krater revealed towards the end of phase VI.²⁷¹

What does the above analysis tell us about the various observed political and cultural presences in the city of Miletus? The fact that a wide range of Mycenaean material influence is present at the site, such as pottery, figurines, architecture, script and burials, is an indication for actual Mycenaean presence at Miletus. I personally believe that Mycenaean presence in this city is obvious since every single element which characterizes the Mycenaean civilization is present in Miletus as well. The fact that even Mycenaean burials are present pinpoint towards that assumption since, in my opinion, people tend to be very conservative when it comes to afterlife beliefs and traditions in burial customs change very difficult. Having said that, I believe that these tombs at Miletus do not represent a cultural influence but an actual Mycenaean presence, at least Mycenaean merchants were active in the area. If we combine these elements with the Hittite texts which mention that Millawanda was subject to the control of Ahhiyawa we can conclude that possibly Miletus was under the political control of Ahhiyawa. Miletus possibly represented the foothold of the king of Ahhiyawa in western Anatolia and thus we can assume that a certain degree of Mycenaean administration would have existed at the site.

In cultural terms the area of Mykale, including Miletus, in eastern Aegean coastline, represents the northern border of a zone that has an intense Mycenaean cultural presence in all the aspects of material remains. To the north of Miletus, the Mycenaean material remains seem to be less intense. In Troy VI f-h, for example, the Mycenaean pottery represents no more than 1-2% of the pottery and this is not only the case for Troy but all over the north-west Anatolian coastline. Mountjoy denies any actual Mycenaean presence in south-west Anatolia but she explains that this phenomenon, namely the abundance of Mycenaean material, was due to the fact that south-west Anatolia was previously culturally exposed to Minoan influence and thus it was easier for this area to adopt the Mycenaean material culture, which was very closely connected with the Minoan.²⁷² Neimeier rejects this interpretation since he argues that the Mycenaean material is too vast in order only cultural influence to be assumed. He further argues that Mycenaean presence at Miletus can be documented

²⁷¹ Neimeier 2005, 20.

²⁷² Mountjoy 1998, 37. For more information on Mountjoy's theory see Mountjoy 1998, 33-67.

by a series of destructions occurred in LH IIIA₁ period, in a number of elite mansions in Greek mainland. He explains that these destructions were caused by conflicts that occurred between the various Mycenaean chiefdoms and the aftermath of these conflicts was the construction of the Mycenaean palaces.²⁷³ Neimeier describes that these conflicts would have led a number of displaced aristocrats to set sail to the Aegean in order to settle and maybe control local communities situated on Aegean islands or in the west Anatolian coastline. As for the next phase, namely LH IIIA₂, Neimeier argues that the increase in the number of sites that have Mycenaean cultural remains was connected with the newly installed Mycenaean palaces.²⁷⁴ True as it may be, personally, I do not believe that a displaced aristocrat would have had such a military power, since the conflicts in Mycenaean mainland would have diminished his military capabilities, in order to establish himself in the elite of a local community. Even if a certain aristocrat achieved to rise through the ranks and therefore to become a very prominent figure among the local population, this does not explain the bulk of the Mycenaean material remains and why, in the case of Miletus, the local population abandoned completely their culture and their traditions and adopted almost exclusively the Mycenaean one.

I personally believe that Mycenaean presence at Miletus, during phase V, was due only to the presence of Mycenaean merchants and artisans in this site. Especially, the presence of artisans was necessary since during this period Mycenaean pottery was very popular among the communities of the Aegean coastline and the south-eastern Mediterranean in general. These artisans or potters came there, possibly from mainland Greece, in order to boost the local production of Mycenaean pottery and in order their knowledge of Mycenaean techniques of pottery production and Mycenaean decorative styles to be used. As I have demonstrated earlier, Mycenaean pottery from Miletus is to be found in the whole region of Mykale, during phase V which demonstrates that for Miletus the production of Mycenaean pottery was a very important income for the city.

In the next phase, I believe that Miletus displays all the important material aspects, especially the textual evidence, in order to assume that some sort of Mycenaean political presence at the site was possible. More specifically, both the

²⁷³ Neimeier 2005, 14-6; For more information on these destructions see Wright 1995, 72-3.

²⁷⁴ Neimeier 2005, 14-6.

textual (letters indicating Ahhiyawan control over Miletus) and archaeological (burials, seal etc.) evidence pinpoints towards that hypothesis since all these different contexts indicate that Mycenaeans were present at Miletus. Of course, we cannot assume that Miletus was completely incorporated into the Mycenaean world but rather it had some form of political alliance with Mycenaean mainland or this city was a vassal to the king of Ahhiyawa. To this historical development, namely the Mycenaean political presence at Miletus, an important role played, as Mountjoy mentioned, the fact that Miletus was exposed to Minoan cultural influence. In my opinion, the Mycenaean merchants and artisans who were present in phase V paved the way for further cultural connections between the two regions, however neither these are the only reasons for this development nor it does exclude the possibility for Mycenaean political presence.

	Pottery	Architecture	Figurines	Burials	Seals
Phase V	Mycenaean Pottery Locally Produced, Aegean and Local Types of Kilns	House A Typical Western Anatolian, House B Typical Aegean	Mycenaean Zoomorphic and Anthropomorphic Figurines		
Destruction Layer of Phase V	Mycenaean Pottery Locally Produced, Aegean and Local Types of Kilns	Fortification Wall of Hittite Influence			

Phase VI	Mycenaean Pottery Locally Produced, One fragment of Mycenaean Vessel with Hittite Decoration, Aegean Type of Kilns, Two Incised Pot Marks of Mycenaean or Hittite Origin	Corridor House of Mycenaean Influence	Mycenaean Zoomorphic and Anthropomorphic Figurines	Chamber Tombs of Mycenaean Type with Grave Goods of Mycenaean Influence except for the Bronze Swords of Hittite Influence	Lentoid Seal of Onyx Marble of Aegean Influence
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Table 4: Overview of the Late Bronze Phases at Miletus.

5.5 The Karabel Rock Monument

In this part of the chapter about Miletus I considered to be of utmost importance to briefly describe the nearby rock monument at the Karabel pass since by analyzing the style of the carvings some interesting conclusions can be drawn concerning the political situation in the coastline of western Anatolia, including Miletus.

The rock monument at the Karabel pass is located approximately 130 km north-east from Miletus and it is situated into the Meander valley. Karabel A (figs. 84-85) is well-known to the scholars, as mentioned above, mostly due to D. Hawkins' reading, of the Hieroglyphic inscription on this monument, which contributed to the reconstruction, in a high percentage, of the western Anatolian geography. The inscription of Karabel A helped scholars to pinpoint the exact location of various western Anatolian kingdoms, known from the Hittite texts, such as Mira, Seha River Land, Wilusa etc., and it also confirmed the identification of certain cities, mentioned

again in the Hittite texts, such as Millawanda and Apaša.²⁷⁵ As for the depiction itself on Karabel A, it bears a male figure carved inside a niche. It actually represents a warrior figure since the figure holds a bow and a spear and a sword hangs from his waist. He wears a conical horned hat, a short skirt and on the left side of the spear the hieroglyphic inscription appears.²⁷⁶

The aforementioned carving, according to the accompanying inscription, represents a local ruler, named Tarkasnawa, who was king of the kingdom of Mira. After Muršili's Arzawa campaign Mira incorporated the whole kingdom of Arzawa and became one of the most prominent kingdoms in western Anatolia. This monument marked the western end of the kingdom of Mira and it defined the borders between two kingdoms, probably between Mira and Seḫa River Land, in that area.²⁷⁷ The style of the depiction resembles a lot the Hittite style of depicting warrior figures. An almost identical depiction of such a warrior figure with that of Karabel A is another warrior-like figure from Hattuša, found in room 2 of the southern citadel.²⁷⁸ This figure bears a conical horned hat, wears a short skirt and he holds a bow and a spear and he carries on his waist a sword. Between the spear and his head there is a hieroglyphic inscription, like at Karabel, mentioning the name of the Great king Šuppiluliuma II. The only difference with the Karabel A carving is that at Karabel the figure looks towards the right side whereas at the one in Hattuša looks towards the left side (fig. 86).²⁷⁹

As it is obvious from the above description the two depictions are very similar. Based on this similarity it is reasonable to wonder why a vassal king in western Anatolia would have opted for a Hittite styled depiction. As stated before, the Karabel rock monument is located on a border area, possibly between the kingdom of Mira and the Seḫa River Land. This fact may have given the opportunity for a king to use such a rock monument for propaganda. By depicting himself as a Hittite king would have depicted himself is a clear political statement. It is plausible that Tarkasnawa

²⁷⁵ Hawkins 1998, 18-31; For more information on the geography of western Anatolia see Hawkins 1998, 1-31.

²⁷⁶ Glatz 2007, 330; For more information on the reading and the translation of this inscription see Hawkins 1998, 1-31.

²⁷⁷ Hawkins 1998, 1, 21; Maner 2015, 836.

²⁷⁸ For more information concerning this depiction see Ehringhaus 2005, 33.

²⁷⁹ Ehringhaus 2005, 33; Neve 1993, 71. However, it is possible that the figure at the Karabel B inscription, which is now destroyed, to have had the same orientation as that of the figure of Šuppiluliuma II. For more information on this destroyed inscription see Hawkins 1998, 8.

desired to imply and demonstrate to anyone who entered or left his kingdom, by depicting himself as a warrior figure in a Hittite manner, that the Hittite king had Tarkasnawa, and therefore the kingdom of Mira, under his military and political protection.

However, this depiction does not necessary mean that Tarkasnawa was actually under the protection the Hittite king or that the Hittite Empire and the kingdom of Mira were that closely connected, but it rather means that the ruler of Mira was willing to display that the Hittites protected Mira, even though this might have not been completely true. We should bear in mind that this area during the Late Bronze Age was characterized by various vassal kingdoms which sought Hittite support and protection in the expense of the other vassal kingdoms of the region. Thus, the use of a Hittite stylistic depiction functioned not only as a political statement towards the other vassal kingdoms. It also functioned as a statement to the inhabitants of the kingdom itself that their king was protected by the Hittite king and any intention for rebellion against him would meet the hostility of the Hittite king as well. Finally, the fact that Tarkasnawa chose to depict himself as a “Hittite” warrior can also indicate that he implied that the Hittite military supports and protects him and it would intervene if anyone either from a foreign kingdom or from his kingdom itself, acted against him.²⁸⁰

5.6 Conclusions

To sum up, this rock monument, although it is not located in the approximate vicinity of Miletus, it can indicate that despite the fact that western Anatolia was not directly incorporated into the Hittite Empire, the local kings sought the protection of the Hittite king in order to protect themselves and their kingdoms. They also, in some cases, tried to have good relationships with the Hittite king since they knew that he

²⁸⁰ Maner has suggested that the depiction of Tarkasnawa as a Hittite king documents the fact that he wanted to display himself as equally powerful as the Hittite king. She further suggests that a Hittite artisan carved this figure and probably he was a gift sent by the Hittite king to the ruler of Mira. For more information on this suggestion see Maner 2015, 841-2. At Suratkaya, which is close to Miletus, there is another rock monument which contains only a six-sign group inscription, however it seems that this inscription represents a local statement of power rather than a Hittite imperial influence. For more information on this monument see Glatz and Plourde 2011, 52.

could overthrow them from the local throne and install someone else in their position. However, another possibility is the fact that the local kings were influenced by the Hittite style of depicting a king and thus they tried to apply and imitate it to their rock monuments as well.

As for Miletus, the above analysis demonstrated that historical information extracted from the Hittite texts is supported, in a high percentage, by the archaeological evidence and therefore it is easier to place this site into its wider historical context. Phase V in Miletus manifests for the first time the appearance of Mycenaean material culture and this material documents the very intense Mycenaean character of the site. As I argued above this material can be explained by the presence of Mycenaean merchants and artisans at the site who contributed to the local pottery production and because they settled in Miletus they brought with them some Mycenaean religious customs, such as the figurines or some architectural elements, also present in this phase. This phase came to an end with a major fire destruction followed by the construction of an Anatolian type fortification wall. These facts document a Hittite intervention in Miletus in order to obstruct Mycenaean control over the city which probably would have started to become more politically oriented towards the west than in the early stages of this phase. With the beginning of phase VI the Mycenaean character of the site becomes very clear and almost every single cultural aspect of the Mycenaean civilization is present at Miletus. Based on that, I argued in this chapter, that during this phase some sort of Mycenaean administration was present at Miletus and possibly that Mycenaean mainland had some kind of political control over Miletus. At the end of the Mycenaean presence at Miletus, probably because of the destructions caused in mainland Greece, Hittite material is visible and therefore we can conclude that Miletus came to the Hittite sphere of influence for the last decades of the Late Bronze Age.

6. General Conclusions

In the previous chapters the cases of three different western Anatolian sites, Gordion, Beycesultan and Miletus, were examined. More specifically, this study aimed at investigating, archaeologically and textually, the cultural interaction between the conqueror and the conquered in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. In this paper, I pointed out the various cultural influences in western Anatolia (local, Mycenaean and Hittite) and at the same time I tried to reconstruct, as far as possible, the type of control that the Hittites and the Mycenaeans held in western Anatolia.

