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ḪATTI, TROY, AND THE BALKANS: ANATOLIAN-BALKAN INTERACTIONS DURING

THE LATE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGES (1300-1000 BC)

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A Note on the Maps

Some maps that have been created with ArcGIS depict the least-cost paths (LCP) between different Bronze Age sites (indicated with a colored polyline). The LCP analysis models the easiest route of travel between two points for *one* traveler accounting for factors such as slope, landcover, and water. This gives a good approximation of the route for larger forces, as observed in historical records, although they may vary.

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Abstract

This dissertation proposes an alternative explanation to the oft-cited Balkan migration narrative of the Early Iron Age as described in Herodotus. The multi-causal narrative presented argues that the Hittite Empire sought to secure resources to maintain its economy from the Aegean region. In the Aegean region, the Hittites faced their rival, the Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa and its Arzawan allies, who prevented Hittite access to Western Anatolia, the Aegean and Europe. Muwatalli II's move of the capital to Tarḫuntašša rectified this problem in tandem with the annexation of Troy. I argue that his actions created a supply route from the Balkans and Central Europe on one end into Anatolia and Cilicia, allowing European influences into Anatolia once the Hittite Empire collapsed. I argue that the Hittite Empire's collapse came in part from the opening of this route, isolating the old Hittite heartland in Central Anatolia from the riches of Europe and shifting the economic center of gravity to Cilicia, Phrygia, and the Dardanelles.

Introduction

Greek tradition asserts that Balkan invaders established themselves as rulers in Central and Northwestern Anatolia after the Trojan War (traditionally dated to ca. 1200BC). Herodotus recounts the migration of the Bryges (*Βρύγοι* or *Βρίγες*), a Balkan ethnic group (Gk. *ethnos*) from Macedonia that re-emerged in Central Anatolia as the Phrygians (*Φρύγες*).[1] Strabo tells that the Danubian Mysians (*Μυσοί*) settled the south coast of the Sea of Marmara around the same time.[2] Archaeologists and other scholars have relied on such accounts, among other limited evidence, to explain the political, cultural, material, and linguistic changes in Anatolia following the splintering of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century BC. Older hypotheses postulated that such invaders had played a role in the destruction of the Hittite Empire and the burning of Ḫattuša, although this line of thought is no longer accepted.[3]

Archaeological migration narratives generally fall into two categories: one-time invasion models or wave of advance models. The mass migration model, best encapsulated in the "sea peoples" narrative of the Medinet Habu war reliefs of Ramses III, posits a single, sudden invasion of a region at the hands of foreigners who are often depicted as some sort of "other," a

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[1] "As the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called *Briges* as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbors of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also and were called Phrygians." Herodotus, *Histories* 7.73. The term *ethnos* refers to peoples whom the Greeks considered related through common traditions and/or mythological descent. Greek writers created *ethnoi* to define Greek identity, lumping different groups under labels such as "Thracian," "Illyrian," "Phrygian," and "Scythian," linguistic terms that conceal the diversity found within these groupings. Thus, the idea of *Hellas* was created. For an excellent explanation of ethnicity and comparison, see Munson 2001, chapter 2.

[2] "…in the Thirteenth Book one should read "Moesi, hand-to-hand fighters" instead of "Mysi, hand-to-hand fighters." Strabo, *Geography* 7.3.3. Strabo bases his addendum on the existence of Thracian Mysians in his own time. Modern Thracologists differ on this equation. See Fol and Spiridonov 1983, 199.

[3] See Gimbutas 1963. This is based on the "barbarian invasions" narrative, positing a mass invasion by uncivilized outsiders. It is drawn from Greco-Roman sources, which and simplifies the narrative into a binary of actors. For a refutation, see Sams 2011.

common trope in Egyptian and Near Eastern narratives.[4] The wave of advance model is similar,

but instead of a single invasion, posits the arrivals of multiple waves of invaders, and is the

current model for Balkan migration into Anatolia.[5] Blegen hypothesized a Balkan migration

based on pottery at Troy VIIa and VIIb1, which he connected to Thrace and the Carpathian

Basin, a position that has been upheld in more recent literature.[6] He termed these "coarse ware"

and "knobbed ware" (Ger. *Buckelkeramik*), which had no value as imports to the Trojan elite due

to their crude nature.[7] Since Troy VIIb1 had also been rebuilt in a different manner from its

predecessors, Blegen considered this package of findings representative of newcomers. [8] His

findings confirmed Heinrich Schliemann's suspicions of Troy's Balkan connections from finds

of weaponry in the city during the 1870's, whose closest parallels were from Moldova, Ukraine,

and Transylvania.[9] Blegen's interpretation of new material has led to one-dimensional

explanations of Balkan-Anatolian interactions in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

Scholars have tended to uncritically ascribe change in the region to Balkan arrivals, opening the

problem of equating material culture with later *ethnoi*.[10]

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[4] For problems with the ideology-driven mass migration narratives of Medinet Habu, see Drews 2000, especially 167-171.

[5] Vassileva 2005, 228 and Koppenhöfer 1997, 341. Schachner 2020, 398 alludes to sudden Balkan population movements in relation to destructions in southeastern Anatolia, demonstrating that this still around and well.

[6] Chabot Aslan and Hnila 2015, 187-89.

[7] Blegen 1963, 167-172 and Blegen *et al.* 1950, 144. The knobbed ware persisted at Troy until the Proto-Geometric period (ca. 1050-900BC). See Aslan, *et al.* 2014 for the Proto-Geometric.

[8] Ibid., 167-68. Blegen found that the builders of Troy VIIb1 had merged many houses together and blocked off many of the city's old gates in a break from the previous layers.

[9] Schliemann and Virchow 1880 and Gimbutas 1965, 39-40. "Priam's Treasure," a Troy II gold hoard discovered under Schliemann, contained influences from Ukraine and Moldova, evidence for Troy's close Bronze Age cultural relations with those areas. Archaeological evidence in Bulgaria suggests that they continued into the Late Bronze Age too.

[10] Strobel 2005, 201-203 rejects tying pottery to Phrygians or any specific *ethnos*, since there is no unified "Phrygian material culture." Genz 2005 also cautions against attributing all new

Today, models of Balkan-Anatolian interaction are more sophisticated versions of migratory narratives that add artistic, religious, and linguistic parallelisms between the two regions to the migratory narratives.[11] The Phrygian language, upon which Herodotus' migration narrative rests, belongs to the Paleo-Balkan group of languages, a loose grouping of presumed Indo-European languages including Paeonian, Dacian, Thracian, and Illyrian, which have left too little evidence to be properly grouped.[12] Linguists like Leonid Gindin, for instance, have focused on language contact between these languages and Anatolia (usually in the context of migratory movements), while archaeologists have focused on the movement of symbols, deities, myths, and motifs (again through migration).[13] While these studies are better than simplistic migration models, they run into similar issues, namely assuming that languages, cultures, and material remains can be grouped together into neat packages that can be mapped onto regions such as Phrygia, Troy or Thrace, as Maya Vassileva proposes.[14] These models, while providing clear evidence for contact, do not explain the processes that resulted in the parallelisms and are

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shapes to the Balkans, since some resemble older local forms that resurfaced after the Hittite Empire splintered. For an excellent summary of the problems of equating ethnicity with material culture, see Emberling 1997.

[11] Archaeologists admit these problems, but lack of evidence leaves little else to go with. See Tuna *et al.* 1998.

[12] Kempiński 1984, 40-43 and Janakiewa 1997, 289-299. These languages are barely attested and mostly reconstructed from glosses and substrata in modern languages such as Romanian and Albanian. Their closest living relatives are Greek and Armenian. In ancient times, they spilled over into Northwestern Anatolia. For an alternative view for Phrygian's Anatolian origin and westward spread, see Drews 1993. Linguists connect the name *Bryges* to the PIE *bheregh*, "a high or elevated place" with cognates in other IE languages. (e.g. Slavic *bereg*, "shore or riverbank," Germanic *burg*, "fortified town," among others). See López Férez 2014.

[13] Vassileva 1998, 14. She correctly notes that Phrygia and Thrace shared the importance of rock monuments and sanctuaries, water deities, and orgiastic mystery cults of deities such as Matar Kubileya, the main goddess of the Phrygian pantheon. Nikov 2000, 303-308 correctly provenances Phrygian stamped pottery to Plovdiv in Bulgaria, another instance of parallelism.

[14] Vassileva 1998. Vassileva's analysis postulates the existence of a common cultural zone encompassing these three regions.

dependent on classical Greek paradigms rather Bronze Age ones. This gives the appearance that contact simply occurred during the Iron Age, instead of resulting from historical processes related to Late Bronze events and interests of different state and non-state actors, a problem that Iacovou attributed to archaeologists' tendency to treat the Bronze-Iron transition as a hard break, rather than an artificial boundary scholars have created.[15]

The processes behind Late Bronze and Early Iron Age migratory movements are difficult to untangle because archaeological evidence linking Late Bronze Age Anatolia to the Balkans is lacking. The Late Bronze Age record of Balkan interaction with the Near East is restricted to one piece of cuneiform evidence, a clay globe with the possible sign sequences LU-KI-LU and LU-MU from Vattina in modern Serbia.[16] Aside from some amber and a single sherd of potential Trojan gray ware from the hilltop settlement of Dragojna (in the Rhodope Mountains of Bulgaria), there is virtually no significant material evidence directly linking Late Bronze Age Anatolia to the Balkans.[17] Adding to the problem, archaeologists in the past have dismissed Bronze Age Thrace as a semi-nomadic periphery with limited archaeological value.[18] Thracian scholarship has been weighted towards the classical era, when texts discussing Thrace (apart from Homeric epic) appear and provide a clearer picture of the region from an ethno-linguistic point of view.[19] As a result, migratory narratives are the only available narratives based on the

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[15] Iacovou 2007, 461.

[16] For the objects, see Masson 1971, 31 and Milleker 1905, 41.

[17] Kozal 2017. For the pottery sherd of possible Trojan ware, see Pavúk 2017, 108.

[18] Özdoğan, 2003. This theory contradicts archaeological evidence that had been presented as early as the 1980's in Bulgarian research (e.g. Venedikov 1987 and the articles in Александров 2017).

[19] Books on Thrace, such as the *Companion to Ancient Thrace* (Valeva *et al.* 2015) barely contain any material on the Bronze Age and focus on later periods, when Greek narratives are available. Most pre-2000 scholarship regarding pre-Classical Thrace is written in Bulgarian or Russian and is inaccessible to English-language scholars.

evidence and assumptions archaeologists have used. Using new evidence, this dissertation will seek to challenge the narrative that places migration at the center of Balkan-Anatolian relations and the assumptions that underlie it.

Instead of focusing on migratory narratives that have resulted from the tendency to separate the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, this dissertation will combine scholarship from Hittite Anatolia, Bronze Age Greece, and Thrace to construct a narrative of Anatolian-Balkan interactions and their economic and geopolitical implications for Anatolia. Scholarly assumptions for the old migratory narratives are that Balkan-Anatolian relations began suddenly in the Iron Age, that Thrace was peripheral, and that the states of Late Bronze Age Anatolia were not informed of the Balkans. New evidence has been changing this picture and provides a more complete picture for interactions between the three regions. Most significantly, Hittitologists have progressed in uncovering the inner workings of the Hittite economy and its links to religion, a difficult subject due to a lack of texts. Burgin's recent proposal has shown that the Hittite government supplied the ritual economy on the Anatolian plateau via temples, through which it conducted the rituals for the land's fertility, a major step towards understanding the Hittite economy and its relation to Hittite expansionism.[20] The most significant discoveries have been in Bulgaria, where archaeologists have uncovered a wealthy Bronze Age network of interregionally-connected Thracian polities.[21] These discoveries along with older scholarship on Hittite conflicts with Aḫḫiyawa in Western Anatolia provide a basis for a narrative of competing economic and strategic interests between Bronze Age states that sought to mobilize wealth from Europe.

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[20] Burgin 2016 combined with inventory texts presented in Košak 1982 points to such a model.
[21] E.g. Александров 2017 or Haag *et al* 2017.