Moreover, it became evident that all three sites had different influences and different cultural affiliations during the Late Bronze Age. More specifically, the site of Gordion, which is closest of the analyzed sites to the Hittite heartland, documents a strong Hittite influence. Especially the pottery assemblages have close parallels with the Hittite sites at the central Anatolian plateau and combined with a possible Hittite bureaucratic mechanism, such as the stamp seal, manifest for, at least, a strong Hittite influence on Gordion, if not a more direct Hittite control. As for the “local” material presence, it is almost completely absent and the only, as of yet, exception is the zoomorphic vessels which manifest for a local Anatolian tradition. Thus, at Gordion the local tradition and culture has been almost completely marginalized, at least at the pottery assemblages, by the Hittite material.

Beycesultan, on the other hand, forms a different picture since it was located in a region which lied between two major powers of that time, namely that of Ahhiyawa and that of the Hittites. This geographical and historical reality possibly made the inhabitants of this settlement to adopt, at first, a stronger local material culture and to stay away from any foreign material influence, either Mycenaean or Hittite. However, the campaign of Tudhaliya I/II changed this reality since Beycesultan from this period on came under the Hittite sphere of influence and thus during this period the site displays, a more or less, stronger Hittite material influence, diminishing thus the local tradition and culture, in comparison to the previous phases. This Hittite material influence does not indicate any Hittite direct control over Beycesultan, but it rather documents an increasing, especially in the pottery assemblages, Hittite influence at the dawn of the Hittite imperialism.

Finally, Miletus, the most western site of the three, located at the Aegean coastline displays a very strong Mycenaean influence in many angles of the material culture, such as pottery, architecture, burials etc., and in some periods, especially after the possible conquest of the city by the Hittite troops, Miletus documents a Hittite material influence as well, such as the fortification wall or the swords in the Mycenaean graves. Having said the above, Miletus during the Late Bronze Age, especially in phase VI, represents the foothold of the land of Ahḫiyawa in western Anatolia and it was the center of any Mycenaean military, political and economic operation in the region. The Hittites tried either to confront Miletus and in general the Mycenaean military, as in the case of Muršili II, or to peacefully and diplomatically resolve some issues with the Mycenaeans, such as in the case of Ḫattušili III. Finally, the Hittites managed to render Miletus a Hittite vassal city and thus to put to an end the Mycenaean presence and interference in the region. As for the “local” culture at Miletus, it is, as in the case of Gordion, almost completely absent, only a very limited number of Anatolian type pots have come to light so far. Thus, the overwhelming presence of the Mycenaean material at Miletus documents for a complete marginalization of the local character of the site, which however had been already vanished since the Minoan times.

The above summary demonstrates that western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age does not represent a coherent region with the same characteristics and influences. It is evident that the location of a certain site at western Anatolia and the presence of nearby major powers played an important role in the formation of the local cultural traditions and the cultural affiliations of a site and its population. Thus, we can conclude that these three sites represented three different cultural zones: the first one in the area of Gordion would represent the zone of the periphery of the Hittite heartland, the second one in the area of Beycesultan would represent the zone of an in-between area and the third one in the area of Miletus would represent the Aegean coastline zone. Each zone had different material influences, different historical developments and different relations with the major powers of this period, namely the Hittites or the land of Ahḫiyawa.

In the course of this paper, it also became evident that on the one hand some facts mentioned by the Hittite texts can be also observed in the archaeological evidence, such as the presence of the Mycenaeans in western Anatolia or the

destruction of Miletus V by the Hittite troops. On the other hand, some elements described in the Hittite texts cannot be documented in the archaeological evidence, such as the Hittite political presence over western Anatolia. In other words, if we lacked the Hittite texts we could not have known that the Hittites controlled politically a big part of western Anatolia, especially the coastline of western Anatolia. On the contrary, as I described previously, the Hittite texts make clear that the Hittites did not directly control western Anatolia, although the Hittite kings considered this region as their territory. Thus, in a way the archaeological evidence agrees, based on the limited presence of the Hittite material, with the textual one. Many scholars argue that the Hittite texts are the result of royal propaganda and thus we should not take them in face value, however this statement does not apply to the treaties and letters which contain very little propaganda. In my opinion, the best result while trying to reconstruct the political, historical and cultural reality of a region can only be achieved when we combine the textual and the archaeological evidence, since both data belong to the same context and thus they both represent aspects of Late Bronze Age's reality.

7. Appendix

<i>Hittite Kings</i>		
OLD KINGDOM		
Labarna ^a	-1650	
Hattusili I	1650-1620	(grandson?)
Mursili I	1620-1590	(grandson, adopted son)
Hantili I	1590-1560	(brother-in-law)
Zidanta I	1560-1525	(son-in-law)
Ammuna		(son)
Huzziya I		(brother of Ammuna's daughter-in-law)
Telipinu	1525-1500	(brother-in-law)
Alluwamna	1500-1400	(son-in-law)
Tahurwaili		(interloper)
Hantili II		(son of Alluwamna?)
Zidanta II		(son?)
Huzziya II		(son?)
Muwattalli I		(interloper)
NEW KINGDOM		
Tudhaliya I/II	1400-1350	(grandson of Huzziya II?)
Arnuwanda I ^b		(son-in-law, adopted son)
Hattusili II?		(son?)
Tudhaliya III		(son?)
Suppiluliuma I	1350-1322	(son)
Arnuwanda II	1322-1321	(son)
Mursili II	1321-1295	(brother)
Muwattalli II	1295-1272	(son)
Urhi-Teshub	1272-1267	(son)
Hattusili III	1267-1237	(uncle)
Tudhaliya IV	1237-1228	(son)
Kurunta ^c	1228-1227	(cousin)
Tudhaliya IV ^d	1227-1209	(cousin)
Arnuwanda III	1209-1207	(son)
Suppiluliuma II	1207-	(brother)

Table 1: The complete list of the Hittite kings.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ Bryce 2005, XV.

CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW: THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE					
PERIOD	LOW DATES	HIGH DATES	CRETE	MAINLAND	CYCLADES
Early Bronze Age	before 3000–c. 2000		Early Minoan I (EM I)	Early Helladic (EH I)	Grotta-Pelos
			Early Minoan II (EM II)	Early Helladic (EH II)	Keros-Syros (Kastri Group)
			Early Minoan III (EM III)	Early Helladic (EH III)	Phylakopi I
Middle Bronze Age	c. 2000–c. 1625	c. 2000–c. 1725	Middle Minoan IA (MM IA)	Middle Helladic I–III (MH I–III)	Middle Cycladic (MC)
			Middle Minoan IB (MM IB)		
			Middle Minoan IIA (MM IIA)		
			Middle Minoan IIB (MM IIB)		
			Middle Minoan IIIA (MM IIIA)		
			Middle Minoan IIIB (MM IIIB)		
Late Bronze Age	c. 1625–c. 1525	c. 1725–c. 1600	Late Minoan IA (LM IA)	Late Helladic I (LH I)	Late Cycladic IA (LC IA)
			Late Minoan IB (LM IB)	Late Helladic IIA (LH IIA)	Late Cycladic IB (LC IB)
	c. 1525–c. 1450	c. 1620–c. 1450	Late Minoan II (LM II)	Late Helladic IIB (LH IIB)	Late Cycladic II (LC II)
			Late Minoan IIIA (LM IIIA)	Late Helladic IIIA (LH IIIA)	Late Cycladic IIIA (LC IIIA)
THIRD PALACE PERIOD	c. 1450–c. 1420	c. 1420–c. 1300	Late Minoan II (LM II)	Late Helladic IIB (LH IIB)	Late Cycladic II (LC II)
			Late Minoan IIIA (LM IIIA)	Late Helladic IIIA (LH IIIA)	Late Cycladic IIIA (LC IIIA)
POST-PALATIAL	c. 1300–c. 1200		Late Minoan IIIB (LM IIIB)	Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB)	Late Cycladic IIIB (LC IIIB)

Table 2: Chronological table of the Aegean Bronze Age.²⁸²

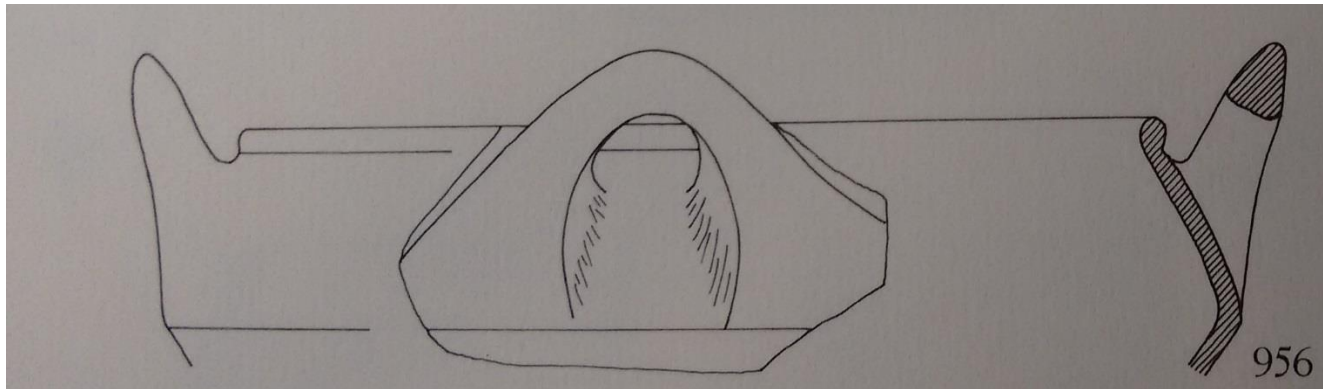
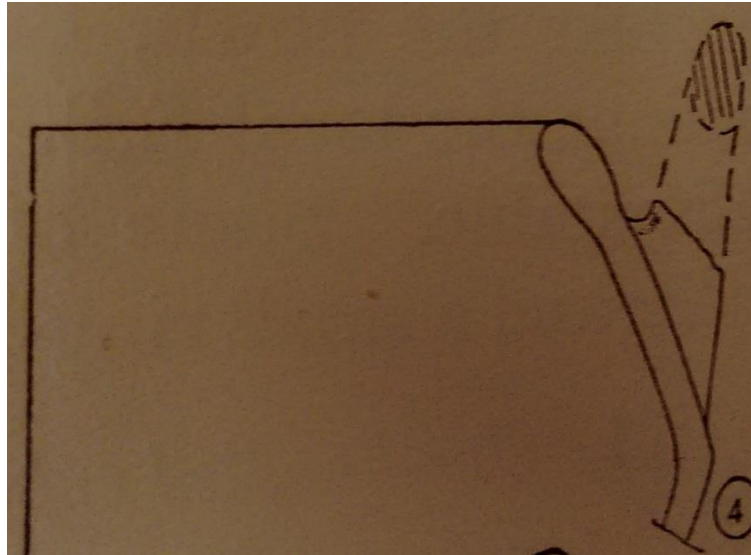


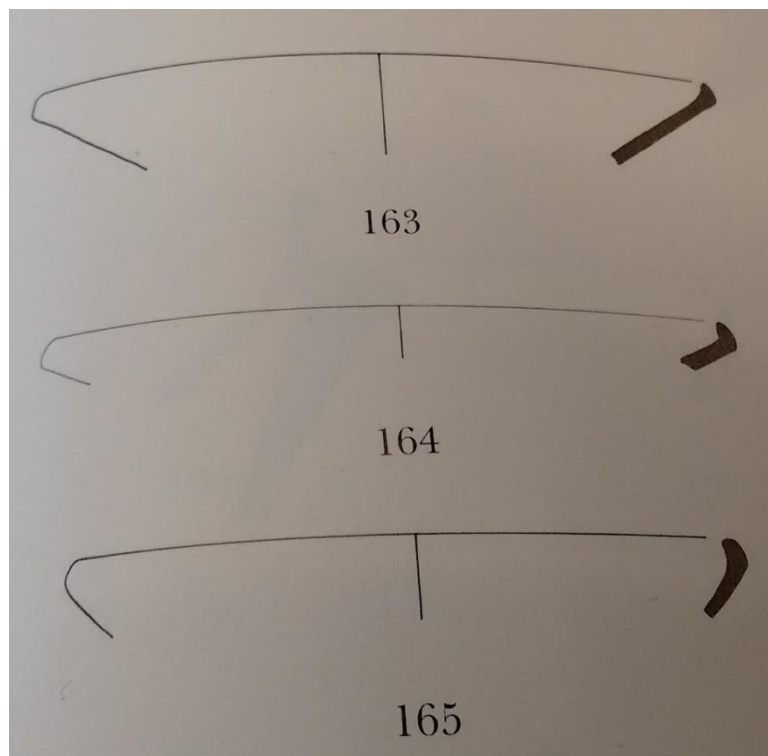
Fig. 1: Bowl from Hattusa.²⁸³

²⁸² Neer 2012, 19.

²⁸³ Fischer 1963, plate 108, fig. 956.



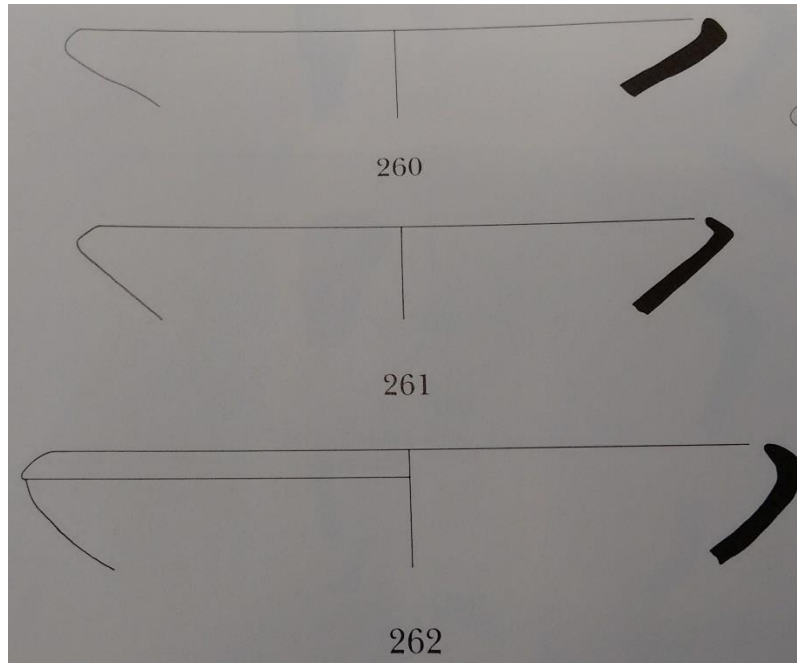
*Fig. 2: Bowl from Beycesultan.*²⁸⁴



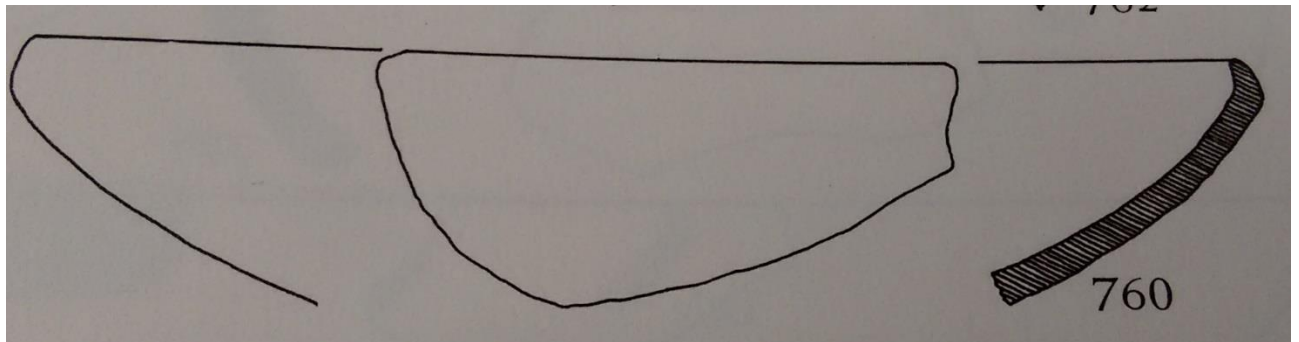
*Fig. 3: Bowls from Gordion.*²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ Loyd and Mellaart 1965, 86, fig. 4.

²⁸⁵ Gunter 1991, fig. 9, nos. 163-5.



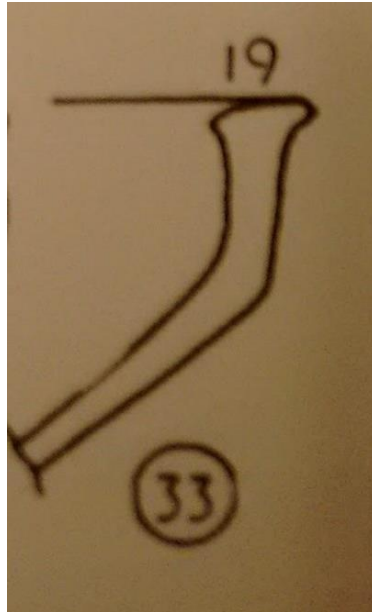
*Fig. 4: Bowls from Gordion.*²⁸⁶



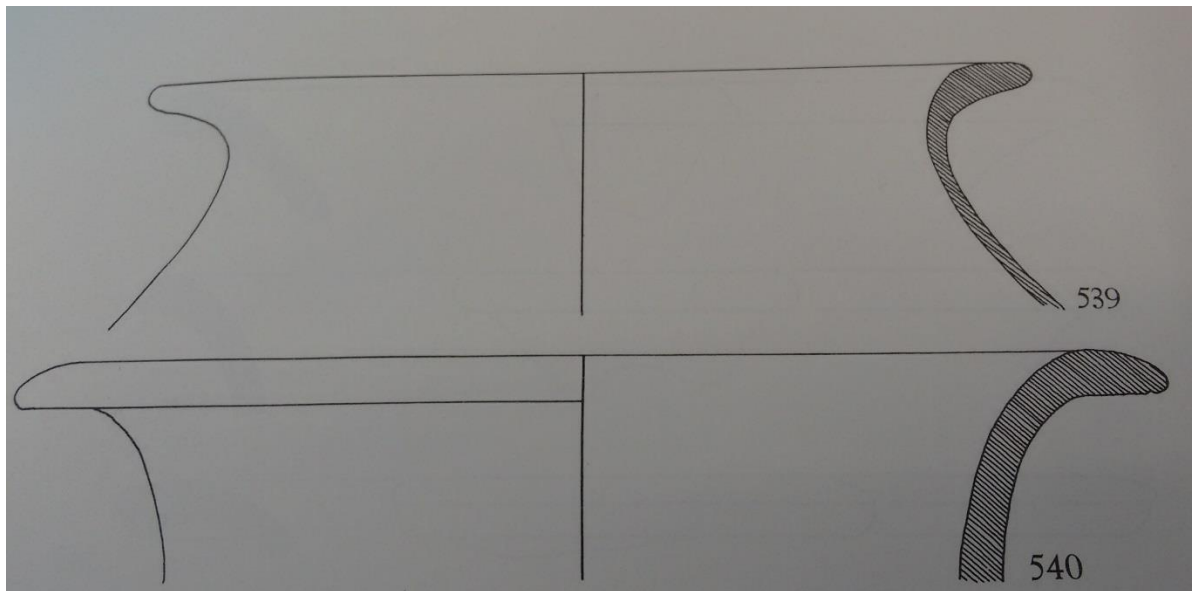
*Fig. 5: Bowl from Hattusa.*²⁸⁷

²⁸⁶ Gunter 1991, fig. 14, nos. 260-2.

²⁸⁷ Fischer 1963, plate 88, fig. 760.



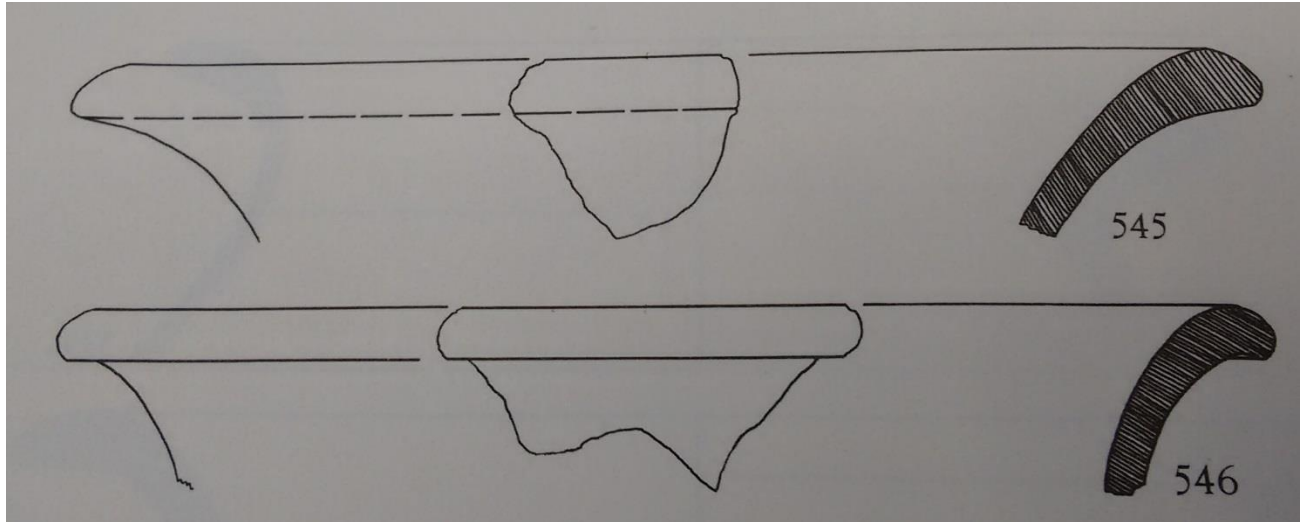
*Fig. 6: Bowl from Beycesultan.*²⁸⁸



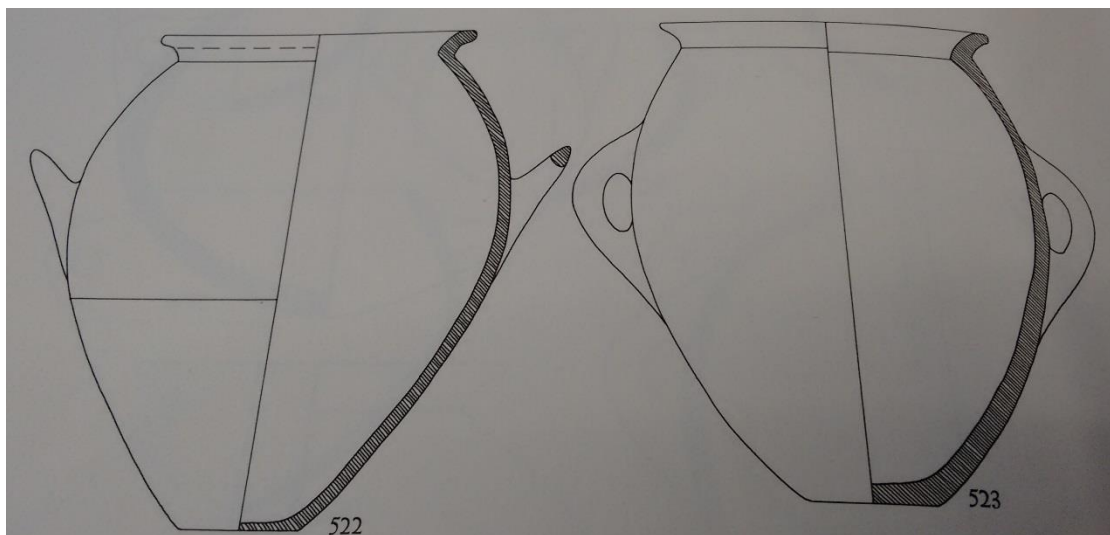
*Fig. 7: Jars from Hattussa.*²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Loyd and Mellaart 1965, 134, fig. 33.

²⁸⁹ Fischer 1963, pl. 59, figs. 539-40.



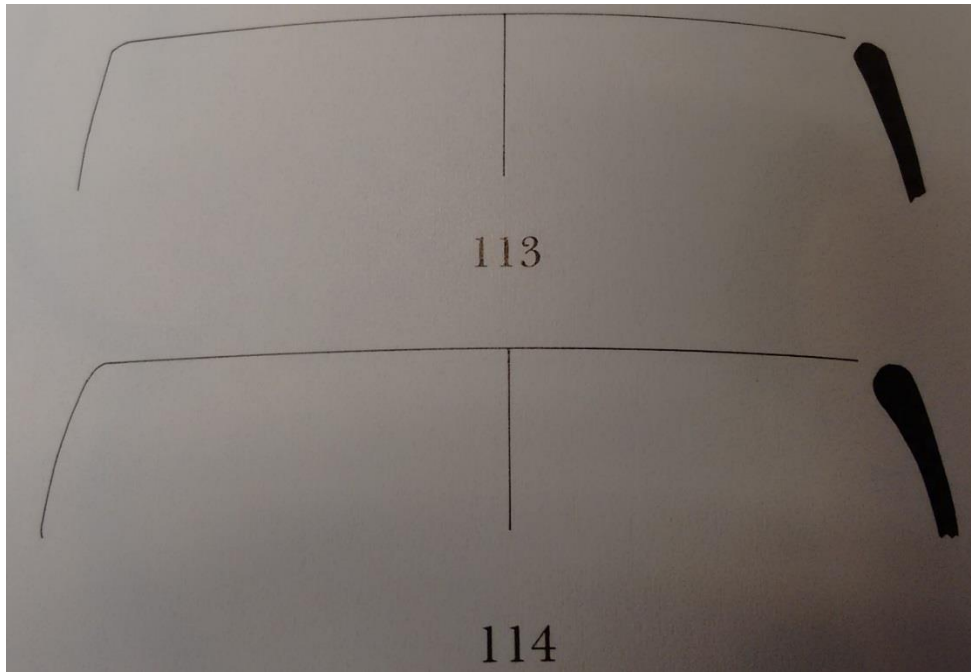
*Fig. 8: Jars from Hattusa.*²⁹⁰



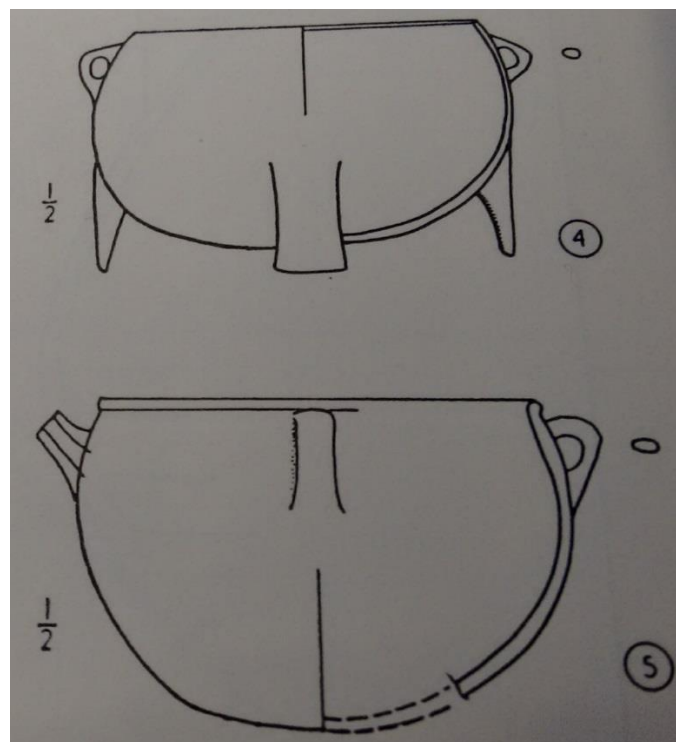
*Fig. 9: Two-handed Jars from Hattusa.*²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Fischer 1963, pl. 60, figs. 545-6.