To fill in the methodological gaps, this dissertation will analyze Balkan-Anatolian interactions from the viewpoint of competing geopolitical interests on the Aegean coast of Anatolia. Hittitologists have a skeletal narrative of the Hittite conflict with Aḫḫiyawa in Western Anatolia, but its greater geopolitical implications and motivations have not been fully fleshed out. Although this is partly due to fragmentary texts, it is also because much of the evidence necessary to complete the picture comes from Bulgaria, outside the field of Hittitology. Hittitologists have also not properly accounted for the role of minor states, who negotiated their survival and interests between Hittite and Aḫḫiyawan attempts to manipulate them. Finally, Hittitologists have not adequately explained the role of independent adventurers/entrepeneurs, despite research in Bronze Age Europe, mostly by Kristian Kristiansen, demonstrating their outsized roles in cultural and technological transmission and capacity to influence politics of much larger foes.[22]

These issues in Hittitological narratives converge on a central problem in the discipline's engagement with Hittite expansion in the Aegean region. Aegean scholars have adequately explained the Aḫḫiyawan economic and political interests in Western Anatolia. Scholars such as Thomas Tartaron, Thomas Palaima, and Enrico Scafa among others have shown that the Aegean kingdoms of Greece were heavily dependent on trade, making expansion into Western Anatolia's markets a necessity to maintain the palatial lifestyle in a resource-poor Greece.[23] Hittitologists

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[22] Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015. An excellent example of adventurers outside of Ḫatti is the problem of Aziru and Abdi-Аširta in Amurru. These stateless men carved out their own kingdom at Egypt's expense, and were one of the major causes of war between Egypt and Ḫatti that eventually culminated in the Battle of Qadesh. See Moran 1991 for references to the two *ḫabiru* and their activities in the Levant. This dissertation will discuss the adventurers Piyamaradu and Attaršiya in the Hittite context.

[23] E.g. Tartaron 2013, Palaima 2007 and 2012, Scafa 2006. Tartaron has proposed a model for trade in the Mycenaean world in which small-time merchants were the primary agents of trade,

and Anatolian archaeologists, on the other hand, have not adequately explained Ḫatti's involvement in Western Anatolia and the Troad. Current narratives vaguely assess Hittite intervention in Western Anatolia as containment of rivals, rather than exploring the possibility that there were bigger motivations at play.[24] Only Jak Yakar and James Mellaart have cited economic motivations, but neither ever expanded on a possible European facet despite hinting at its existence.[25]

Hittitology is missing the link between Hittite political/ritual economy, Hittite territoriality, expansionism, and foreign policy, and trade/commerce. Evidence is now available from recent work on Hittite ideas of territoriality and the function of the state that allow a reinterpretation for the Hittite relationships with Western Anatolia, the Troad, and the Balkans. Archaeologists such as Claudia Glatz and Lee Ullman have deduced, from the placement of rock monuments and settlements, that the Hittite state and economy were focused on maintaining the land of Ḫatti and the *Labarna*'s ability to perform rituals for its protector gods.[26] Since the ritual economy required a bureaucracy and military to maintain, it is plausible, based on Hittite evidence from inventory texts and archaeological evidence from places such as Troy, to deduce that Hittite expansion in Western Anatolia had underlying economic motivations, namely access to the Aegean, Troy, and by extension, the Balkans. The goods available from this area could go

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although theoretically, demand from the large palaces in mainland Greece such as Mycenae, was the main driver of commercial activity.
[24] Bryce 2005. While containment was certainly a motive, especially after Ḫatti's near-destruction at the hands of the Arzawan Confederacy under Tudḫaliya II, it was not the only one.
[25] Yakar 1976 and Mellaart 1968. Yakar proposes a Hittite interest in tin mines and hints at an interest in accessing Europe, although neither ever expand upon this. Nevertheless, they are the only scholars among Hittitologists that proposed a European connection.
[26] Ullman 2014. Ullman argues that Hittite settlements were not laid out for economic purposes but for religious ones, meaning that Ḫatti's main reason for existence was the maintenance of the rituals that kept the land of Ḫatti healthy and productive. See also Glatz 2011 and 2014.

to the maintenance of this ritual economy, which required resources to perform the many rituals for the land's well-being.

This dissertation will construct a narrative that ties Balkan influence in Anatolia to the Hittite annexation of Wiluša (Troy), a wealthy region contested between Ḫatti and its Aḫḫiyawan rivals, and the move of the Hittite capital to the Cilician city of Tarḫuntašša.[27] A proper narrative must also address the relationships between the Hittite political/religious economy, territoriality and expansionism, and the empire's ultimate collapse as a result of these events. The Hittites had a keen interest in Troy throughout the empire's existence, but it spiked during the reign of Muwatalli II (ca. 1295-72BC), when the Hittite Empire annexed it as a client state. Ḫatti's motivations are tied to relations with the Western Anatolian states and Aḫḫiyawa. Muwatalli's annexation coincided with a spate of Aḫḫiyawan and Arzawan attacks against Hittite interests throughout Western Anatolia and with the Assyrian conquest of Ḫatti's Mitannian territories.[28]

Muwatalli's actions indicate a Hittite economic interest in controlling Troy (by extension opening access to Thrace and the rest of Europe). Troy's importance to regional trade networks (especially the Balkans and Central Europe) is clear from the city's position and from finds of trade weights from the Black Sea and the Aegean.[29] In tandem with Troy's annexation,

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[27] Cline 2008. He defines "contested periphery" as an area between two large states at the crossroads of major trade routes. Troy controlled the Dardanelles, a major choke point and trade route of the Bronze Age, so this description is apt considering the Hittite-Aḫḫiyawans conflict over it.

[28] For a general history, see Bryce 2005. This is contrary to Hittitological consensus, which sees Muwatalli's reign as the height of Ḫatti's power and stability. He was faced with existential threats to his empire and was forced to reorganize it.

[29] Korfmann 1998. Finds of different weight measures from Eastern and Central Europe and the Caucasus confirm the presence of traders from these areas at Troy. See Кубышев и Черняков 1985 and Bobokhyan, 2009.

Muwatalli moved the Hittite capital to the Cilician city of Tarḫuntašša.[30] The great king's actions indicate that the Hittite Empire's primary motivation for its involvement in the Troad was to reopen the Great Caravan Route of the EBA and MBA (which ended near Tarḫuntašša) to compensate for Aḫḫiyawan and Assyrian obstruction of trade routes at both ends of the empire.[31] In doing so, Muwatalli kept an economic lifeline to the Balkans and Central Europe open for the maintenance of Hittite institutions that his rivals could not easily disrupt.

Ironically, Muwatalli's policies to save the Hittite Empire destroyed it under his successors, who yielded the wealth of Europe and the Balkans to their subjects in Cilicia. Although the Hittites opened the door for Balkan influence in Central Anatolia, it was the empire's collapse that allowed it to surface and eventually crystallize into the Kingdom of Phrygia. This dissertation will address the role of the Balkan route between Troy and Cilicia in Ḫatti's collapse from an economic perspective, which is attributed to foreign invasion and internal strife.[32] While both played a role in Ḫatti's collapse, little has been said about the deterioration of the Hittite heartland around Hattuša, which became the capital again under Muršili III, despite archaeological evidence for this.[33] I will argue that the Hittite Empire in part collapsed because Muwatalli II had funneled all of Europe and Troy's wealth to Tarḫuntašša, weakening Ḫattuša's authority. Once the empire collapsed in the face of its wealthier and more powerful Cilician and Syrian subjects, Central Anatolia was left wide open for paleo-Balkan-speakers to establish themselves in the region, culminating in the creation of the Kingdom of Phrygia.

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[30] Tarḫuntašša's exact location is unknown, but probably lay in Cilicia or somewhere just North of it. See Jones 2019 for alternative locations north of the Taurus.
[31] Turan 2007.
[32] Millek 2017 and Bryce 2005, 304-305.
[33] Schachner 2011.

Methodology

One of the major issues with current scholarship on Late Bronze Age interactions

between Anatolia and the Balkans is the ahistorical geopolitical framework based on modern or

Classical paradigms. For virtually every single other period in history, the Balkans and parts of

Anatolia are treated as a common entity, not as separate regions.[34] During the Early and Middle

Bronze Ages, scholars have proposed Anatolian colonization of the Southeastern Balkans around

2000BC, pointing to the close ties between the two shores of the Sea of Marmara and areas as far

as Cilicia and modern Ukraine.[35] A "great caravan route" ran through Central Anatolia and

connected the Troad with Cilicia and Syria.[36] Evidence from Ḫattuša suggests that these links

continued into the Late Bronze Age. If these networks were around in the Late Bronze Age, then

the geographic units of analysis must reflect that world instead of large, modern macro-regions

such as "Anatolia" or "the Balkans."[37]

Narratives of Balkan-Anatolian interaction have remained simple and grounded in

migration because they rely on analysis of large areas absent from the Late Bronze Age historical

record. I propose to rectify this by breaking up Anatolia and the Balkans into the following

regions: Central Anatolia (Ḫatti), Western Anatolia (Hitt. Arzawa, Karkiya, *et alia* but excluding

the Troad), Aḫḫiyawa (the Mycenaean states of Attica, the Peloponnese, and Boeotia), the

Dardanelles (Wiluša/the Troad and Turkish Thrace), Thrace (modern Bulgaria, Northern

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[34] For summaries of the close EBA and MBA relations between the Troad and Southeastern
Europe, see Özdoğan, 2011a, Kohl 2007, Özdoğan 2011b, Şahoğlu, 2005, and Leshtakov 2002.
[35] For interaction with the North Balkans, esp. modern Romania, see Mellaart 1960, 270-273.
[36] This is the main thesis in Turan 2007. For the EBA and MBA parallelisms between Central
Anatolia, Troy, Cilicia and the Balkans, see Bevan 1989 and Harris 1925. For the Duplje chariot,
which depicts a goddess pulled by swans, see Gimbutas 1965, plate 67: 1-3. For Anatolian
parallelisms with Vulchitrun, see Venedikov 1987, 88-89.
[37] Bittel 1976, 154-55. The discovery of a 15th century aquatic bird vessel at Hattuša suggests that
Anatolia's links with the Balkans endured into the Late Bronze Age.

Macedonia, and Northern Greece), and the North Balkans (the Carpathian Basin and modern Romania).[38] These sub-regions better reflect the cultural and political diversity of the LBA and allow an analysis based on Bronze Age texts without a reliance on Greco-Roman or modern geographical conceptions.

This division of Anatolia and the Balkans allows one to account for geopolitical interests and interactions in the various sub-regions as attested in texts. By considering the interests of the subregions and those of their rulers, it becomes easier to construct a nuanced narrative based on economic integration, migration, and competing state interests rather than an *ex nihilo* migration-only narrative. Analyses of Late Bronze Age texts, Homeric epic, and other mythical traditions are a valuable source for constructing this narrative because they contain many small but oft-overlooked details that may not be preserved in the archaeological record, such as attestations of weaponry, *ethnoi*, and diplomatic alliances that have been overlooked. This dissertation will include a careful review of different texts ranging from Homeric epic to Hittite, Akkadian, and Egyptian historical, economic, and diplomatic texts. Although these texts have been analyzed and interpreted repeatedly, scholars have missed many small details that provide important information of their Bronze Age setting. These details are mostly concerned with the relationship between the different actors, which allow the different texts to be strung together into a coherent long-term narrative supplemented with archaeological evidence from Bulgaria and Greece.

Background to Anatolian-European Interaction

The incorporation of the Hittites into a narrative of Balkan-Anatolian relations is at first strange because Europe (aside from Greece) is never mentioned in the Hittite corpus.

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[38] This dissertation will use "Mycenaean" to mean the material culture of Bronze Age Greece, the Greek language spoken among the Achaean ruling class, and for referring specifically to the city of Mycenae. It is not an ethnic moniker since the idea of a Greek *ethnos* did not exist yet.