²⁹¹ Fischer 1963, pl. 54, figs. 522-3.



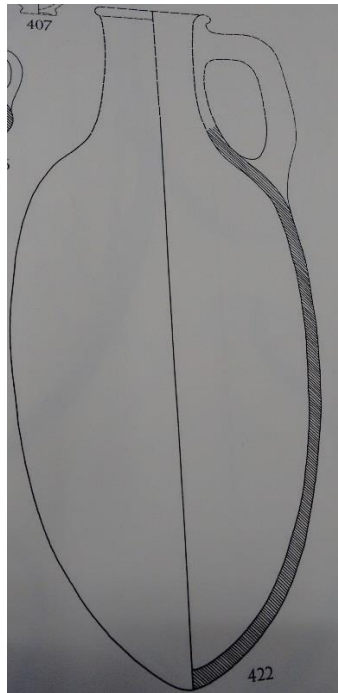
*Fig. 10: Cooking Pots from Gordion.*²⁹²



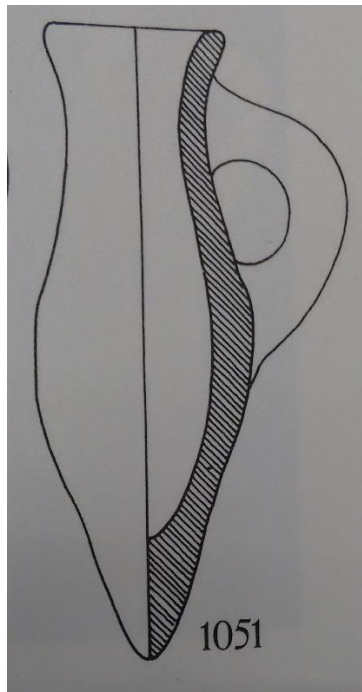
*Fig. 11: Cooking Pots from Beycesultan.*²⁹³

²⁹² Gunter 1991, fig. 6, nos. 113-4.

²⁹³ Loyd and Mellaart 1965, 126, figs. 4-5.



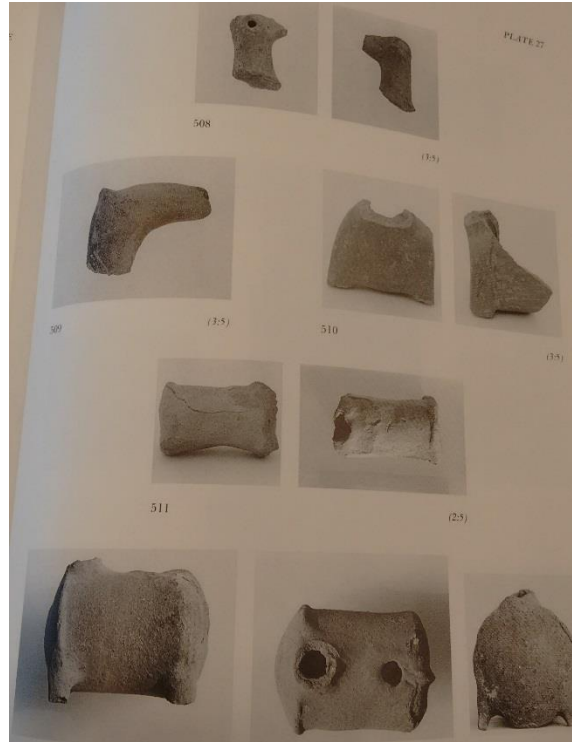
*Fig. 12: Water can from Hattusa.*²⁹⁴



*Fig. 13: Votive Vessel from Hattusa.*²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Fischer 1963, pl. 38, fig. 422.

²⁹⁵ Fischer 1963, pl. 119, fig. 1051.



*Fig. 14: Fragments of Zoomorphic Vessels from Gordion.*²⁹⁶



*Fig. 21: The Rock Relief at Gâvur Kalesi.*²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Gunter 1991, pl. 27, figs. 508-12.

²⁹⁷ Glatz and Plourde 2011, 54, fig. 15.

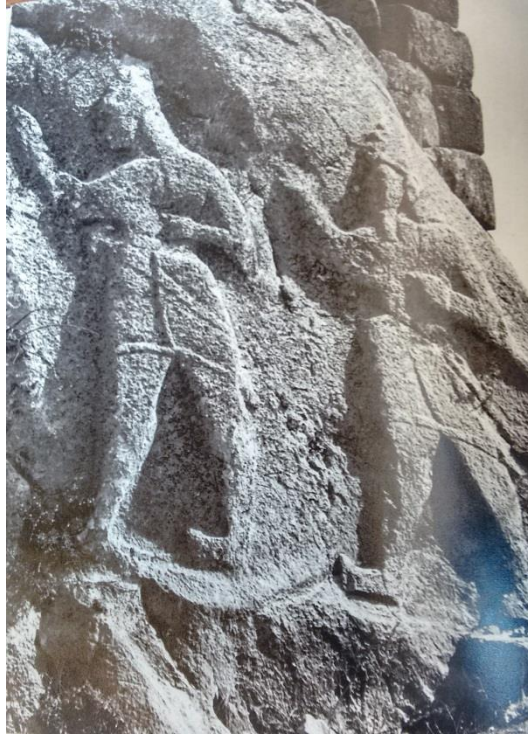


Fig. 22: Rock Reliefs at Gâvur Kalesi.²⁹⁸



Fig. 23: View of North Street at Beycesultan.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Bittel 1976, 178.

²⁹⁹ Lloyd 1972, pl. III, fig. a.

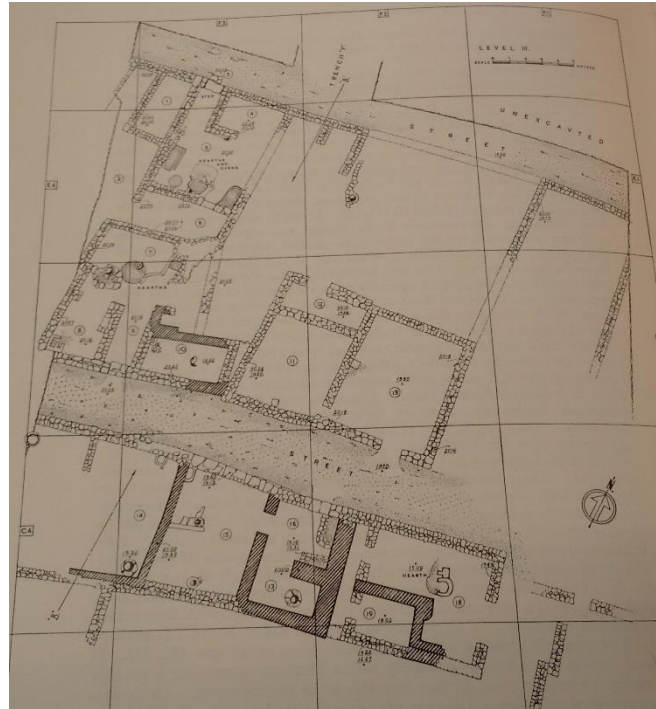


Fig. 24: Plan of Level III at Beycesultan.³⁰⁰



Fig. 25: Terracotta horse-shoe-shaped for supporting a cooking pot from Beycesultan.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Lloyd 1972, fig. 2.

³⁰¹ Lloyd 1972, pl. I, fig. b.

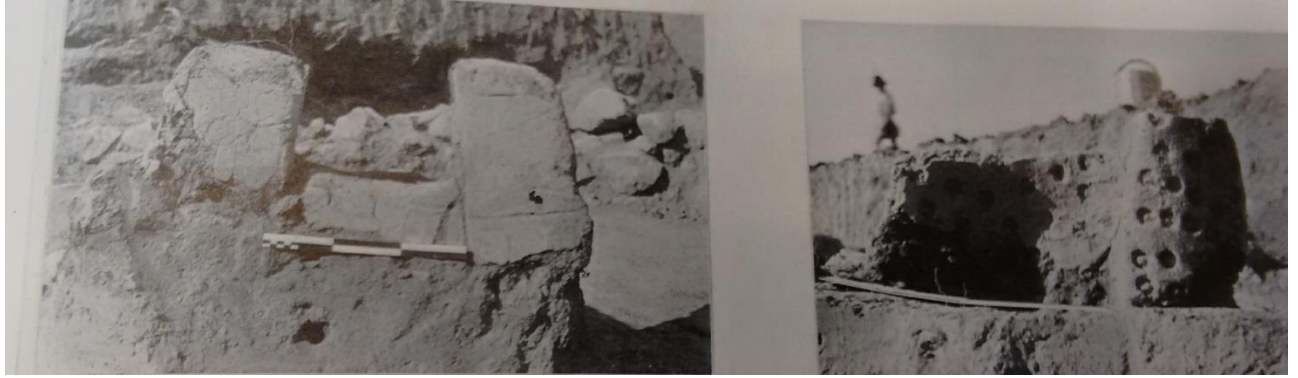


Fig. 26: Terracotta horse-shoe-shaped for supporting a cooking pot from Kusura.³⁰²

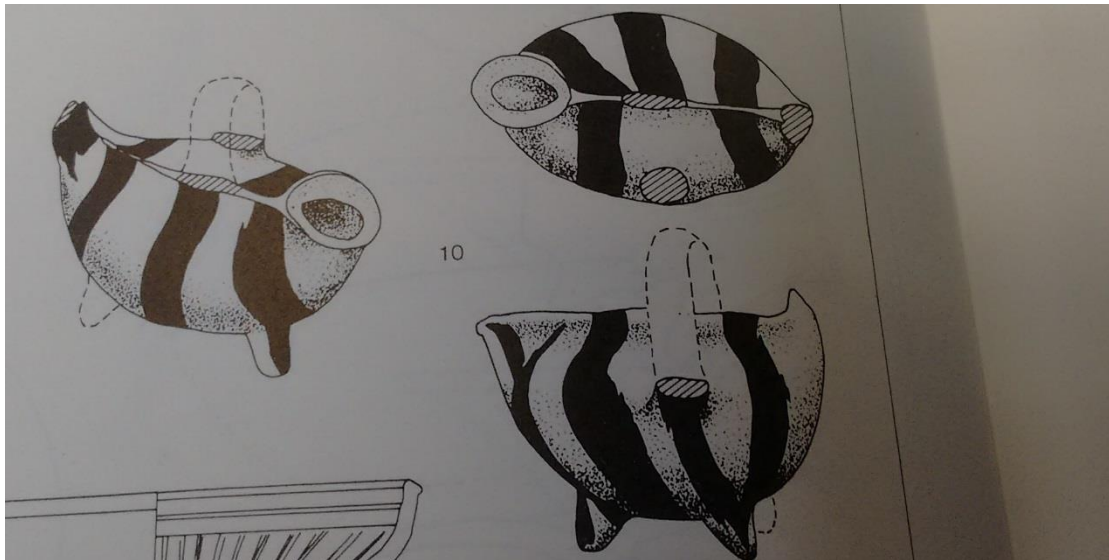


Fig. 27: Painted Zoomorphic vessel from Beycesultan.³⁰³

³⁰² Lamb 1937, pl. V, figs. 7, 8.

³⁰³ Mellaart and Murray 1995, p.6, fig. 10.

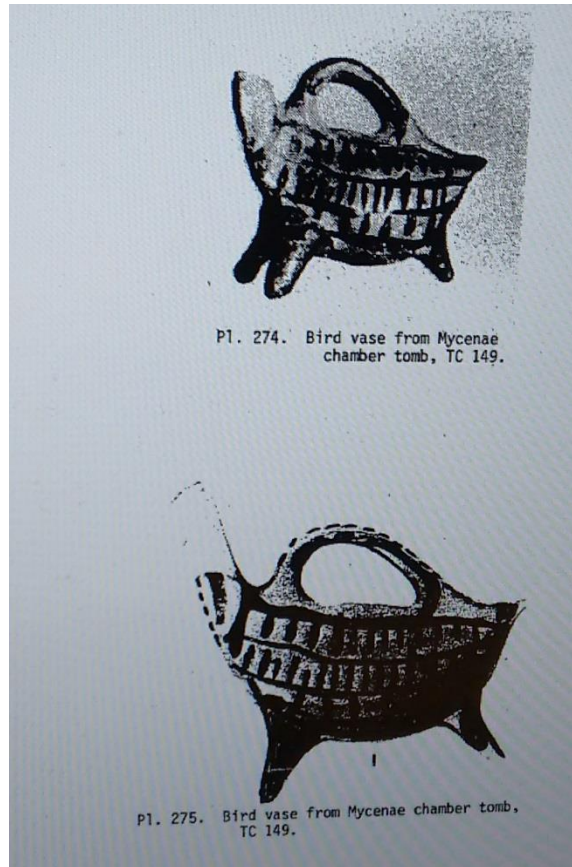


Fig. 28: Bird-shaped vessel from Mycenae Chamber Tomb.³⁰⁴

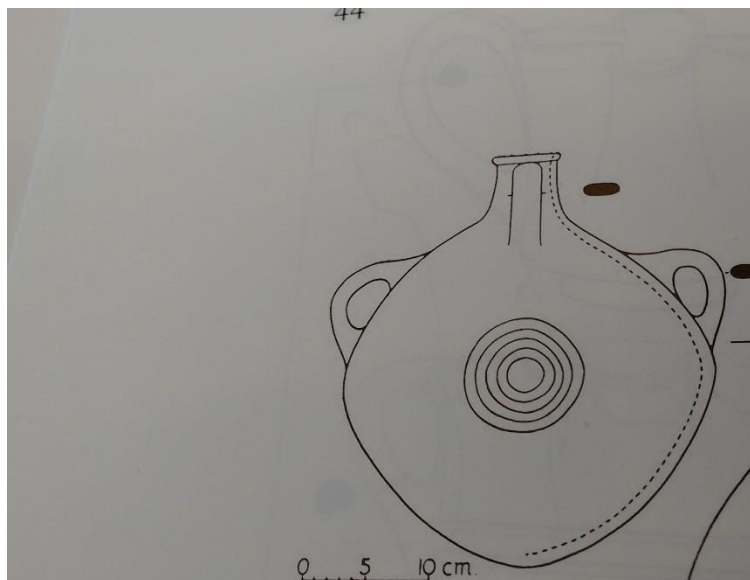


Fig. 29: Concentric circles on an askos vessel from Beycesultan.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Miller 1983, pl. 274-5.

³⁰⁵ Mellaart and Murray 1995, p. 22.

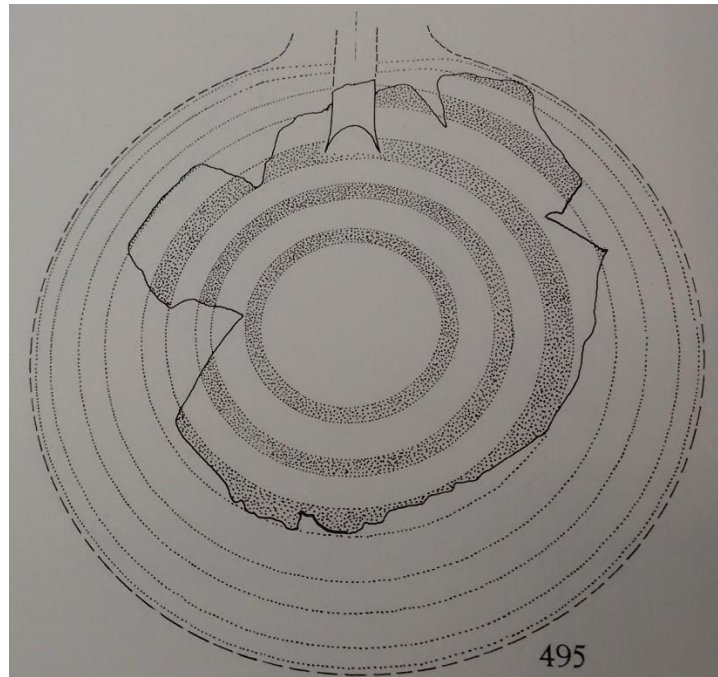


Fig. 30: Pilgrim's bottle bearing concentric motifs from Hattusa.³⁰⁶



Fig. 31: Right: Stone stamp seal.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Fischer 1963, pl. 49, fig. 495.

³⁰⁷ Mellaart and Murray 1995, pl. XIII a.

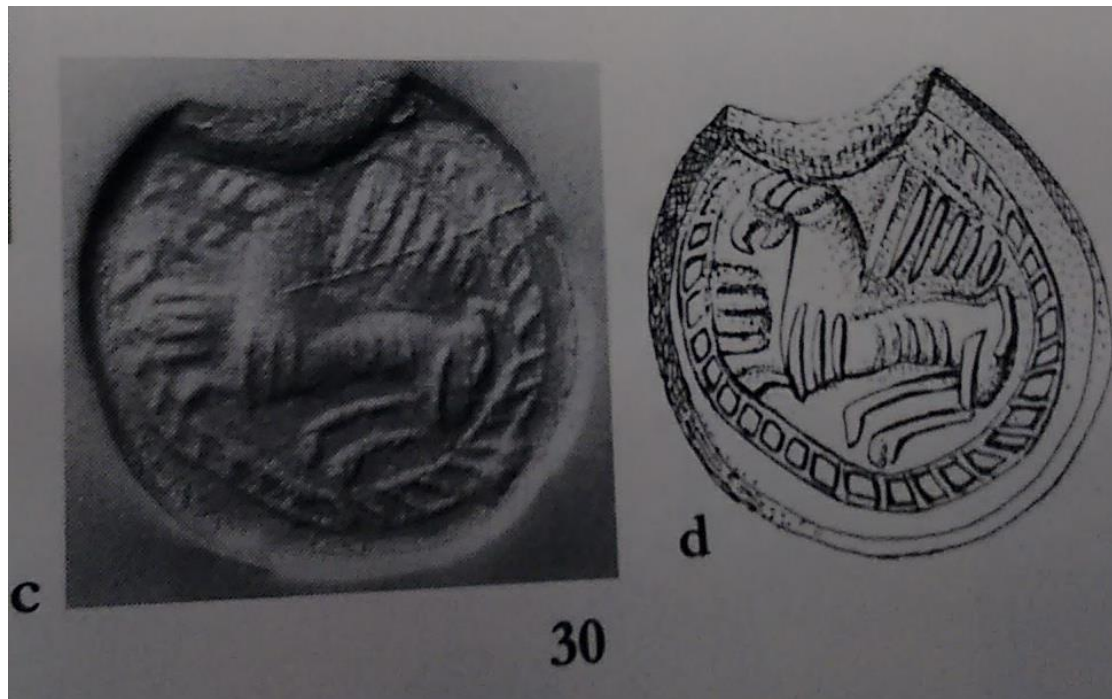


Fig. 32: Sealing bearing a griffin motif from Hattusa.³⁰⁸

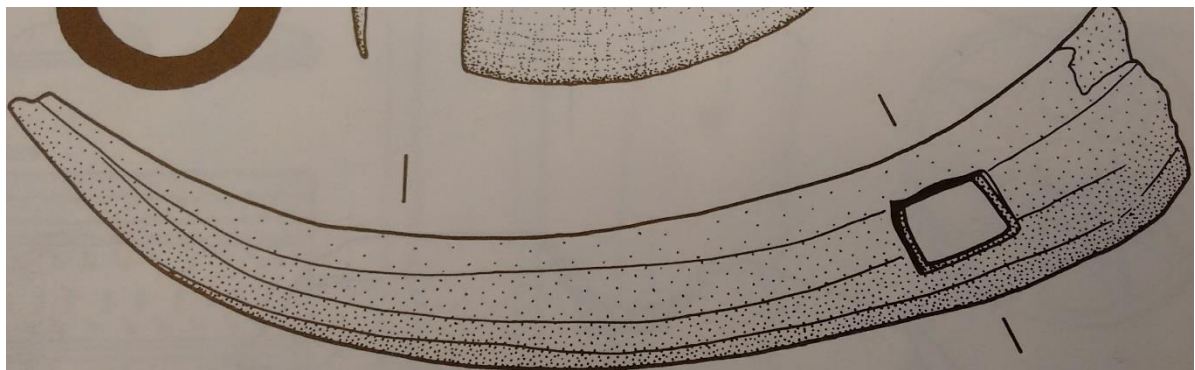


Fig. 33: Polygonal horn shaped bone object from Beycesultan.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Boehmer and Guterbock 1987, pl. III, fig. 30.

³⁰⁹ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 190, fig. 0.40, 333.

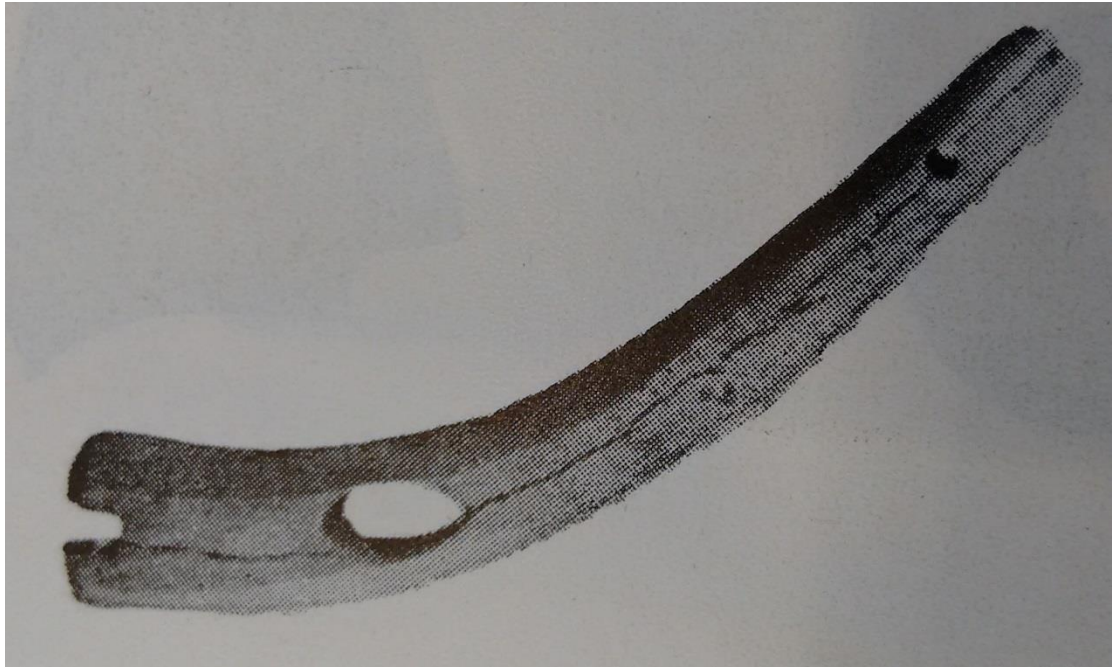


Fig. 34: Polygonal horn shaped bone object from Alaca Höyük.³¹⁰

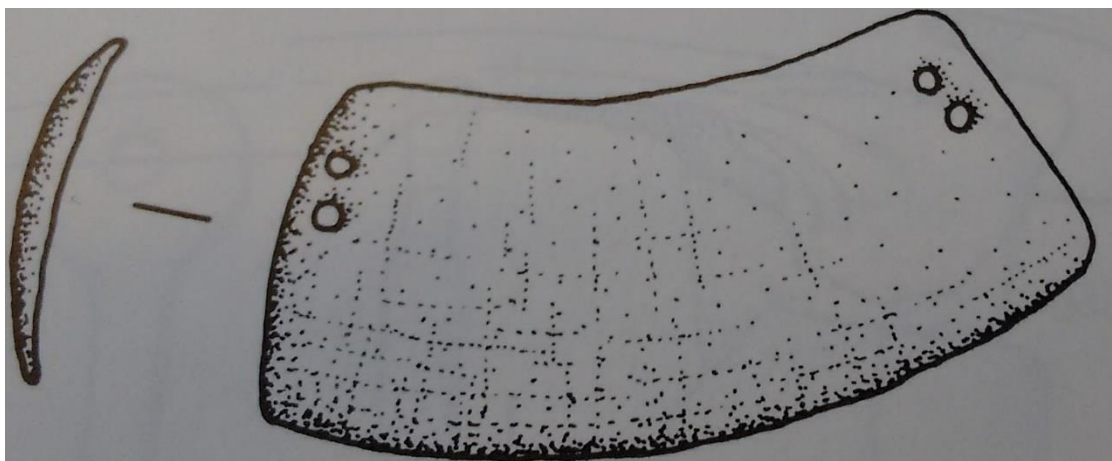


Fig. 35: Piece of boar tusk helmet from Beycesultan.³¹¹

³¹⁰ Kosay 1951, pl. LXXXIV, fig. 1.

³¹¹ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 190, fig. 0.40, 331.

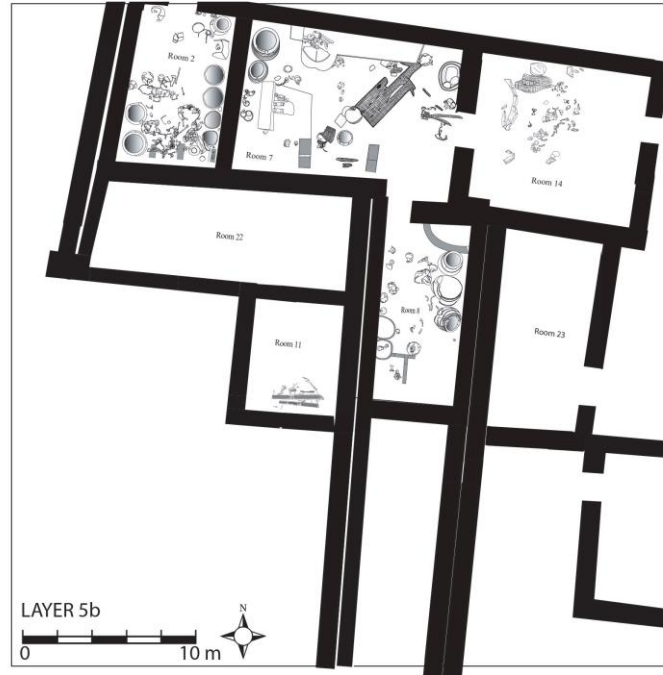


Fig. 36: Plan of the architectural remains of layer 5b at Beycesultan.³¹²

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6
1, 2	3, 4	18, 19	36, 37	53, 54, 55	56, 57
	5, 6	20, 21	38, 39		
	7, 8	22, 23	40, 41		
	9, 10	24, 25	42, 43		
	11, 12	26, 27	44, 45		
	13, 14	28, 29	46, 47		
	15, 16, 17	30, 31	48, 49		
		32, 33	50, 51		
		34, 35	52		

Fig. 37: Typology of chalices from layer 5b from Beycesultan.³¹³

³¹² Abay and Dedeoğlu 2014, 23, fig. 9.