Hittitologists have completely ignored Europe outside of relations with the Aegean state of Aḫḫiyawa.[39] Despite the few but significant texts regarding Wiluša, Hittitologists have not connected Ḫatti with Europe via Wiluša's network of European contacts that are attested in the *Iliad*. Archaeological scholarship outside of Bulgaria has also not concerned itself with the Balkans due to a lack of evidence, with the significant exception of excavations at Maydos-Kilisetepe on the Gallipoli Peninsula. The few scholars that hint at relations between the two regions have discussed the Hittite procurement of tin from Central Europe, the only possible route out of reach of Ḫatti's enemies.[40] These proposals, although not widely accepted among Hittitologists, provide an economic motive for Hittite involvement in the Aegean and the Dardanelles. Any such involvement undercut Aḫḫiyawa and their allies' influence in the region, who coveted access to the Black Sea.[41]

While Near Eastern archaeologists and Hittitologists have sidelined the Balkans, archaeologists of Bronze Age Europe and linguists have tackled this question from the perspective of language contact. Gindin has explored relationships between Luwian and the paleo-Balkan languages, indicating that there are toponyms, hydronyms, and loanwords common to both languages that cannot be explained through paleo-Balkan roots.[42] Such toponyms include Mt. Parnassos and the Greek Black Sea city of Salmydessos, which both have the *-a/essos*

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[39] For the most recent editions of these texts, see Beckman *et al.* 2011). For the newest edition of the main text, the Tawagalawa Letter, see Heinhold-Krahmer *et al.* 2019). The author was not able to obtain the 2019 edition due to the coronavirus.

[40] Yakar 1976, Bouzek 1972, 156-164, and Gimbutas 1965, 88-89. Yakar proposed Hittite involvement in Western Anatolia to protect tin supplied from the Czech Republic, which entered Anatolia via the Troad. Bouzek has catalogued the presence of Anatolian religious figurines in Central and Eastern Europe, attesting to these trade links between these regions and Anatolia, while Marija Gimbutas cited a statue of the Hurrian storm god Teššob found in Lithuania as evidence for such trade.

[41] de Boer 2006.

[42] Гиндин 1993.

ending. Such toponyms also appear in Anatolia, such as the Pisidian city of Sagalassos. Gindin and Katičić identified the ending as the Luwian genitival adjective, suggesting that Luwian was once spoken on both sides of the Sea of Marmara or there was a common pre-Indo-European substrate.[43] Thus, the Aegean and the Dardanelles connected Western Anatolia, Greece and Thrace, instead of dividing them, which has been the common wisdom for most of history except for the LBA. This method runs into the usual problems of migration, material culture, ethnicity, and language, and therefore is insufficient for explaining the complex interactions that led to the entrance of Balkan features into Anatolia. Nevertheless, it demonstrates continuous language exchange (and therefore person-to-person interaction) between the two regions as late as the Bronze Age, which could have encompassed the economic and diplomatic realms too.

The linguistic exchange between Anatolia and Europe suggests that people moved between the shores of the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara mostly for commercial purposes, although personal, diplomatic, and military reasons are possible too. The distance between the ancient city of Sestos, located on the Thracian Chersonese on the European side of the Hellespont and the opposite city of Abydos, located at the Nara Burnu promontory on the Asian side next to Troy, is a mere three miles, hardly a difficult distance to cross. A series of trade routes between the Baltic Sea and Eastern Europe and the Near East and Central Asia converged in the area. These trade routes allowed languages, symbols, ideas, and ideologies to travel great distances. Although language is difficult to trace due to a dearth of texts in Europe, the others are preserved in iconography in the archaeological record. In the case of Europe, Kristian

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[43] Katičić 1976 and Гиндин 1993. While Luwian has been proposed as the primary pre-Greek substrate, Katičić notes that there were probably many languages in the Balkans, some Indo-European and others not. Therefore, it would be unwise to assume any sort of simplistic migratory explanations for language movement in this region as Gindin tends to sometimes do.

Kristiansen and Thomas Larsson have proposed the appropriation of Hittite, Western Anatolian, and Near Eastern symbols in Europe through multiple trade routes (e.g. the Dardanelles and the Adriatic) as far North as Scandinavia.[44] Although Kristiansen and Larsson's hypothesis is not considered consensus among Hittitologists, their proposal provides a strong framework for analyzing Balkan-Anatolian relations through the circulation of goods, people, and ideas.
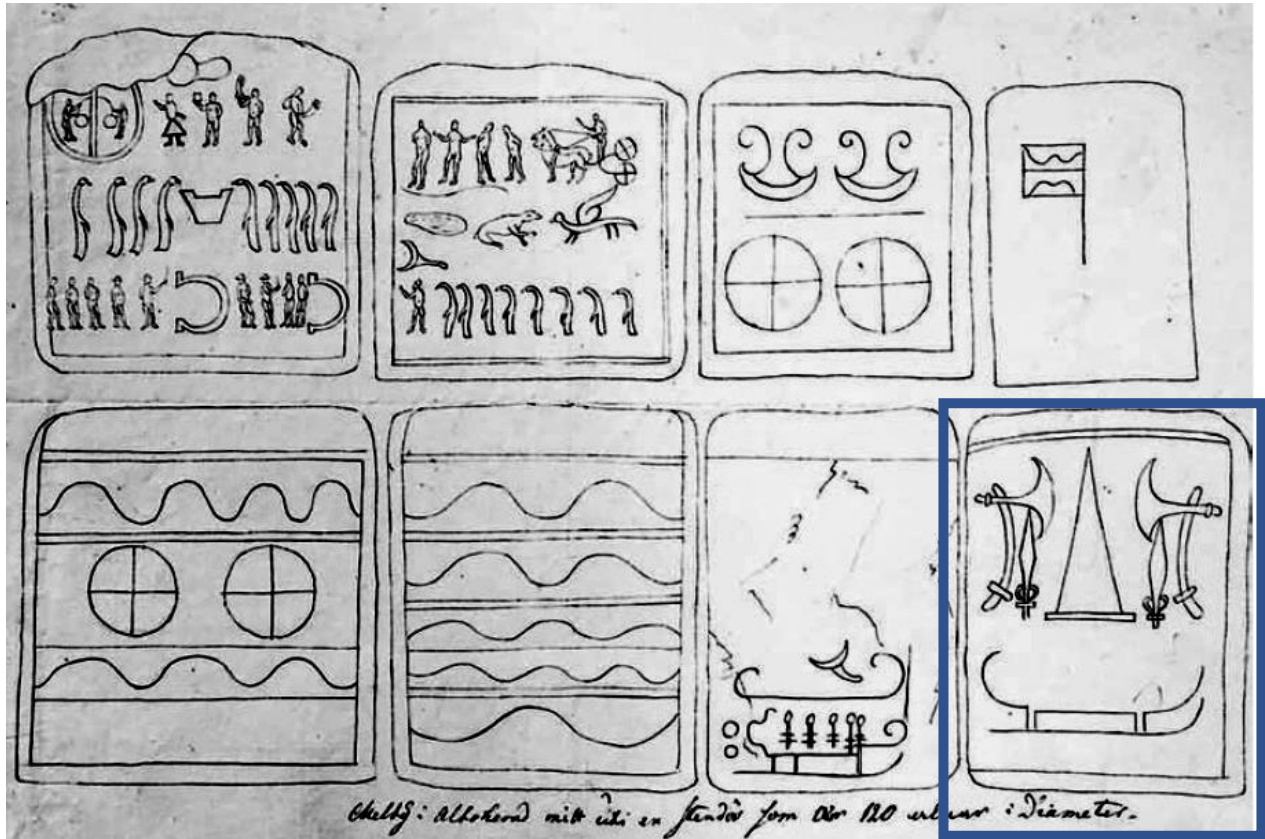
Figure 1: Kivik art. The lower-right one has been compared Hittite royal seals. Drawing by A.G. Feldt in Toreld and Andersson 2015, 11.

Evidence from the Nordic Bronze Age

The Nordic Bronze Age provides an excellent case study for the transmission of symbology and technology between distant regions, which can then be applied to the Balkans and Anatolia. Nordic Bronze Age art has certain features that can be traced back to the Near East

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[44] Kristiansen and Larsson 2005.

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and the Aegean. Scandinavian Bronze Age rulers appropriated Near Eastern symbology via

Greece and Anatolia.[45] The relationship is best seen in the Nordic Bronze Age center of Kivik in

southern Sweden. The Kivik chieftains employed three major symbols of power: the axe, the

conical hat, and the ship, as depicted in the "King's Grave (ca. 1400 BC)."[46] The Kivik burials

depict a conical hat topped with axes (**Figure 1**), which Kristiansen and Larsson devote much of

their attention to. The double axes (Gk. *labrys*) are Aegean imports from Minoan Crete, where

they were symbols of royal power.[47] The ruling classes of Kivik sought to illustrate their foreign

contacts to reinforce their high status, and adopted them when they permeated into Northern

Europe through commercial contacts via the Western Balkans and the Adriatic.[48] Not all

symbols at Kivik have Minoan or Mycenaean origins, though, suggesting the existence of a

second route linking Scandinavia to Anatolia.

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[45] Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 185-92.

[46] The ship shows Near Eastern and Aegean influences. This will come up again later and is of paramount importance. Here, possible Hittite influences on Nordic Bronze Age iconography are of greater interest. See Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 190.

[47] The borrowing of this symbol in Anatolia and Europe points to the wide reach of Minoan traders from whom the symbol probably originated. The interaction between the North Balkans and Crete may have led to the creation of the Linear A script, which shows resemblances with signs found in the North Balkans, although it is unclear if the Balkan "inscriptions" are writing. For this issue, see Melas 1988 and Hooker 1992. These were also found in Iron Age Caria. Herodotus claimed that the Carians were from the Aegean Islands whom King Minos had expelled to Anatolia. While the animosity mentioned in the tale is probably a later creation, Bronze Age Caria was primarily an Aegean-oriented society, which is reflected in the Hittite records. See Herodotus. *Histories*, 1.171

[48] The relation between the Aegean and the Nordic Bronze Age has been contested as too speculative. For a review of this, see Nordquist and Whittaker 2007.
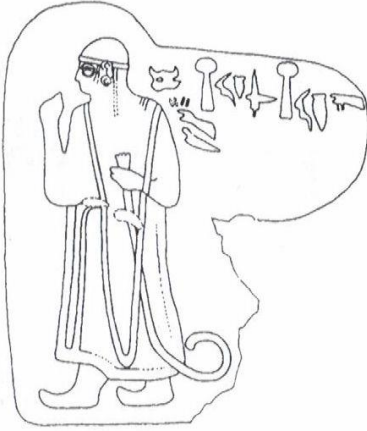
Figure 2: Sirkeli Relief of Muwatalli II. Originally from Akurgal 2001
https://www.hittitemonuments.com/sirkeli/sirkeli02.jpg

The Kivik burials contain a second set of symbols with resemblance to motifs and clothing depicted on Hittite seals and rock monuments. Kristiansen and Larsson have noted that Hittite royal symbols, such as the Luwian hieroglyph REX (king) appear on Kivik exemplars (**Figure 1 with blue square**). This hieroglyph represents the conical hat depicted on reliefs such as Tudḫaliya IV's Yazılıkaya sanctuary in Ḫattuša. The layout and placing of the axes above the hat is reminiscent of the placing of the MAGNUS sign above the REX sign in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions and imperial seals, although they have been turned 90 degrees clockwise.[49] The Kivik burials also contained chiefly attire, which mirrors almost exactly the dress of the Hittite Great King Muwatalli II (ca. 1295–1272 BC) in the Sirkeli Inscription (**Figure 2**), a startling similarity in symbols of power.[50]

The typological similarities point to an Anatolian origin. expansion of European Bronze Age polities reliant on commerce allowed social, political and economic influence from the Aegean via travelling merchants and warriors.[51] Although Kristiansen and Larsson do not elaborate on the means of transmission to Scandinavia, but Southeastern Balkans are the best candidate. Given Ḫatti's geographical position in Anatolia, Thrace and the Black Sea should have played a significant role in the transmission. Although the Hittites did not have direct

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[49] It is not currently known what the symbol MAGNUS in Luwian represents. It may be an axe head, like that carried by a warrior on the King's Gate at Hattuša.

[50] Kristiansen and Larsson 2005, 59.