³¹³ Dedeoğlu 2016, 23, fig. 1.

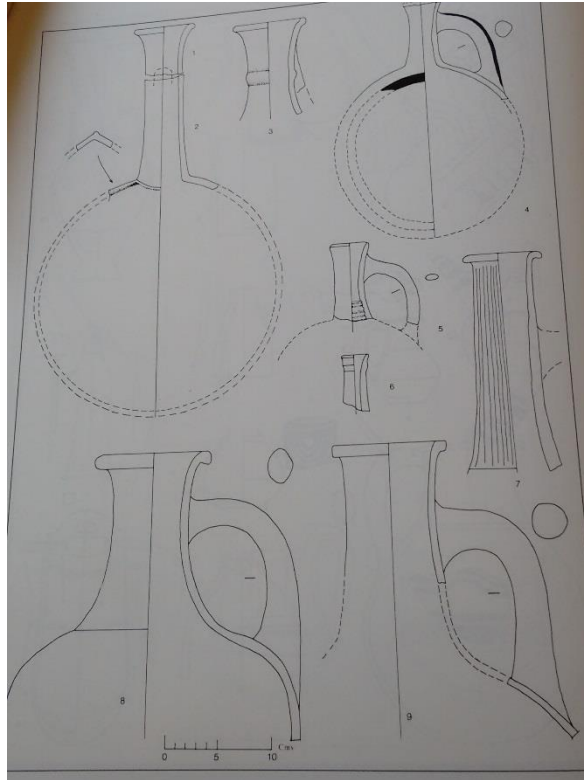


Fig. 38: Lentoid and tall-necked jugs from Beycesultan.³¹⁴

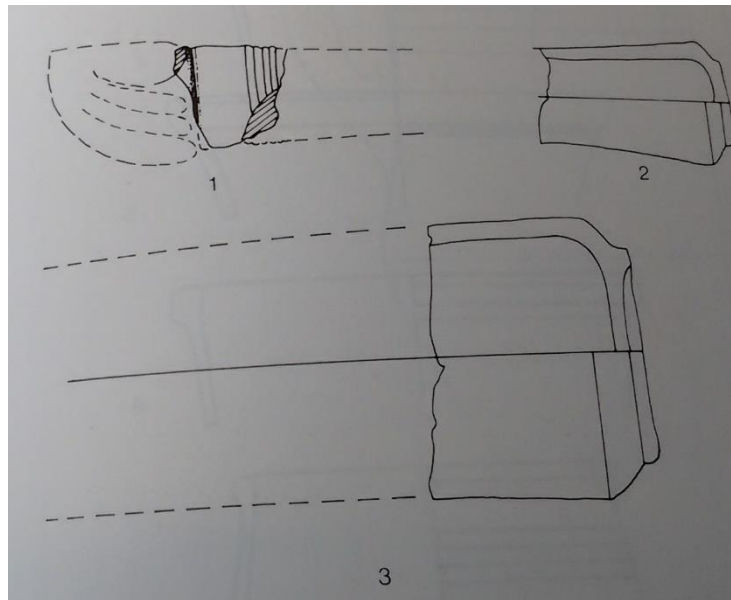


Fig. 39: Fragments of possible libation arms from Beycesultan.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 76, fig. P.40.

³¹⁵ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 77, fig. P.41.

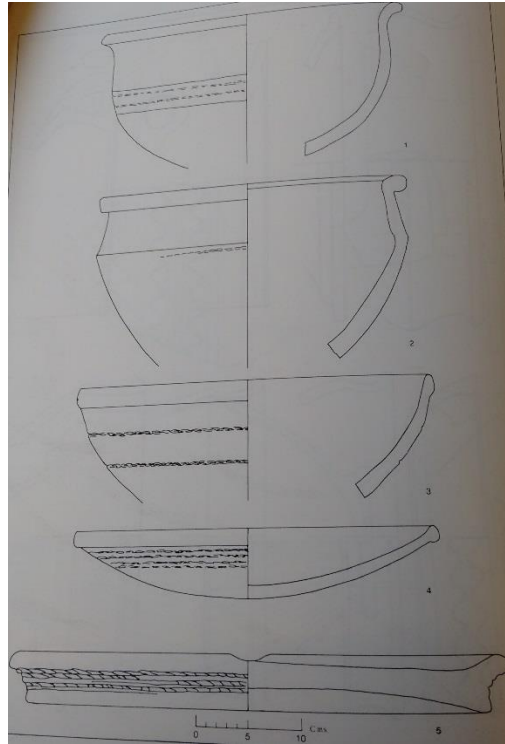


Fig. 40: Kitchen ware with rope impressions from Beycesultan.³¹⁶

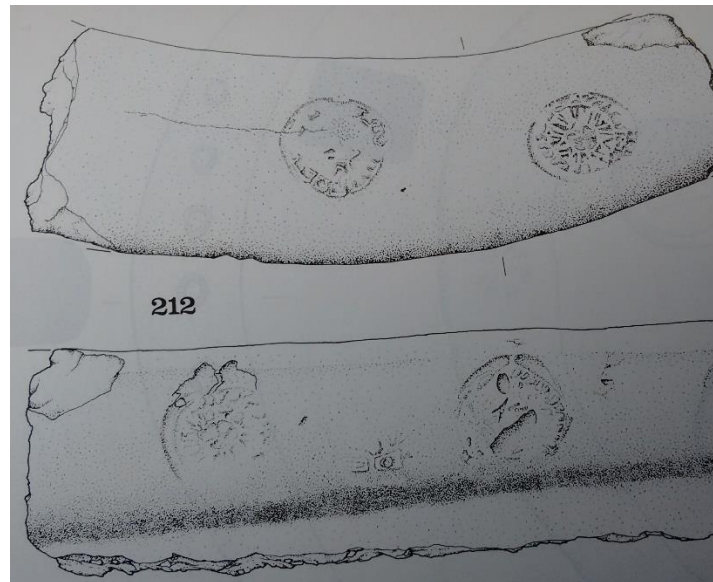


Fig. 41: Seal impressions on a clay vessel from Beycesultan.³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 82, fig. P.46.

³¹⁷ Mellaart and Murray 1995, 171, fig. 0.21.

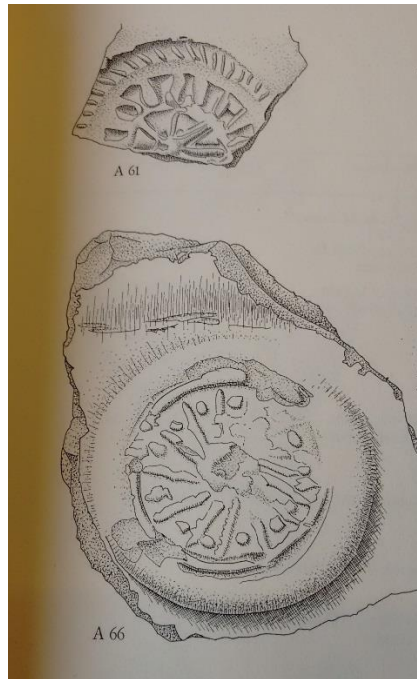


Fig. 42: Seal impressions on clay vessels from Ḫattuša.³¹⁸

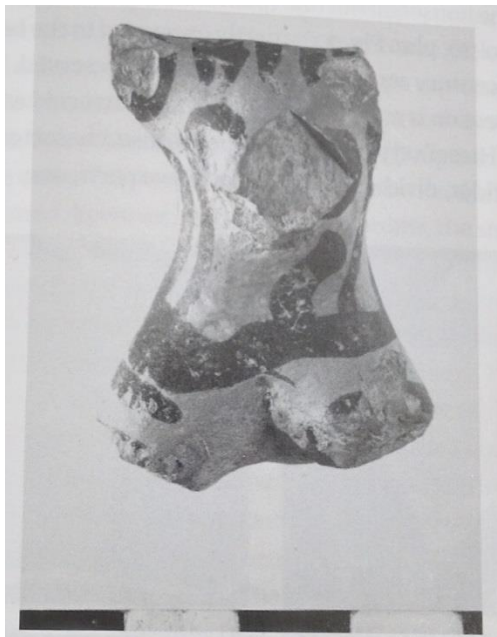


Fig. 43: Zoomorphic terracotta figurine from Miletus.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ Seidl 1972, 27, Abb. 61, figs. A 61 and A 66.

³¹⁹ Niemeier 2005, 11, fig. 26.



Fig. 44: Anthropomorphic terracotta figurine from Miletus.³²⁰



Fig. 45: Plan of the prehistoric levels at Miletus.³²¹

³²⁰ Schiering 1960, pl. 18, fig. 1.

³²¹ Niemeier 2005, pl. 1.

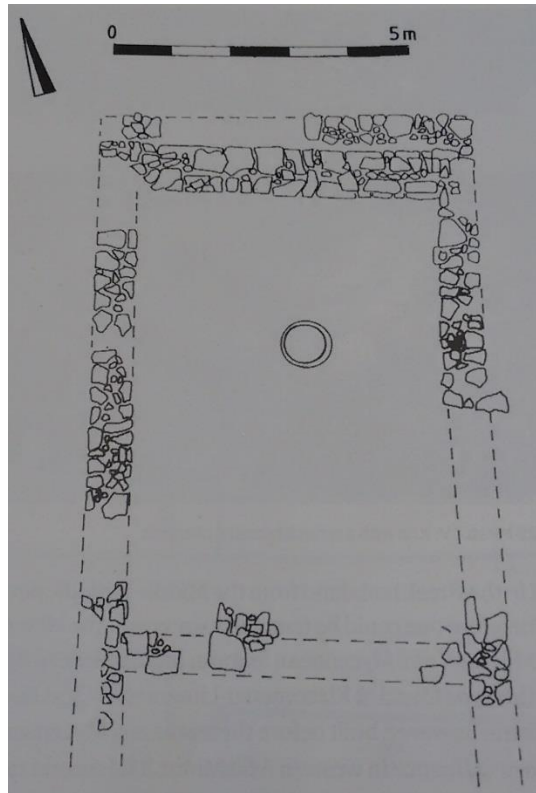


Fig. 46: Plan of the "Anta-House" type from Miletus.³²²

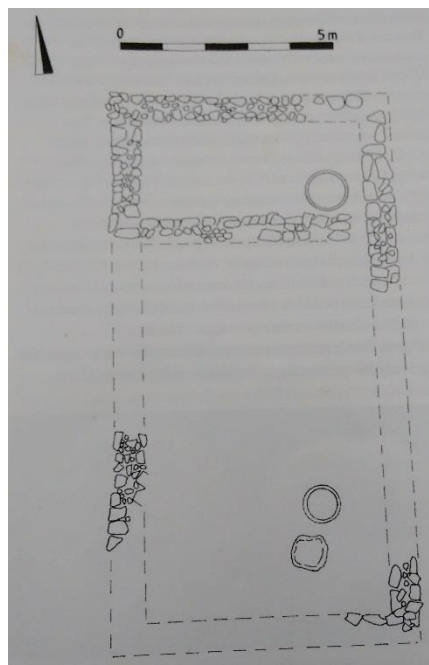


Fig. 47: Plan of the "Oikos 2" type from Miletus.³²³

³²² Niemeier 2005, 11, fig. 27.

³²³ Niemeier 2005, 11, fig. 28.