[51] Ling and Stos-Gale 2015. The authors interpret rock art drawings as accurate depictions of Bronze Age travelers and traders' experiences. The presence of small quantities of Cypriot copper in Scandinavia and the depiction of Near Eastern boats supports this hypothesis.

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access to the Black Sea, Wiluša and Thrace made ideal intermediaries, since they lay astride the riverine routes into Central Europe and could be accessed from Central Anatolia. A Hittite statue of Teššob found on the Nemunas River in Lithuania strengthens the case for transmission to Baltic region via the Black Sea and Eastern Europe rather than the Adriatic, through which Aegean influences travelled.[52] Although there are no contemporary records of such relations, Greek tradition has preserved some memory of European-Anatolian Bronze Age relations in Homer's *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The Homeric Issue

The linguistic evidence of continuous contact between Late Bronze Age Thrace, the North Balkans, and the Troad along with the Kivik evidence point to long-distance commerce that required diplomatic relations to ensure their efficiency.[53] The largest obstacle for the study of these interactions is the complete lack of textual evidence outside of heroic tradition from either Anatolia or the Balkans. Homeric epic provides complementary evidence to the Hittite narratives, but this tradition is omitted in Balkan migration narratives, despite predating Herodotus by several centuries. The use of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as LBA historical narratives is controversial. Generally, as Susan Sherratt has noted, scholars have argued over what exactly is depicted in the epics, whether they were the product of the same individual, and if they present one consistent time period.[54] Classicists generally consider the poems reflections of Homer's

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[52] Gimbutas 1965, 88-89.

[53] Felding 2015 and Frei *et al*. 2015. The Egtved Girl is an excellent example of long-distance diplomacy and marriage conducted in Bronze Age Europe. In this case, a girl from Southern Germany was married to a chieftain in Jutland.

[54] Sherratt 1990. Scholars placed the epics' setting in one time period, usually the Archaic Period, although they contain different chronological layers.

time, while archaeologists assign them a post-palatial Iron Age date.[55] Scholars of Mycenaean

Greek have mostly or completely rejected them as well, with Linear B scholar John Chadwick

referring to Homer as a "pseudo-historian."[56] The most extreme view, articulated by Moses

Finley, argued that both epics are inventions of the 9th and 10th centuries.[57] Dickinson has

supported versions of this narrative and opposed any use of the epics for historical purposes.[58] To

make a case for Homer's historicity, it is necessary to carefully consider these arguments on their

merits and determine how much of the poems content can be realistically traced to the Bronze

Age.

Homeric epic's biggest problem lies in its multi-generational oral transmission before its

transcription in the 7th century BC. The core of the epics is at minimum based on real events

depicted in Hittite texts, a point many Hittitologists and Anatolian archaeologists generally

accept, and at most describes a historical event even if the poem may not accurately depict it.[59]

However, both epics were augmented over the course of 600 years until finally being written

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[55] Muhly 2003, 23-25. Muhly has referred to Odysseus as typical EIA warrior, a model based on plundering Sea Peoples of the LBA/EIA Mediterranean. This archetype could just as easily apply to the Mycenaean world, where raiding and piracy were economic mainstays, as seen in the Hittite corpus and in Homer's epics.

[56] Scholars such as Ünal, Sommer, Chadwick, and Kolb reject Homer's historicity. See Ünal 1991, 16-18, Chadwick 1969, and Chadwick 1976, 180-187. Chadwick calls Homer a "pseudo-historian."

[57] Finley 2002. He concluded that Homeric epic portrayed a timeless, idealized world outside of reality. He is correct to point out Homer's idyllic portrayal of the Heroic Age but relegates the setting to Homer's own time and dismissing the rich LBA material as anachronism.

[58] Dickinson 2016, 10-19. Dickinson correctly identifies anachronisms in both epics, especially in the *Odyssey*. However, to rule out any historical background for the epics, especially in the light of Hittite evidence, is more dangerous.

[59] This dissertation assumes that Homer's *Iliad* depicts a historical war (with some leeway for errors/anachronisms) that took place outside Hisarlık as Schliemann believed.

down in the 7th century BC, although the degree of change is debated.[60] To further complicate

matters, the extant textual record only goes back to Roman Egypt, although the existence of the

epics is attested earlier. Due to the confusing and multi-faceted nature of transmission over the

centuries, scholars are correct to be skeptical of anachronisms, especially in the *Odyssey*. In the

Iliad, sections such as the *Catalogue of Ships* may have combined several originally separate

lists, adding place names that were not known in the Late Bronze Age at the expense of

important Bronze Age centers.[61] Linguistically, Finkelberg has noted that the *Iliad*'s language is

contemporary to Homer and there is little evidence for the preservation of Mycenaean Greek

dialects in the poem's text.[62] However, the presence of anachronisms in the poems does not

negate the copious Bronze Age material of the *Iliad*, such as the descriptions of Troy, the names

of the heroes, the tactics, and the weaponry, all in deference to the Bronze Age traditions whence

they stemmed.[63] In the case of the *Iliad*, an oft-disregarded feature is the mention of Balkan

soldiers fighting at Troy and the mention of Phrygians in Anatolia, which together provide the

motivation for the Hittite interest in Europe.[64]

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[60] Homeric studies is its own field and is outside the scope of this dissertation. For an excellent discussion of how oral performances eventually come to be written down, see Ready, 2019. Ready also provides a bibliography of the most recent and important literature in Homeric studies. See also Sherratt 2010, who argues for multiple chronological layers of the poem. Milman Parry studied Serbian epic bards and poems on themes such as the Battle of Kosovo and concluded that most oral epics change over time as they are passed on, given the fallibility of human memory. For the application of this to Homer, see Parry 1930.

[61] Simpson 1968, 41-43. The Catalogue is interesting because it mentions certain rulers absent from the *Iliad* while omitting major ones such as Patroclus. Simpson acknowledges this but supports the Bronze Age character of the Catalogue anyway.

[62] Finkelberg 2012, 80-95. Finkelberg's concludes that contemporary speech entered the poems, since the language in the speeches does not always fit the meter but may still be a translation of older Mycenaean Greek. There is another older Anatolian layer that will be discussed later.

[63] Burgess 2006, 149-51.

[64] Towards the sea lie…the Paeonians, with curved bows, and the Leleges and Caucones, and the goodly Pelasgi. And towards Thymbre fell the lot of the Lycians and the lordly Mysians, and the

The portions of the poem that refer to Trojan relations with Balkan *ethnoi* are usually discarded as anachronisms or later additions, especially since they occur in Book X, the *Doloneia*. If the *Iliad* is considered a later creation with little or no Bronze Age material, then the Balkan connection must be relegated to imagination or anachronism, which is extremely unlikely, given the Balkans' importance to Troy's security both historically and in the *Iliad* itself.[65] The *Doloneia* gives a geographically-accurate positioning of several allied contingents relative to Troy itself.[66] Among these are Mysians, Thracians, and Paeonians, who have travelled to Troy to fight against Achaean aggression. This should be evidence for Trojan alliances with the Balkans, but scholars consider this book to be a later addition. Although the text itself could be a later addition, the tradition itself is likely older, as Bernard Fenik has proposed.[67] It is not possible to confirm or deny this, but the rich amount of Bronze Age material in the rest of the poem suggests that these crucial references to Balkan contingents are historical, making the *Iliad* a valid historical source to complement the Hittite records.

Phrygians that fight from chariots and the Maeonians, lords of chariots. But why is it that ye question me closely regarding all these things? For if ye are fain to enter the throng of the Trojans, lo, here apart be the Thracians, newcomers, the outermost of all…" Homer *Iliad* Book X, 426-434.

[65] Bryce 2006, 128-129.

[66] Danek 2012. Linguistic features suggest the later redaction of the *Doloneia*, but not necessarily its later insertion into the poem.

[67] This is Fenik's view, arguing that Rhesus is based on a real person in the Homeric tradition rather than a later invention. See Fenik 1964.

Late Bronze Age Material in the *Iliad*

Figure 3: 16th century BC dagger from Mycenae depicting a lion hunt. From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hunting_Mycenaean_Dagger.jpg. Author unknown

While Homer's epics contain anachronisms, it is impossible to ignore their rich amount of LBA content, especially in the *Iliad*. It is therefore worth discussing a few briefly. Homer accurately depicts battle tactics of the time, which deployed chariots as shock vehicles and

battle transports. Classicists have dismissed the use of the chariot in the *Iliad* as unrealistic since they were usually used as firing platforms in the Near East.[68] On the rocky terrain of Greece,

Figure 4: Pylos *agate* depicting two warriors in combat, one with a tower shield as described in the *Iliad*. Photo by J. Vanderpool in Stocker and Davis 2017, 589.

however chariots would have been useless as firing platforms, making them useful only for transporting commanders and to break up blocks of opposing infantry when the opportunity presented itself. The Hittites adopted these tactics to devastating effect at the Battle of Kadesh, where Muwatalli II used his chariots to break up blocks of

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[68] Dickinson 1986, 29. Dickinson dismissed the *Iliad's* battle tactics on this basis alone. However, in Greece, such a use of the chariot as he suggests would have been completely useless. The idea of a battle taxi or shock trooper against light infantry is more accurate, since the horses would have been valuable and needed extensive training, making it foolish to risk them in a head-on chariot clash. This would also explain why in the *Iliad*, chariots are rarely if ever used in combat. See Littauer and Crouwel 1983, 187-192.

Ramses' infantry.[69] Other Bronze Age armaments of the poem include a boar's tusk helmet like

that found at Dendra in Greece and the use of oxhide-covered tower shields such as that of Ajax,

also seen on a 16th century BC scabbard and the Pylos *agate* (**Figures 3 and 4**).[70] From a

military point of view, Homer's descriptions of the Achaeans are mostly accurate, which

suggests that the historical setting of the poem, down to the names of the participants and the

different polities fighting at Troy, is an authentic Bronze age memory, not a later addition.

Having established a Bronze Age military context, it is possible to discuss the society as

depicted in the poem. The polities of Bronze Age Greece were literate bureaucratic entities that

kept detailed records, a feature absent in the *Iliad* which scholars have used to dismiss the

poem's Bronze Age pedigree.[71] Contrary to consensus, the poem contains a single, fleeting

attestation of Achaean literacy. Homer very briefly mentions a letter written to the king of Lycia

a few generations before the war, which is tempting to dismiss as a one-off case. However, the

Greek explicitly states that this letter was not written on papyrus or paper, but on an "engraved

folded tablet.[72] Although Linear B, Luwian, and Hittite are attested on clay and stone, the

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[69] For a summary of the battle and the tactics used, see Healy 1993. The use of the Hittite chariots as shock troops is unprecedented in the Near East, where they were used as mobile firing platforms. It is unclear if Muwatalli borrowed this tactic from Greece or vice-versa.

[70] See the illustrations in Connolly 1998 and the plates in Grguric 2005. Many, if not most Achaean weaponry is from the Bronze Age and matches Mycenaean depictions from archaeological finds. For further reproductions, see http://www.salimbeti.com/micenei/index.htm

[71] See the critical commentary in Silk 2004, 24-25. The lack of bureaucracy should be expected, since the *Iliad* is about war and heroes, not everyday administration and bureaucracy.

[72] Proteus wrote it by "engraving on a folded board/tablet (γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ). The engraving of the signs suggests a writing medium of either clay or wax, the media for writing the Linear B, Linear A, and Luwian Hieroglyphic scripts. Homer, *Iliad* Book VI, 169.

Figure 5: Diptych writing board from the Uluburun Shipwreck.
https://www.baslibrary.org/archaeology-odyssey/2/4/12

existence of "scribes on wood" suggests that they may also have been written on wax tablets. This is what Homer is most likely referring to, and an exemplar almost exactly as described in the *Iliad* turned up in the Uluburun ship (**Figure 5**).[73] There is also authorial unfamiliarity with the writing system, since the letter is described as containing many "signs."[74] Homer's own society had just begun using the Greek alphabet, so if it were contemporary to Homer or added later, a reference to the Greek alphabet (γράμματα) might be expected. The *Iliad* is unfamiliar with the writing system, though, suggesting that it extinct. Given these descriptions, Mycenaean Greek, Luwian, or another unknown Bronze Age language are the most likely candidates for the language of the letter.

Although the *Iliad* only contains one reference to writing, it demonstrates that Greece's pre-Classical bards were aware that Bronze Age Greece was literate. Since Early Iron Age Greece was illiterate, this is the strongest piece of evidence from the *Iliad* itself for its Bronze

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[73] Polygiannaki 2008, 517-519. Candidates for the script include Cretan Hieroglyphs, Linear A or Linear B. Given the Lycian addressee, it is theoretically possible that it was written in an Anatolian language such as Luwian, which used a hieroglyphic script. Regardless, Homer is not referring to the Phoenician-influenced Greek alphabet, which was about to emerge in his own time, but to some unknown script. For a discussion of the wax hinged tablet found at Uluburun, see Shear 1998, 187-189. For the Luwian example, see Waal 2011, 21-34.

[74] The poem states that there were "many signs" upon the folded tablet (σήματα πολλά). Homer, *Iliad*, Book VI 169-170. The way this is written suggests that the composer was unfamiliar with the writing system he describes.

Age origins. The description of Troy's geography buttresses these points. Homer himself, assuming he was the last in a line of oral performers of the epic before it was committed to writing, would likely have never seen Troy, especially since according to tradition, he was blind. In Homer's own day, Troy was an Aeolian Greek city that was already at a considerable distance from the sea compared to its position in the LBA, when it sat near a large bay. In the *Iliad*, though, the bay is described as extant and most importantly, navigable. Geological studies on the plain of Troy complement Homer's description of the area as a Bronze Age one.[75] Finally, Hittitologists have suggested that the depiction of Troy in the *Iliad* is of a typical Anatolian city in the Hittite sphere, giving further historicity to Homer's tale.[76]

So far, the *Iliad's* elements demonstrate a Bronze Age origin for much of the epic. Evidence supporting the LBA setting, though, comes not only from the poem's descriptions, but also within the language itself. Linguists have noted that the *Iliad*'s unique phrasing and grammatical constructions do not appear anywhere else. While some are Aeolian or Ionian Greek translations of earlier Mycenaean Greek, Jaan Puhvel has pointed out that others are taken directly from Hittite or another Anatolian language such as Luwian.[77] A small fragment in Cuneiform Luwian, noted by Eric Cline and Calvert Watkins, mentions the coming down from "steep Wiluša ," an epithet that recalls Homer's description of Troy as "steep Ilios."[78] Together,

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[75] Kraft *et al*. 2003, 163-166.
[76] Starke 1997.
[77] Puhvel 1993, 36-38. The last book of the *Iliad* is heavily Anatolian in character. Puhvel has noted the resemblance of Hector's funeral rites and those of Hittite/Anatolian royalty. Some of these also appear in Patroclus' funeral. See Kitts 2006, 12-14. The 12-day funeral length coincides with the length of Hittite funerary rituals too. See Van den Hout 1994. For the Aeolian layer, see Finkelberg 2018, 24-26.
[78] *aḫ-ḫa-ta-ta a-la-ti a-ú-i-en-ta ú-i-lu-ša-ti* Translation: "When they came from steep Wiluša …" KBo 4.11 rev. 46 (CTH 772.1) in Starke 1985, 341. Yakubovich equates Luwian *aḫḫa-* with Hittite *arha*, while the translation "steep" is still not certain. See Yakubovich 2012, 329.

these facts support the possibility, however slim, that at least part of the epics are based on a Luwian, Hittite (potentially written) tradition. Such a tradition must be from the Bronze Age, since cuneiform disappeared from Anatolia following the collapse of the Hittite Empire along with the Hittite and Luwian languages.

Above is laid out the case for the LBA character of the *Iliad* as a reflection of historical reality firmly grounded in linguistic, archaeological, textual, and scientific evidence.[79] If the descriptions in the *Iliad* are accurate Bronze Age memories, then most likely, the poem also preserved the names of the military leaders on both sides, such as Agamemnon, Achilles, Hector, Paris/Alexandros and Priam. If the poem accurately recalled these, then it opens the possibility that the political relations portrayed in the poem, which link Troy to Europe, especially Thrace and Northern Greece, are also authentic memories. Homer's own descriptions of the Balkans, though, require the existence of developed and wealthy Thracian polities in the Bronze Age. Soviet-era Bulgarian archaeology had discovered some evidence for this but was not widely disseminated. More recent evidence from Bulgaria, though, has suggested that these rich and well-connected polities did exist, providing the crucial link between the Troad and Europe during the LBA that has been missing for so long in the material record.

While Late Bronze Age Northwestern Anatolia (apart from Troy) is archaeological *terra incognita*, excavations in Bulgaria have revealed a completely different picture of Bronze Age Thrace. Contrary to a thinly settled, peripheral, semi-nomadic area of little importance, Thrace was a developed region with wealthy polities and a supra-tribal aristocracy that hoarded precious items such as gold, silver, and amber.[80] Discoveries of gold hoards in places like Izvorovo,

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[79] Korfmann 1998, 385. Korfmann, originally a doubter of Homer, admitted that the excavations supported the *Iliad* as a historical reflection of the 13th century BC.
[80] Venedikov, 1987.

Ovchartsi, and Vulchitrun point to the existence of an aristocracy that distinguished itself from its social inferiors through opulent displays of wealth, similar to the practices of Near Eastern rulers.[81] The existence of such an aristocracy would naturally raise the question of settlements, which have been unearthed in Bulgaria as well. Settlements such as Ada Tepe, a gold mining town, Višegrad, a fortress, Kyustendil, the port of Nesabar, and the citadels of Zlatograd and Bresto all provide evidence for complex, stratified societies that enriched their owners through gold mining and trade.[82] Some of these settlements, such as Zlatograd and Bresto, were fortified with cyclopean walls in the styles of Mycenae and Tiryns in the case of Bresto, and Troy VI in the case of Zlatograd.[83] The existence of such fortifications, which would have required wealth, knowledge, and organized labor to build, confirms Thrace's importance as a wealthy and important economic conduit between Anatolia and Central Europe. Because of Thrace's mountainous geography, most commerce had to be conducted via rivers. Thanks to strong ocean currents and winds, Thrace's closest and most natural trading partner would have had to be Troad, a view expressed in the *Iliad* in accordance with geographical assessments.

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[81] Venedikov 1987.

[82] See the articles in Александров *et al.* 2017 and Haag *et al.* 2017.

[83] This has not been published yet, but a report to the Balkan Heritage Foundation which manages and funds the digs records this. See https://www.bhfieldschool.org/news/new-mycenaean-find-from-sw-bulgaria.

Figure 6: Map of Thrace with important LBA and EBA sites

The geography of Thrace (**Figure 6**) is crucial to understanding why Thrace must be considered a single entity with the Troad. The region of Thrace extended from the Dardanelles and the Bosporus (European Turkey) in the East to the Struma River (Northeastern Greece/Western Bulgaria) in the West, and from the Aegean in the South to the Danube River in the North. The region includes the Thracian Plain, flat and fertile grasslands ideal for agriculture

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and animal husbandry as Homer describes.[84] Surrounding the Thracian Plain are three mountain ranges. To the North are the Balkan Mountains, which divide the Thracian Plain from the Danube River Valley. To the South and West are the Rhodope Mountains, which divide Thrace from Northern Greece, Paeonia, and Macedonia. To the East are the Istranca Mountains, which follow the Black Sea coast. The mountains impede contact between the Thracian Plain and its neighbors both in Greece and in the Carpathian basin, forcing all traffic towards the region's rivers.

Due to its varied and sometimes difficult geography, Thrace relied mostly on riverine transport of goods. Thrace possessed three major rivers. The first is the Danube, which originates in Germany's Black Forest, passes through Central Europe, and empties into the Black Sea. The Thracian gateways to the Aegean included the Struma (Gk. Strymon) and the Marica (Gk. Evros) Rivers. Both originate in Central Bulgaria and are relatively close to the Danube, Morava, and Sava Rivers, which all provide access to Central Europe and the Adriatic. The Struma empties near Amphipolis (Northeastern Greece), while the Marica empties near the important harbor town of Aenus/Ainos (present day Turkish Enez).[85] These rivers provided the major route of contact between inland Thrace and the neighboring regions, making these rivers essential for commerce and communication. Since all of them eventually had to pass near the Dardanelles, due to the winds and currents of the area, Thrace, especially the coastal areas were economically, and by extension politically and culturally, bound to the Troad.

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[84] Homer describes this in the *Iliad* when Zeus looked "towards the horse-breeders of Thrace" a sign that in the Bronze Age, the region was already known for this activity. Homer, *Iliad,* Book XIII 1-3.

[85] This region has yielded Bronze Age anchors, suggesting that the region at the mouth of the Marica was an important stop for North Aegean shipping. Oniz 2014, 13-24. Generally, this area is not well excavated, as noted by Nikov. See Nikov 1999, 31-42.

Considering the evidence from Kivik, and the new discoveries in Bulgaria, it is impossible to separate the western and eastern shores of the Dardanelles, even in the Late Bronze Age where little material interaction is attested. The *Iliad* attests to close diplomatic links between Troy and Thrace. This relationship is a historical possibility considering the attested complexity and wealth of LBA Thracian society. Therefore, any narrative of sudden Iron Age migration cannot explain the entrance of Balkan languages into Anatolia, especially since Homer contradicts Herodotus in stating that one, Phrygian, was already present in Anatolia during the LBA. Therefore, it makes more sense to speak not of relations between the Balkans and Anatolia, but of the economic integration of the Dardanelles economic zone, encompassing Thrace, the Troad, and their European contacts beyond, into the Hittite Empire's economic system under Muwatalli II. As a starting point, it is necessary to explore the Hittites' economic system, its ideological underpinnings, and the necessities it needed to function.

Chapter 1

Ḫatti's Economic, Political, and Ideological Underpinnings

Any understanding of Hittite-Balkan Late Bronze Age interactions requires an analysis of Ḫatti's state and economic institutions. Since the Hittites were the dominant power in LBA Anatolia and in the 13th century BC held most of Western Anatolia in subjugation, their interests were the principal driving force for many of the events that took place there. On a practical level, Ḫatti's *raison d'être* was the accumulation of resources through commerce or force for the ritual maintenance of the Land of Ḫatti in the name of the Storm God. The accumulation of wealth also served as a show of power and prestige vis-à-vis the other great kings of the Near East. Although scholars are still unsure how the Hittite administrative apparatus functioned, a wealth of inventory texts and some tribute texts from the Levant show that resource accumulation and redistribution were two important facets of the Hittite economy for maintaining the lifestyles and livelihoods of the aristocracy, bureaucracy, and the royal family. There was also a religious facet that cannot be ignored, namely the role of temples in the Hittite economy, and the role of the gods as the true owners of the land itself.

An analysis of the Hittite political economy and imperial administration reveals practical and ideological underpinnings for the empire's economy. It entailed several interests, those of the king, the aristocracy, the bureaucracy, the military and religious establishments, and most importantly, the gods. Hittite tribute texts and inventories of both luxury and utilitarian goods assigned to various institutions make it clear that the empire's well-being depended on a steady supply of tribute for the maintenance of these different sectors. Together, these sectors converged in the performance of rituals for the land's fertility, making Hittite politics, economics, and religion inseparable. The rituals required a plethora of goods to perform, while

the temple establishment that performed them needed to be housed and fed. These goods were often extracted through tribute or war. This chapter will discuss the Hittite ruling ideology and economy and its relation to the extraction of tribute from its subjects and trading partners. It will argue that the Hittite economy was heavily dependent on foreign trade routes and tributaries for the maintenance of the entire state apparatus, placing Ḫatti in a difficult situation in the 13th century BC when multi-front conflicts with Egypt, Assyria, and Aḫḫiyawa threatened its supply lines. To circumvent the consequences of this encirclement, the Hittites looked beyond the Near East and the Aegean into the Balkans and Central Europe to secure these resources.