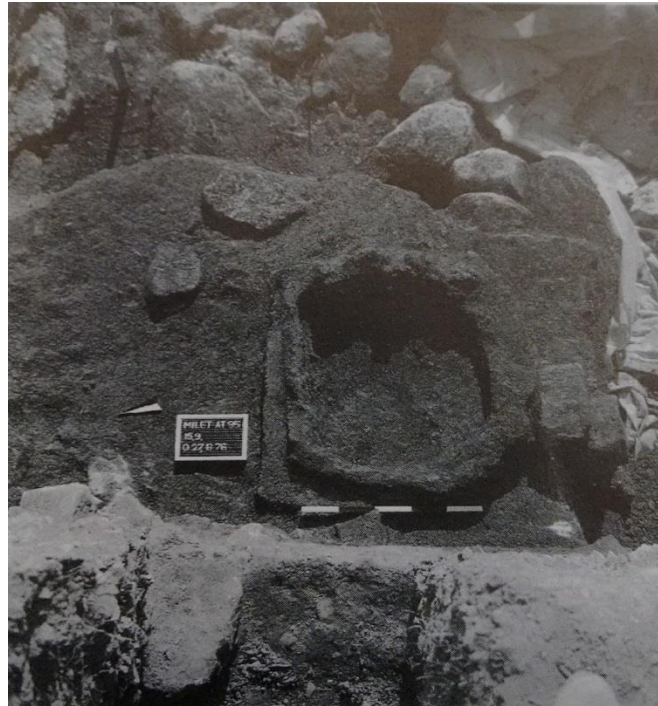


Fig. 48: Clay hearth in House B at Miletus.³²⁴

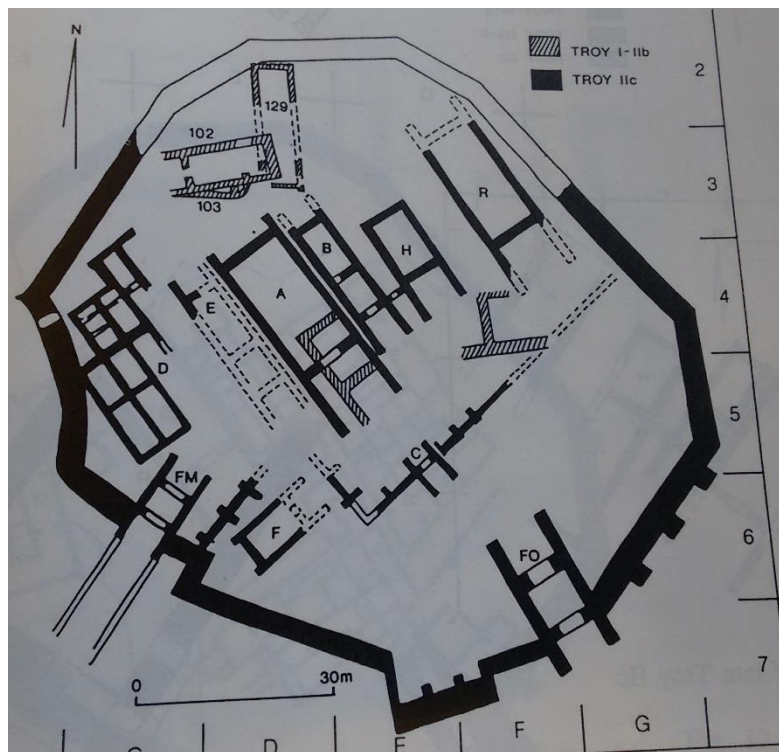


Fig. 49: "Anta-Houses" from Troy I-IIb.³²⁵

³²⁴ Niemeier 1998, 31, photo 2.

³²⁵ Werner 1993, fig. 7.

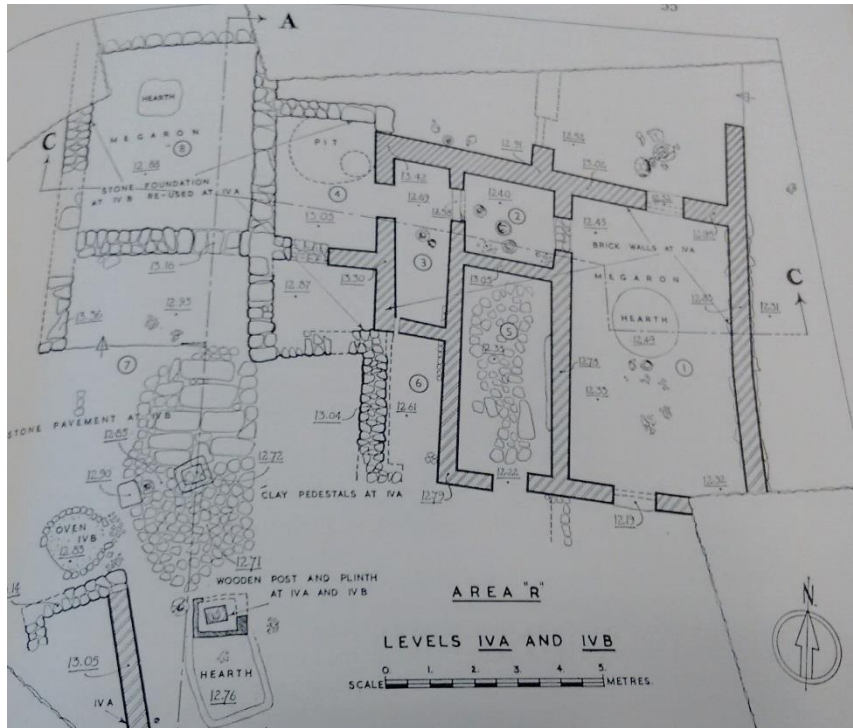


Fig. 50: Plan of Area "R" at Beycesultan.³²⁶

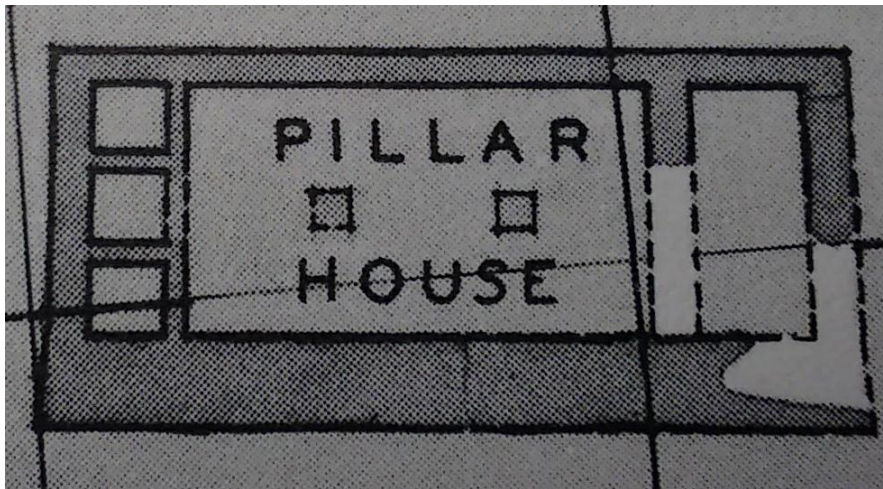


Fig. 51: The so-called "pillar house" at Troy.³²⁷

³²⁶ Lloyd and Mellaart 1965, 55, fig. A.24.

³²⁷ Blegen 1953, pl. 446.

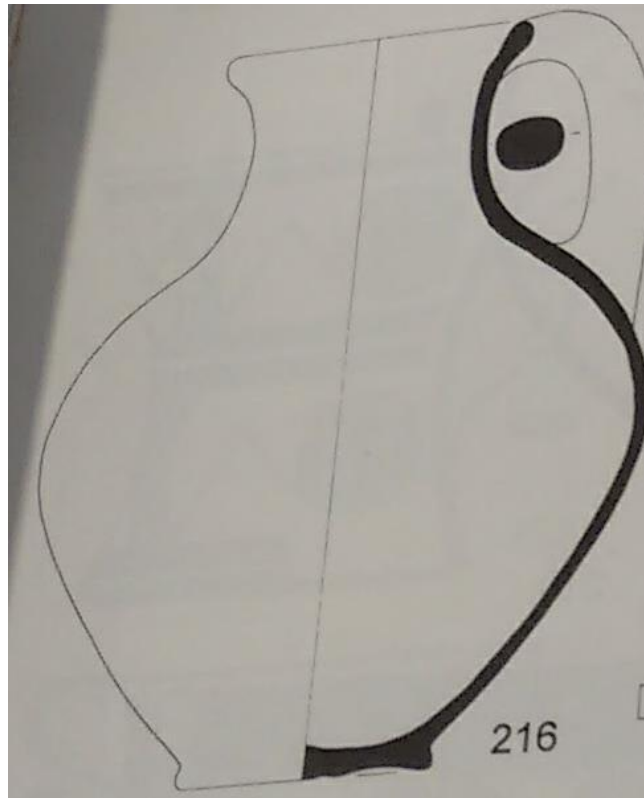


Fig. 52: LH III B Mycenaean jug.³²⁸



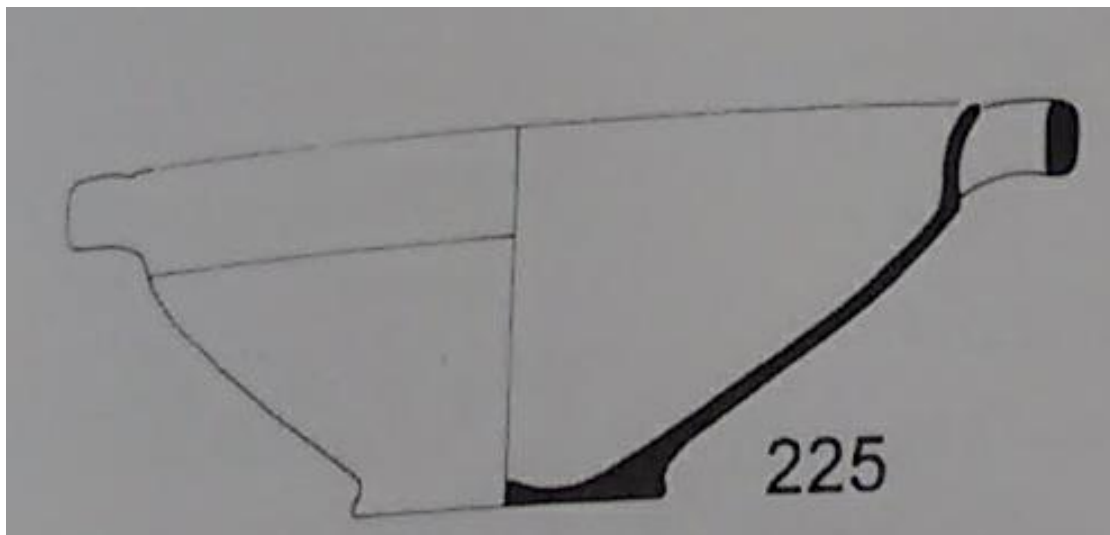
Fig. 53: Lipless LH III B bowl.³²⁹

³²⁸ Mountjoy 1993, 88, fig. 216.

³²⁹ Mountjoy 1993, 89, fig. 218.



*Fig. 54: Carinated LH III B Mycenaean kylix.*³³⁰



*Fig. 55: Shallow LH III B Mycenaean angular bowl.*³³¹

³³⁰ Mountjoy 1993, 89, fig. 223.

³³¹ Mountjoy 1993, 89, fig. 225.



*Fig. 56: Fragment of LH IIIB-C krater from Miletus with pictorial scenes.*³³²



*Fig. 57: Conical horned crown on a sealing of Tudhaliya IV.*³³³

³³² Niemeier 2005, 20, fig. 40.

³³³ Niemeier 2005, 20, fig. 41.



Fig. 58: Depiction of a Hittite deity on a clay tablet.³³⁴

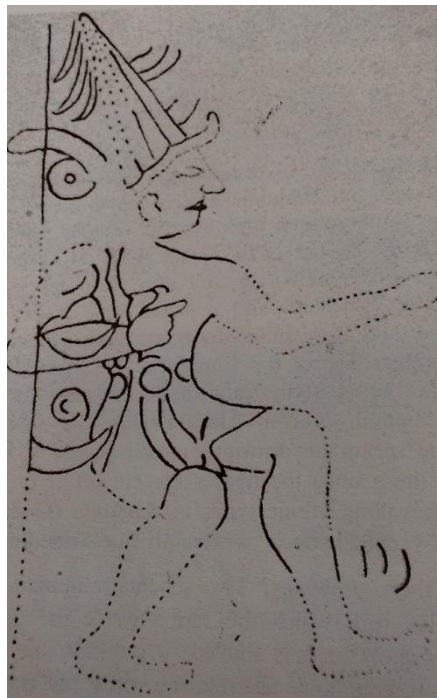
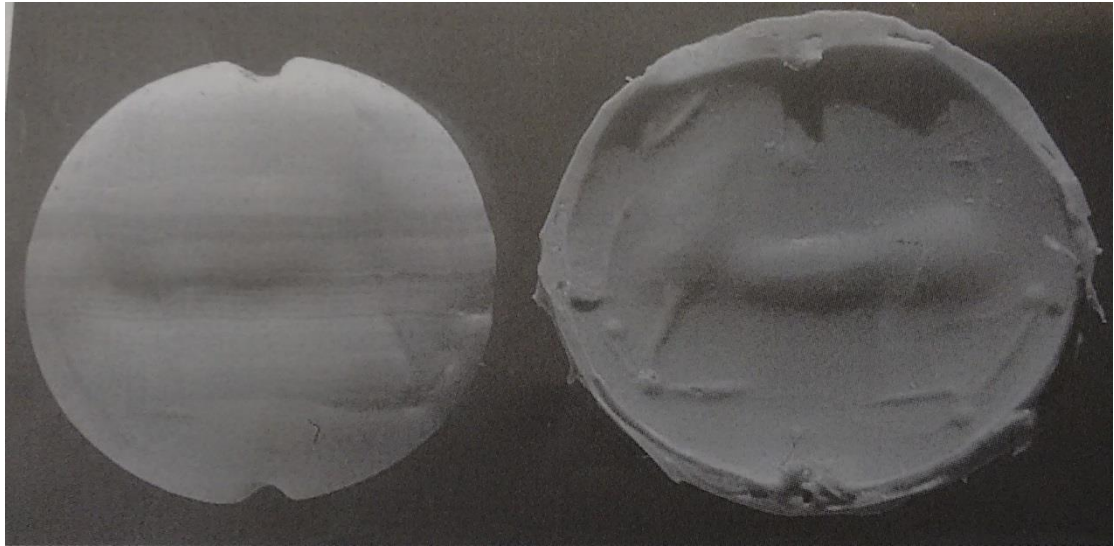