Hittite Kingship and Stewardship of Ḫatti

Although the Hittite Empire ruled over different lands, its ruler was only king of the Land of Ḫatti. He was not a god on earth nor the owner of the land itself, but its steward on behalf of the storm god, the land's true owner.[86] In this vein, Hittite policy focused on protecting and enriching the Anatolian plateau through the extraction of tribute and the strategic maintenance of settlement networks in certain areas. Within Ḫatti itself, the Hittites broadened their authority to achieve a more direct rule of the region through the disestablishment of large power centers. As Glatz has noted, the number of settlements on the Anatolian plateau in the Late Bronze Age saw the replacement of the Middle Bronze Age settlements with smaller regional centers, indicating

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[86] Gilan 2004, 190.
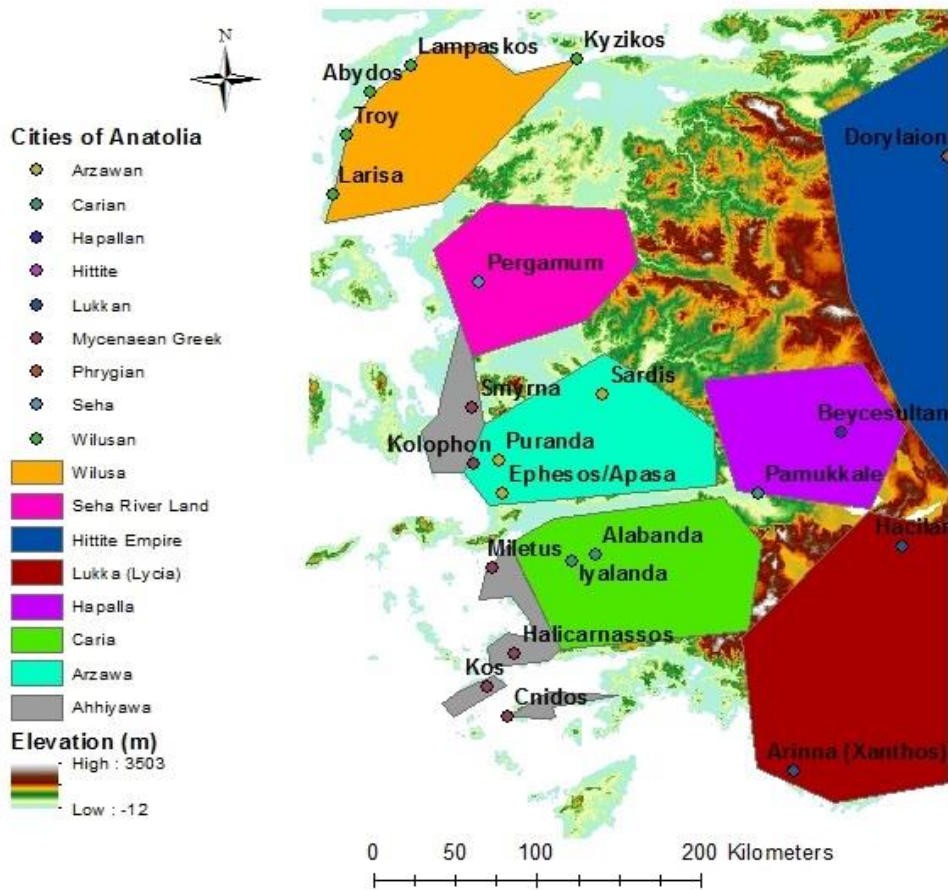
Figure 7: Approximate territorial extents of Ḫatti and its neighbors ca. 1300BC. Hittite territoriality usually marked boundaries with natural features such as rivers or mountains, but in practice, borders were fluid. Map made using ArcGIS with elevation data downloaded from the USGS earth explorer.

the rise of a more extensive polity with a greater reach of power.[87] The land of Ḫatti ended in the

west around Beycesultan (near modern-day Çivril, Denizli Province, Turkey), where the ceramic

material culture, known as North Central Anatolian pottery, stops, and in the east near the Taurus

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[87] Glatz 2009, 129.

Mountains (**Figure 7**).[88] The protection and enrichment of this area for the maintenance of its

settlements networks and the Hittite ritual economy played a central role in the ruling ideology.

Traditionally, until the reign of Muršili II (ca. 1321-1295BC), most of the Hittites'

resources went to the maintenance of a chain of settlements in the Lower Land along the road to

the Mediterranean. The archaeology of the Lower Land shows an increase in Late Bronze Age

settlement density after the Hittites installed themselves on the Anatolian plateau, as well an

increase in pottery associated with Ḫatti at the region's major sites.[89] Starting under Muwatalli II,

rock monuments appear frequently in the Lower Land and Western Anatolia as the Hittites took

more interest in those regions, perhaps due to the proximity to the Balkans and Tarḫuntašša.[90]

The political function of these rock monuments as statements of power and authority can be

deduced from their positions near strategically-important areas boundary areas such as

Tarḫuntašša and along major routes of communication (i.e. the Karabel inscription between

Sardis and Ephesus). However, there was also a less practical and more religious reason for the

placing of monuments and settlements, as evidenced by the lack of monuments on the Hittite

northern frontier with Paphlagonia (Kaška lands), where they would be most expected. The

Hittites sought to "control" the landscape around them in a religious sense. By building rock

monuments, the Hittite ruling class merged itself with the land and became part of it rather than

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[88] MacSweeney 2010, 8-11. This settlement lay on the very edge of the Hittite sphere of influence, so the lack of Anatolian highland material culture suggests that Hittite influence weakened considerably beyond the mountains of the Central Plateau.

[89] Glatz 2009, 130-133. The "north central Anatolian" ware, which is associated with Ḫatti, appears throughout the Anatolian plateau and the area southeast of it. See Gates 2001, 140-145.

[90] Glatz 2014, 128-133. Glatz tackles the monuments' political dimension of projecting the king's authority to his subjects, many of whom were illiterate and could not read inscriptions. However, given the Hittite relationship with the land, they served to "merge" the ruler with the land and claim the space for the Hittite gods.

simply stewards of it.[91] In merging with the land, they claimed the land for the gods, their lords.

The ritual character of the monuments agrees with the layout of Hittite settlements, which were

placed along major ritual and festival routes that were not always conducive to economic

growth.[92] Along the norther frontier, settlement distribution was more practical. Here, a string of

towns and fortresses protected Ḫattuša from attacks by the Kaška of Paphlagonia, completing the

ring of settlements that ensconced the Land of Ḫatti from the outside world.[93] The Hittite

imperial system suggests that the Hittites were most concerned with protecting Ḫatti and the

immediate areas that were under the royal family's direct rule, leaving other lands under client

states that provided Ḫattuša with the resources it needed to function.

Beyond occasionally dethroning disloyal rulers, the Hittites did not interfere with the

local administration or institutions outside of Central Anatolia.[94] Archaeologically, few Central

Anatolian ceramics have been found in Western Anatolia, a sign that Ḫattuša's state-backed

industries did not operate in the client kingdoms.[95] Foreign rulers were instead controlled

through bilateral pacts that could also tie them to other neighboring clients.[96] Their lands were

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[91] Ullmann 2014, 101-27. The monuments are proposed as a network for the performance of rituals. Ullman makes this on the assumption that Hittite settlements were laid out not for practical economic purposes, but for ritual and religious purposes that subjugated the ruler and the land to the gods. Given the position of the Hittite king as steward of the land, this makes sense.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Matthews and Glatz argue that the rock monuments were created for king of Ḫatti's subjects, The Kaška, outside of Hittite rule, were not receptive to royal propaganda, explaining the lack of monuments in the region. Glatz and Matthews 2005, 61-63.

[94] Usually, the dethroned ruler was replaced with a relative or with another local notable from a small group of local nobles.

[95] MacSweeney 2010, 19-22. She proposes Western Anatolian elites' conscious rejection of Hittite material culture, which given the distribution of Central Anatolian ceramics and a seemingly conscious Hittite rejection of Aegean material culture, is possible, but cannot be proven. See also MacSweeney 2009, 121-123.

[96] Lafont 2001. Hittite subjugation pacts often tied subjects to Hattuša and to neighbors with whom the Hittite king expected him to cooperate.

not incorporated into the Ḫatti (KUR ᵁᴿᵁḪatti) and enjoyed a large degree of autonomy as long

as they paid their tribute and did not engage in diplomacy with Ḫatti's enemies.[97] The many

subject kingdoms and polities, whether in Syria or Western Anatolia, all are designated by

KURᵁᴿᵁ regardless of political system.[98] The Hittites referred to these lesser rulers as "kings"

(LUGAL) or as "men" (LÚ) in the case where kingship, per the Hittites' definition, was lacking.

The lack of nuanced Hittite terminology betrays an unwillingness on the Hittites' part to interfere

with local political systems that were conducive to Ḫattuša's interests, and perhaps a lack of

knowledge or understanding of political arrangements that differed from their own.[99] Regardless

of political system, all received the designation of servants or subjects (ÌR) of the King of the

Land of Ḫatti.[100] Typically, Hittite subjects of entered this position either through military

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[97] An example of this comes from the treaty between Manapa-Tarḫunta of Šeḫa River Land and Muršili II.
[*am-*]ˈ*me-el-la-mu*ˈ*-kán ku-i-e-eš* [*A-NA*] ᵈUTU-*ŠI pé-ra-an ar-*[*ḫa*] *wa-at-ku-wa-an-*[*te-eš*] *na-at A-NA* ᵐˈPÉŠ.ˈTUR-*wa* ˈGIM-*an*ˈ *ku-*ˈ*ru*ˈ[*-ur*] *tu-ga-at QA-TAM-MA ku-ru-ur a-ša-an-du…* CTH 42 A 22'-24' in Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42
Translation: Those (subjects) of mine who are in flight (lit. jumping away) from me, my majesty, as they are Mašḫuiluwa's enemies, may they also be your enemies!
This type of clause is common in Hittite treaties mostly to prevent collusion with foreign great kings, who according to Amarna protocol, could not conduct diplomatic relations with his "brothers'" subjects.
[98] The Kaška for instance, are referred to with the KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Ga-aš-ga* designation. The specific group of Kaška is then indicated with the name of a site, such as ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫa-li-la* or ᵁᴿᵁ*Dur-mi-it-ta*. This is the same designation used for Ḫatti itself (KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Ḫatti*) or the Lukka lands (KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Lukka*). The latter resembled the Kaška lands as an area without a state or kingship.
[99] The lack of kingship made Hittite diplomatic networks difficult to maintain because of the different minor rulers that had to be negotiated with. An excellent example of this is seen in Muršili's *10-Year Annals*.
ḫu-u-da-a-ak ma-aḫ-ḫa-an I-NA ᵁᴿᵁ*Ga-aš-ga Ú-UL ŠA* 1-*EN ta-pa-ri-ia-aš e-eš-ta a-ši-ma* ᵐ*Pí-iḫ-ḫu-ni-ia-aš ŠA* LUGAL-*UT-TIM i-wa-ar ta-pa-ar-ta* CTH 161 A iii 76-77 in Grélois 1988, 68.
Translation: Suddenly, when in the land of Kaška there was not rule of one, this Piḫḫuniya ruled as one with kingship.
[100] This is usually translated as "servant" in diplomatic correspondence. In the Hittite's Akkadian correspondence, it is the logogram for *ardu*, which can also mean slave. The use of the term

conquest (ÌR-*naḫḫ*-, to subjugate) or through a negotiated treaty.[101] For the Hittites, this imperial

system was the most cost-effective way of holding Anatolia together. Since mountains crisscross

Anatolia and snow blocked the plateau off from its neighbors during the winter, territorial

expansion and administration beyond the Land of Ḫatti was impossible. The mountains were a

natural defensive barrier that prevented conquest, imperial expansion, and direct administration

of far-flung areas. They were, however, channels for trade and movement of goods upon which

Ḫatti's economic survival depended.

The Hittite King was not only king of the Land of Ḫatti, he was also a great king

(LUGAL.GAL) and member of an exclusive group of theoretically equal rulers, which Mario

Liverani dubbed the "great powers' club."[102] Since the title of great king in the Amarna Period

depended upon wealth accumulation and military prowess, the Hittites' second task was focused

on maintaining the status of LUGAL.GAL and the palatial lifestyle that accompanied it.[103]

Despite the dearth of luxuries in Ḫattuša's archaeological record, Hittite inventories register

stockpiles of everyday and luxury goods, both foreign and domestic from the capital's palaces

and temples. These texts attest to valuables such as gold earrings, bows, bridles, gold hangings,

clothes hemmed with gold thread, ivory, and much more.[104] Apart from the material side, the

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shows a clear delineation between the subject and the great king. The Hittite king is referred to as
an EN (Hitt. *išhiyaš*/Akk. *bēlu*, meaning lord).
[101] This is the word the king of Aḫḫiyawa, for instance, uses to refer to the Hittite attack against
Aššuwa, and the word Muršili uses for taking Western Anatolian rulers into his service. Its use
highlights the Hittite aversion to outright conquest.
[102] Liverani 2000.
[103] Several inventory texts contain the word IGI.DU$_8$.A, which Siegelová lists as "einkommen"
or income. points to the importance of collecting goods as income for the accumulation of
wealth. An example of this comes from KUB 42.28 rev. 3.6, in which a great axe is referred to as
$^{URUDU}pa$ [-*a-šu* GAL IGI].DU$_8$.A (lit. a great axe [as] income). See Siegelová 1986: 559ff
[104] Hittite inventory texts are too numerous to discuss fully. However, they provide a sampling of
the types of goods that were desired. For more on these, including examples of the texts

status of great king also rested on the ability to maintain the bureaucracy, military, and religious establishments. The military required a source of recruits and weaponry, both of which were sometimes received in tribute.[105] Sources of copper and tin were needed to manufacture weapons, since the weaponry the Hittites received in tribute appears ceremonial and would not have sufficed to equip an entire army of men.[106] Metals were also needed for the manufacture of household items, tools, and farming implements in a redistributive economy based on state-controlled circulation of copper and tin.[107] The bureaucracy required rations, gold, and other precious objects to pay its members and maintain their lifestyles, some of which was obtained through tribute, a critical source of revenue that kept the state bureaucracy solvent. Gold was accumulated for the furnishing of residences, to reward (and undoubtedly bribe) subjects, and as a primitive form of money.[108] With the receipt of goods, the Hittite aristocracy could focus on its most important task, the maintenance of the land itself.

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themselves see Siegelová 1986. Another excellent source for Hittite inventories is the corpus of Egypto-Hittite correspondence between Ḫattušili III and Ramses II in Edel 1994.

[105] KUB 42.81 obv. 4-9 mention quivers (^{KUS}iš-pa-tum) and arrows (^{GIŠ}KAK.U.TAG.GA) of the Hittite (^{URU}PA-ti), Hurrian (^{URU}Ḫur-ri) and Kaška (^{URU}Ga-aš-ga) types. Some of the bows that accompany these are layered in gold (KU$_4$.SIG$_{17}$ GAR.RA), suggesting they were ceremonial weapons. They may also have equipped elite troops or aristocrats.

[106] KUB 42.28 obv. 5-7 in Košak 1982, 140-41 mention that the tribute (madāttu) of copper is used to make sets of bridles for horses. The sets suggest that they are for chariot teams. 4 *TA-PAL* URUDU *šur-zi-ya MAN-TA-TI-ma-kán A-NA* ^{KUŠ}KA.TAB.ANŠE *an-da* 2 *TA-PAL* URUDU *šur-zi* IGI.DU$_8$.A **Translation**: 4 sets of copper snaffle bits as tribute for (making) bridles and 2 sets of copper snaffle bits as tribute….
KUB 26.27 II 5 lists 134 minas of copper from Kizzuwatna, the Hittites' main supplier of the metal. Reconstructions of highly fragmentary texts suggest that it also supplied much smaller amounts of the scarcer tin. See also KUB 40.96 I 6, KUB 42.28 rev. 5 and KBo 18.164 obv. 3.6 in Košak 1982 for other references to copper (URUDU) from the region. KBo 18.164 i 4 also mentions 12 shekels of Kizzuwatnan tin (12 GÍN AN.NA).

[107] Siegelová and Tsumoto 2011, 278-283.

[108] Burgin 2016, 94. Burgin's idea rests on the existence of a wealth finance economy, which depended on controlling routes and bribing or conquering local elites. Burgin argues for the importance of festivals in this redistributive economy.

The army and bureaucracy extracted and accumulated wealth to help maintain the Hittite status of LUGAL.GAL and allowed the *Labarna* to fulfill his religious duties in accordance with Hittite royal ideology. The Hittite king was not only a temporal ruler and steward, he was also the chief priest of Ḫatti, his primary and most important position.[109] The king was expected to properly perform rituals and festivals to the gods and ensure that they, the owners of Ḫatti, were appeased.[110] In return, the gods blessed the land with good harvests, economic prosperity, and victory in battle. If rituals and festivals were not correctly performed or observed, or if sacred oaths sealed under divine witness were violated, the Hittites believed that divine wrath would come upon the land. The worst case of this supposed divine wrath occurred during the reign of Muršili II when a 20-year plague struck that killed a large portion of the population in Ḫatti itself.[111] Temples needed to be maintained with proper inventories, which included precious

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[109] Beckman 1995, 529-533 and Gilan 2011.

[110] The king of Ḫatti became a god when he died. The king's secondary position to the gods is seen in this incantation: [*t*]*a-ba-ar-na-aš-kán* LUGAL-*uš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš a-aš-šu-uš e-eš-du* KUR-*e* ^{d}U-*aš-pát ne-pé-eš te-kán-na* ERÍN^{MEŠ}-*az* ^{d}U-*aš-pát nu-za* ^{LÚ}*La-ba-ar-na-an* LUGAL-un ^{LÚ}*ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫa-tal-la-an i-ya-at nu-uš-ši* ^{URU}KU.BABBAR-*aš* KUR-*e ḫu-u-ma-an pa-iš nu-uš-sa-an* KUR-*e ḫu-u-ma-an la-ba-ar-na-aš* ŠU-*az ma-ni-ya-aḫ-ḫi-iš-ki-id-du* CTH 821, 2-6 in Archi 1979, 27-28.

Translation: May the *Labarna*, the king, be dear to the gods! The land, the sky, the people, (all) belong to the storm god. The storm god has made the *Labarna*, the king, the governor. He has given him the entire land of Hattuša. May the *Labarna* (continually) govern the land with his hand in its entirety!

[111] Muršili begs the gods to tell him why such as tragedy has befallen the land, explicitly referring to himself as their priest and to them as "his lords."
DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-*YA ka-a-ša-aš-ma-aš* ^{m}*M*[*ur-š*]*i*-DINGIR-*LIM* ^{LÚ}SANGA-*KU-NU ar-wa-a-nu-un* CTH 378.4 vs. i 17-18 in Elizabeth Rieken *et al.* (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 378.4.
Translation: O gods my lords! I am here! I, your priest Muršili beseech you!
Muršili's Second Plague Prayer attributes the plague to divine punishment for his father Šuppiluliuma's violation of a treaty with Egypt and the failure to celebrate important festivals. The plague's devastation of Ḫatti demonstrates the importance of keeping state cults functioning and upholding divine oaths to prevent such disasters from being unleashed on the land.
ŠA A-BU-ŠU-kán [*wa*]-*aš-túl A-NA* DUMU-*ŠÚ* [*a*]-*ri n*[*u-ká*]*n am-mu-uq-qa Š*[*A*] *A-BI-YA wa-aš-túl a-ar-aš* CTH 378.2 rev. 13'-14' in Elizabeth Rieken *et al.* (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 378.2.

metals for votives, agricultural produce, animals, and slaves.[112] With these goods, temples

worked arable land and produced everyday goods and foodstuffs.[113] Since Hittite kings became

gods upon their deaths, they also had to be appeased through the maintenance of mortuary cults.

The importance of the religious aspect of Hittite society, and the consequences from failure to

observe the specifics of religious practice, made the maintenance of this sector, from the Hittite

view, the most important part of governing the state. The primary Hittite focus on the land's well

being and fertility was reflected in the royal family's personal practice of religious/magical

rituals for its own fertility and continuation.

The importance of religion Hittite society was reflected in the royal family's personal life

as well as its public life. The necessities of ensuring a healthy dynasty led to the creation and

accumulation of magico-medicinal literature and oaths, which were intricately tied to the

religious practices that could not be separated from the religious ideology of the state, since they

ultimately sprang from the same font.[114] The importance of each ritual is unclear and some may

have been kept only for reference or scholarly purposes.[115] Some of the texts contradict each

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Translation: So, as the sins of a father come to his son, so the sins of my father have come to me!

[112] See the *konkordanz* in Siegelová, 1986, vol. 2 and Hazenbos 2003 for examples. For a discussion on the assignment of personnel with the relevant texts, see Uchitel 2005, 51-59.

[113] KBo XVI 65 mentions the presence of vineyards, pointing to at least one instance temple involvement in the manufacture of goods such as wine.

ki-e LÚ[MEŠ URU]*Ka-ap-pa-at-ta A-NA* É ᵈI[M *I-NA*] [URU]Ḫa-aš-ša-ta-at-ta
[LÚ.MEŠ]NU.GIŠ.KIRI6.GEŠTIN KBo XVI 65 obv. i 5-6 in Uchitel 2005, 54.

Translation: These people of Kappatta [are] for the temple of the storm god in Ḫaššatatta, men of the vineyard.

[114] Kapelrud 1959. Although the texts are separated between rituals and festivals, Kapelrud notes that the beliefs underpinning both spring from the same source and that these therefore must have coexisted together, since Hittite medicinal rituals are more magical than medicinal and often involve eliminating evil from within a person.

[115] Van den Hout 2016 proposes that many of these rituals were scholarly material. Some were copied and show changes over time. Despite the large number of rituals, some must have been performed, or the Hittites would not have kept them.

other and show signs of editing over time, so it is safe to assume that not all rituals were

performed at the same time, if at all.[116] Some were imported through foreign brides and were

likely not performed on a regular basis, such as those from the Hurrian-speaking region of

Kizzuwatna.[117] Nevertheless, if the Hittites copied these rituals down, it is logical to assume that

at least some of them were performed. Like festivals, their effectiveness rested on correct

performance. The most important component of the ritual corpus concerns birth and purification

of the royal family and deities, which required a variety of exotic luxuries to be correctly

performed. Among these listed in the purification and birth rituals are amber, lapis lazuli,

carnelian, cedar, quartz, and tamarisk, most of which were not available in the Hittite lands and

had to be imported. The rituals were specifically for children born to high-status individuals,

especially the royal family, since the ritual practitioners are nurses.[118] These rituals ensured that

the child would grow up healthy and strong.[119] This was a major worry in an era when infant

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[116] The importance of reproduction in Hittite society suggests that birth rituals for royal children and fertility rituals were performed regularly. Letters between Ḫattušili III to Ramses II attest to their inefficacy due to Ḫattušili's sister's advanced age. Beckman 1983, 249-51.

[117] The Hurrian material entered through royal marriages (e.g. Tudḫaliya I and Ašmu-Nikal or Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa). For a recent summary and bibliography on the Hurrian elements in Hittite society, see Kaynar 2019.

[118] Birth rituals were the exclusive domain of the upper classes, who could afford to keep midwifes and nurses. *nu-mu-kán* ᔅᴬᴸ*ḫa-aš-nu-up-pa-al-la-aš* [*ki-is-ša-an te-iz-zi* DUMU-*a*]*n-wa-az* ᔅᴬᴸ*ḫa-aš-nu-up-pa-al-la-aš ḫa-a-aš-ḫu-un* KBo XVII 61 obv. 10-12 in Beckman 1983, 42-49. **Translation**: …and to me the midwife says thus: I the midwife have brought the child into the world…

[119] The health of the child was important enough that the royal family was even willing to give its children away to temples to ensure that they would live. Ḫattušili III, who according to his *Apology*, was born sickly, was given away to the temple of Ištar of Šamuha to ensure that he would survive childhood.
nu ᵈIŠTAR GAŠAN-*YA A-NA* ᵐMur-ši-li *A-BI-YA* Ù-*et* ᵐNIR.GÁL-*in* ŠEŠ-*YA u-i-ya-at A-NA* ᵐḪa-at-tu-ši-li-wa MU.KAMᴴᴵ·ᴬ *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš Ú-UL-wa-ra-as* TI-*an-na-aš nu-wa-ra-an-mu am-mu-uk pa-ra-a pa-a-i nu-wa-ra-aš-mu* ᴸ�ings*ša-an-ku-un-ni-iš e-eš-du nu-wa-ra-aš* TI-*an-za*

mortality was high, and the king needed a male heir to ensure an orderly succession. Therefore, although not all rituals were performed, some, such as the royal birth rituals, were important to the continuation of the Hittite state, which placed major emphasis on fertility, childbirth, reproduction, and extending one's lineage.[120] The successful completion of these rituals depended on the procurement of the correct ingredients and maintenance of the religious establishment that practiced them, requiring a system of tributaries and trading partners in distant lands.