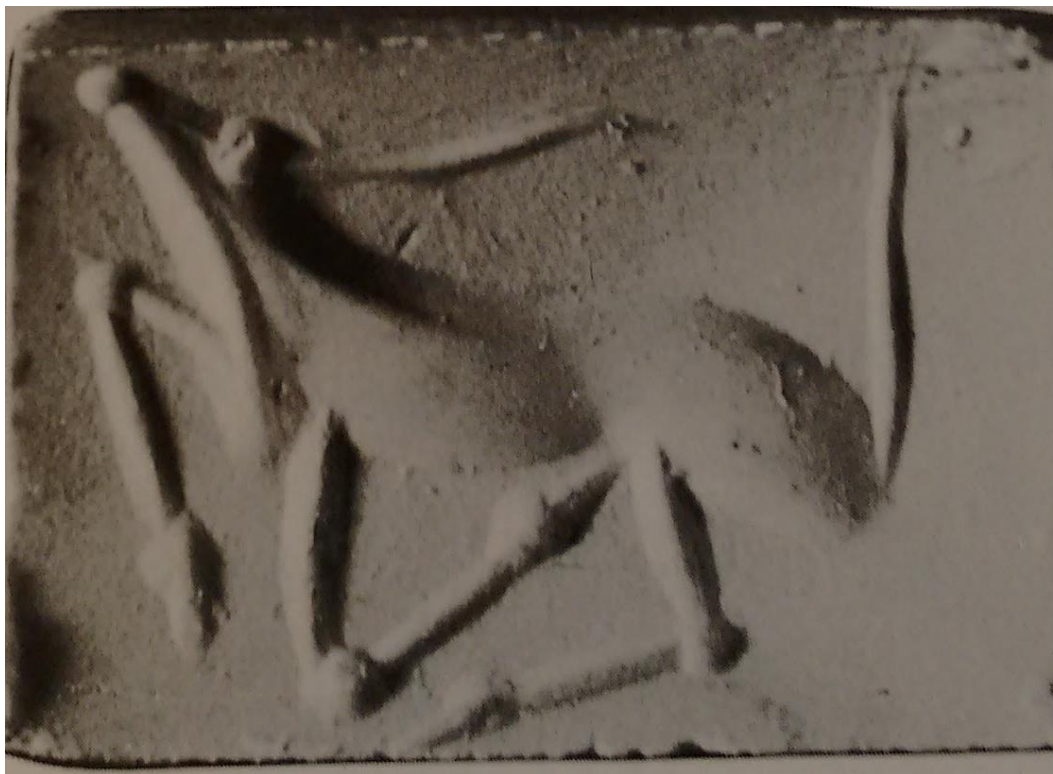
Fig. 59: Drawing of the depiction of a Hittite deity on a clay tablet.³³⁵

³³⁴ Ünal 1989, pl. 141, fig. 1.

³³⁵ Ünal 1989, 508, fig. 5.



*Fig. 67: Seal made out of onyx-marble with impression from Miletus.*³³⁶



*Fig. 68: Seal with an impression of the "island sanctuary group".*³³⁷

³³⁶ Niemeier 2005, 12, fig. 31.

³³⁷ Younger 1981, 264, fig. 3.

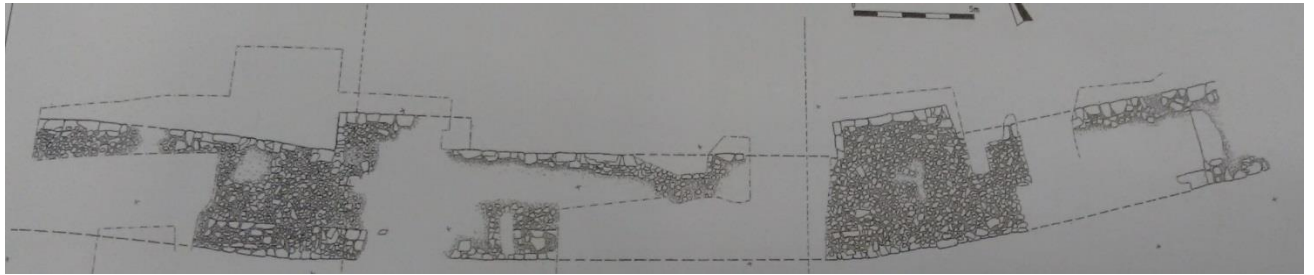


Fig. 69: Plan of the Late Bronze Age fortification wall of Miletus.³³⁸

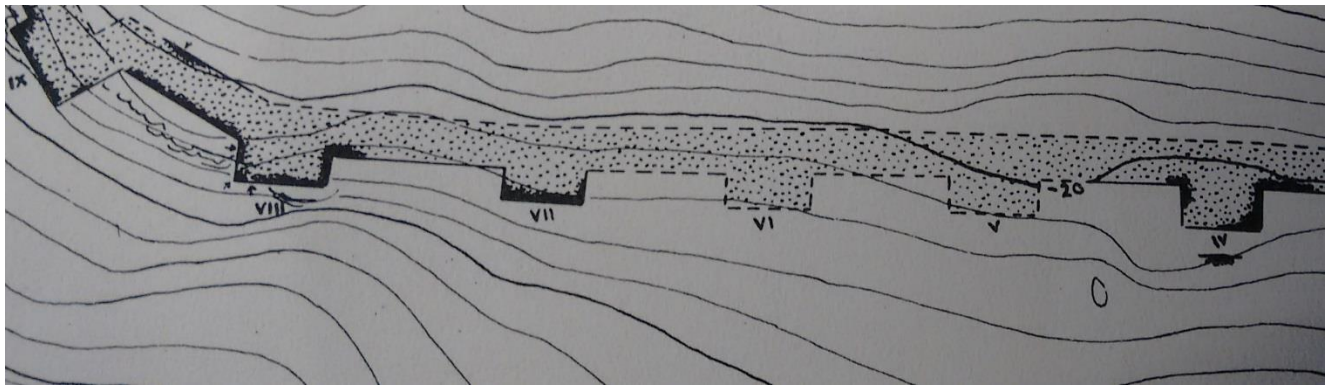


Fig. 70: Plan of part of the fortification wall at Hattuša.³³⁹

³³⁸ Niemeier 2005, 35, fig. 11.

³³⁹ Bittel and Naumann 1952, Beilage 3.

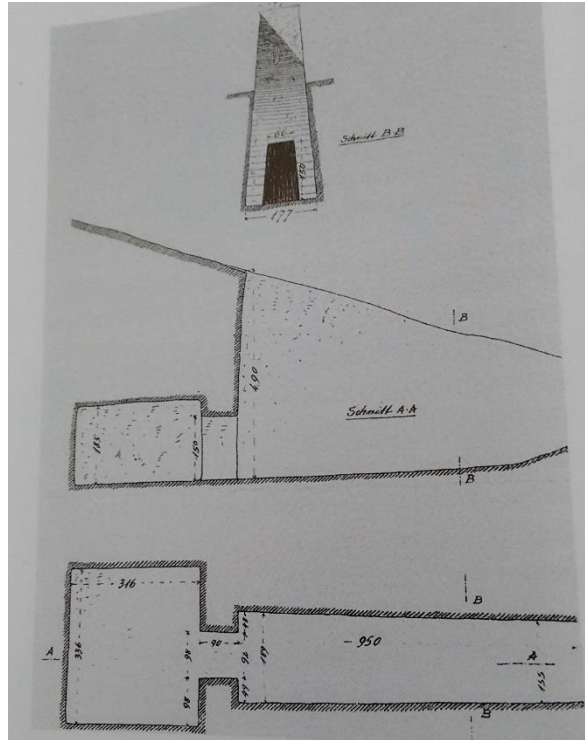


Fig. 71: Plan of the Mycenaean chamber tomb D 33 from Değirmentepe.³⁴⁰

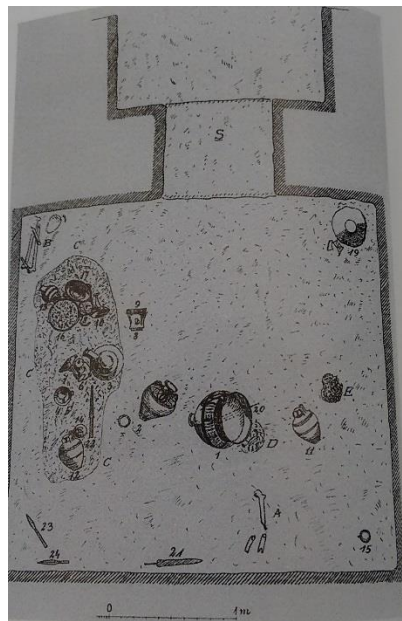


Fig. 72: Plan of chamber tomb D 33 with its grave goods.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Niemeier 1998, 36, photo 10.

³⁴¹ Niemeier 1998, 36, photo 11.



Fig. 73: Beads made out of blue glass from chamber tomb 2 at Değirmentepe.³⁴²



Fig. 74: Rosettes made out of gold from chamber tomb 8 at Değirmentepe.³⁴³

³⁴² Niemeier 2005, pl. 20.

³⁴³ Niemeier 2005, pl. 21.



Fig. 75: Bead made out of glass from tomb 2 at Dendra.³⁴⁴



Fig. 76: Necklace with rosettes made out of gold from Dendra.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Higgins 1961, fig. 8, group D.

³⁴⁵ Persson 1931, pl. XVIII.



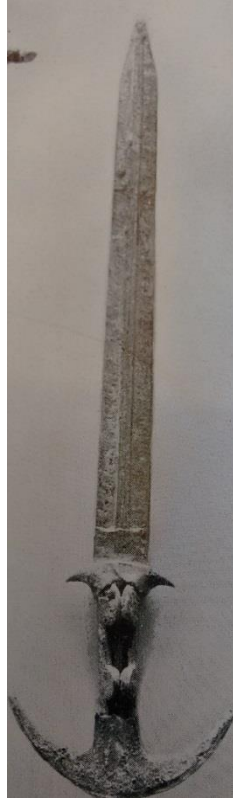
*Fig. 77: Bronze swords from chamber tomb 7 at Değirmentepe.*³⁴⁶



*Fig. 78: Finds from the Değirmentepe chamber tombs.*³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Niemeier 2005, 19, fig. 39.

³⁴⁷ Niemeier 1998, 37, photo 12.



*Fig. 79: Bronze sword from Tell Atchana.*³⁴⁸



*Fig. 80: Bronze sword from Ugarit.*³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ Woolley 1955, 274, pl. LXX, AT/36/4.

³⁴⁹ Schaeffer 1956, 277, pl. X.

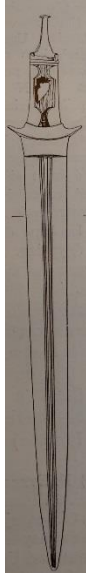


Fig. 81: Drawing of a bronze sword from Ugarit.³⁵⁰



Fig. 82: Bronze sword from Değirmentepe.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Schaeffer 1956, 172, fig. 124.

³⁵¹ Niemeier 2005, 19, fig. 39.



*Fig. 83: Bronze sword from Ugarit.*³⁵²



*Fig. 84: The rock relief at Karabel A.*³⁵³

³⁵² Sandars 1963, pl. 27, fig. 58.

³⁵³ Hawkins 1998, 3, fig. 2.

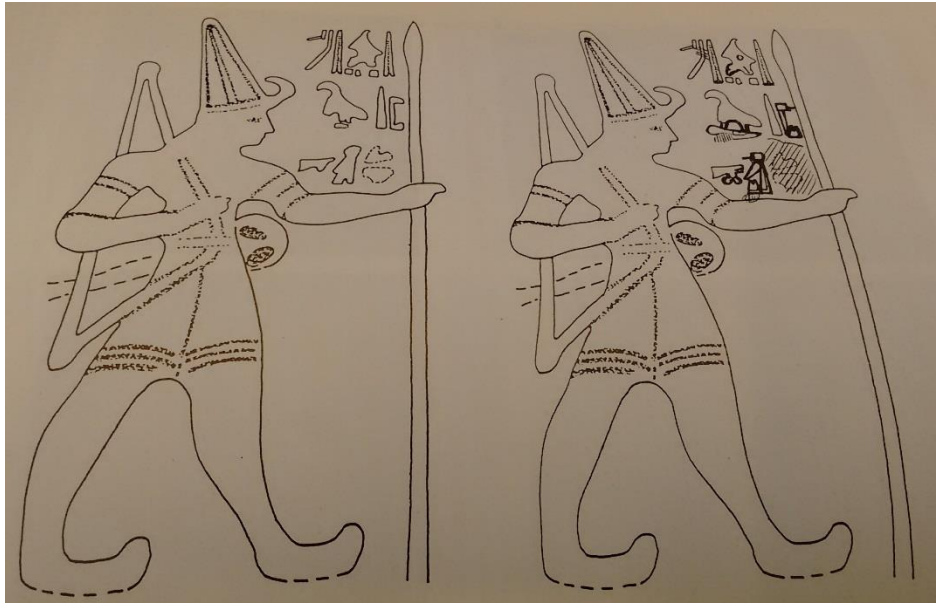


Fig. 85: Drawing of the rock relief at Karabel A.³⁵⁴



Fig. 86: Depiction of king Šuppiliuma II as a warrior figure from room 2 at Hattuša.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Hawkins 1998, 6, fig. 4a and b.

³⁵⁵ Ehringhaus 2005, 34, fig. 54.

8. Abbreviations

Aegaeum	Aegaeum: Annales d' Archaeologie égéenne de l' Université de Liège
AJA	Americal Journal of Archaeology
AnatSt	Anatolian Studies
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Historia	Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JAnthArch	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
Kadmos	Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
Paléorient	Paléorient: Interdisciplinary Review of Prehistory and Protohistory of southwestern Asia
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo - Anatolici
Talanta	Talanta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society
WorldArch	World Archaeology

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