Hittite Commerce

The Hittite state depended on funneling resources from its subjects towards the Land of Ḫatti for the maintenance of the religious establishment and its two pillars of support, the army and the bureaucracy.[121] The methods for obtaining these resources is unclear due to a near-complete lack of economic texts from the Hittite lands besides inventory texts. Texts detailing Ugarit's economic interactions with Ḫatti and its neighbors provide the best records for the workings of the Hittite economy in relation to the subject states. Hittite subjects were required to visit the great king with tribute (Akk. *maddāttu*) and gifts (Akk. *šulmānū*).[122] Failure to do this could draw the ire of Ḫattuša, as seen in Ibiranu of Ugarit's failure to deliver annual tribute to Ḫattuša. The Hittite king's anger in this letter, communicated through his son Piḫa-walwi,

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Translation: Ištar my Lady sent my brother Muwatalli to my father Muršili in a dream: For Ḫattušili the years will be short. He will not live. Hand him over to me and let him be my priest. Then he will live.

[120] See the introduction and conclusion of Beckman 1983 for the importance of birth and fertility in the Hittite world. The relevant texts are included.

[121] This is the view given from texts from the merchant kingdom of Ugarit, which provide a glimpse into Hittite economic activity in relation to its subjects. See the texts in Nougayrol 1956.

[122] Beal 2007, 82-85. *Maddāttu* in Akkadian, also written *mandātu*, referred to things that were given from a slave or servant to his superior. Since ÌR in Akkadian can mean slave, servant, or subject (Hittite subjects were referred to in this way), *maddāttu* is accurately translated as tribute in this context.

suggests that the value of this tribute went beyond issues of authority, and was economically

valuable.[123] Texts from the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1350-1323BC) and Muršili II (1321-

1295BC) support this interpretation. Ugarit usually paid Ḫatti its tribute in gold (sometimes up to

500 shekels), precious goods like lapis lazuli and dyed wool, and ships, rather than in soldiers.[124]

Since Ugarit was a small but rich mercantile kingdom, Ugarit's rulers preferred paying extra

gold rather than sending the few soldiers the kingdom possessed.[125] Some of this tribute was

earmarked for specific sectors of the Hittite administrative or religious apparatus, again showing

the importance of tribute and resource extraction for the maintenance of the Hittite state.[126] The

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[123] *muḫ-ḫi* ᵈUTU-*ši, am-mi-ni la-a tal-li-ka ù* DUMU^MEŠ *šip-ri-ka am-mi-ni la-a tal-tap-pa-ra…*
i-na-an-na DUMU^MEŠ *šip-ri-ka muḫ-ḫi* ᵈUTU-*ši ki du-luḫ-ti-iš šu-up-ra ù šul-ma-na-ti* LUGAL
qa-du šul-ma-na-ti-ia šu-bi-la RS 17.247 8- 20 in Nougayrol 1956, 41-42.
Translation: Regarding his majesty, why did you not come? And why did your messengers not
come? Send your messengers quickly regarding his majesty and make them bring the king's gifts
along with my gifts!
[124] *ma-an-da-at-ka a-na* ᵈUTU-*ši* LUGAL.GAL EN-*ka* 12 MA.NA 20 GÍN KU₄.SIG₁₇ 20 *at-ru 1*
GAL KU₄.SIG₁₇ MA.NA KI.LÁ.BI-*šu ša pa-ni ma-an-da-at-ti* 4 ^TÚGGADA 1 ^TÚGGADA.GAL 5
me-at SÍG ^ZÁZA.GÌN 5 *me-at* SÍG ^ZÁZA.GÌN *huš-ma-na a-na* ᵈUTU-*ši* LUGAL.GAL EN-*šu* RS
12.227, 20-24 in Nougayrol 1956, 41-42.
Translation: Your tribute to his majesty the great king your lord is 12 minas, 20 shekels of gold,
the 20 including 1 gold cup, its weight being one mina, as the main part of the tribute. 4 tunics
and 1 big tunic 500 (shekels) of lapis lazuli-colored wool and 500 (shekels) of amethyst-colored
wool for his majesty, the great king, his lord…
[125] *a-di nu-kur-tu ša* ^KURAš-šur ig-gam-mar ša LUGAL KUR ^URUÚ-ga-ri-it ERIN^MEŠ-*šu*
^GIŠUMBIN^MEŠ-*šu a-na ti-il-la-ti la-a il-la-ku…*LUGAL KUR *Ú-ga-ri-it* 50 MA.NA KU₄.SIG₁₇
iš-tu 10 *ḫa-ar-ra-ni ša* É *du-up-pa-aš-ši a-na* ᵈUTU-*ši it-ta-din* RS 17.59 6-8 and 17-19 in
Nougayrol 1956, 150-151.
Translation: Until the war of (against) Assyria has finished (lit. shall end), the king of Ugarit,
his chariots and infantry, shall not come in aid…The king of Ugarit has paid his majesty 50
minas of gold from 10 expeditions of the sealed storehouse.
[126] RS 17.227, Šuppiluliuma I's tribute impositions upon Ugarit, record Ugarit's obligations
toward the queen (LUGAL.MUNUS), the crown prince (Akk. *tartēnu*, Hitt. *tukḫanti*), the chief
scribe (*tuppalanuri*), and several other officials. The careers of Hittite bureaucratic officials were
at least in part funded from tribute imposed on conquered and subject states. See RS 17.227, 25-
39 in Nougayrol 1956, 42-43 and RS 11.732 in Nougayrol 1956, 47-48 for the inventory list of
Ugarit's tribute to Ḫatti.

Hittite kings expected regular payment, and complained if the tribute did not meet the standards requested from Ḫattuša.

Although most Hittite economic records come from Syria, extant Hittite texts record tribute from Western Anatolian states in the form of recruits for the royal army. Muršili II imposed levy obligations upon conquered states in the old Arzawa Confederacy without any mention of economic obligations, suggesting that Western Anatolia was a major source of manpower for the Hittite army.[127] Western Anatolia also provided the Hittites a source of labor for the Land of Ḫatti proper, as documented in Muršili's annals.[128] Most importantly, the coast of Western Anatolia in theory allowed the Hittites to access European trade routes through the Aegean Sea.[129] The close economic and cultural links between the Arzawa Confederacy, Greece, and Crete point to regular material exchange between these areas that created a vibrant economic zone in the Aegean to which the Hittites coveted access. To the Hittites' chagrin, Aḫḫiyawan domination of the Aegean and parts of the Anatolian coast prevented the Hittites from fully exploiting their presence in this area. As a result, there is no material evidence of Hittites ever

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[127] There is a mention in the Madduwatta Text that mentions material tribute arriving from Western Anatolia, but this is from 1400BC rather than the reign of Muršili, whose reign principally took levies as tribute.
nu-za-kán ke-e KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} *pé-e-di-iš-ši* ÌR-*na-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-uš-ma-aš-kán* ERÍN^{MEŠ} *iš-ḫi-iḫ-ḫu-un nu-mu* ERÍN^{MEŠ} *pí-iš-ke-u-an da-er* CTH 161.1 A iii 28-29 in Grélois 1988, 65.
Translation: I subjugated those lands on the spot and imposed a levy upon them. They began to give me troops.
[128] Muršili deported large numbers of fugitives from Western Anatolia to Ḫatti every time he conquered an enemy kingdom, which was used to replenish the Ḫatti's plague-ridden population.
Nu-za ^{d}UTU-*ŠI ku-in* NAM.RA *I-NA* É.LUGAL *ú-wa-te-nu-un na-as* 1 SIG$_7$ 5 *LI-IM* 5 ME NAM.RA *e-eš-ta* ^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-*aš-ma-za* EN^{MEŠ} ERÍN^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}-*ya ku-in* NAM.RA^{MEŠ} *ú-wa-te-et nu-uš-sa-an kap-pu-wa-ar* NU.GÁL *e-eš-ta*. CTH 161.1 A ii 41-44 in Grélois 1968, 61
Translation: The enemies which whom I, my majesty, brought back to the palace were 15500. The enemies which the lords, infantry, and charioteers of Hattuša led back, there was not a number.
[129] Yakar 1976, 119.

conducting any sort of mercantile activity in the Aegean, although references to such activity are rare even in the regions where they did operate.

Most Hittite trade and commercial activity consisted of collecting tribute, but there are mentions of Hittite merchants (^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR) operating in Ugarit.[130] A decree from Ḫattušili III's reign (ca. 1260BC) attests to the existence of merchant colonies in Ugarit from the Tarḫuntaššan port of Ura (probably near modern Silifke, Mersin Province, Turkey). According to the text, these merchants were under royal authority and had been taking advantage to their positions to out-compete local merchants.[131] Royal patronage is implied in Ḫattušili's power to forbid these merchants from carrying out winter economic activities in Ugarit, owning property in the city, or seizing Ugaritic property as collateral for unpaid debts.[132] These merchants were the medium through which the Hittites obtained their luxuries, making them important state actors and a legally protected class.[133] The Hittite laws underscore this position with steep

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[130] The word ^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR (Akk. *tamkārû*, meaning merchant) refers to people who engaged in the movement of goods and related ventures, such as moneylending. Under the Amarna system, merchants could also represent rulers as envoys.

[131] The complaint of the king of Ugarit to the Hittite king implies that the Hittite king had some control over mercantile activities, which would mean the existence trade directed from Hattuša. *ša a-kán-na táq-te-bi a-na pa-ni-ia ma-a* DUMU^{MEŠ URU}*Ú-ra* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}DÀM.GAR UGU KUR ÌR-*ka ka-ab-tù dan-niš* RS 17.130 5-7 in Nougayrol 1956, 103.
Translation: Since you had spoken before me: the sons of Ura, the merchants, they are weighing heavily upon your servant!

[132] *ù* DUMU^{MEŠ URU}*Ú-ra i-na ku-uṣ-ṣi i-na* ŠÀ-*bi* ^{KUR}*Ú-ga-ri-it la-a uš-ša-bu u* É^{ḪI.A} A.ŠÀ^{MEŠ} *i-na* KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu la-a i-ṣa-ba-tu₄* RS 17.130 16-19 in Nougayrol 1956, 104.
Translation: …and the sons of Ura, in winter will not live in Ugarit and they will not seize houses and fields for silver (i.e. as collateral for silver loaned).

[133] Hoffner argues for the special place of the merchant in the Hittite economy since penalties for killing merchants were as high as 100 minas. Klengel has argued that based on this high penalty, Hittite merchants enjoyed virtual immunity from any wrongdoings, making the penalty more of a threat. See Hoffner 2002, 182-83 and Klengel 1979, 71.

penalties for the murder of a merchant, sometimes up to 100 minas.[134] The argument for state-licensed merchants may find further support in the word *ḫipparaš*. Under Hittite law, temple and government personnel were forbidden from doing business with members of this class.[135] Normally, *ḫipparaš* is translated as bondsman, but it may refer to unauthorized merchants and other social outcasts, comparable to the *'Apiru* of Egyptian records or Susan Sherratt's "institutionalized sea peoples."[136] Another Hittite text from the Maşat archives documents that regional governors could assign merchants to work at specific areas as they saw fit, again arguing for the existence of a licensed mercantile class and tightly-controlled exchange of certain goods.[137] These restrictions allowed the Hittites to control trade routes into Central Anatolia, including those from the Aegean via Arzawa and those that came to the Euphrates from Iran and

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[134] A text from Ugarit contains an instance in which Ḫattušili III fined the killers of a Hittite merchant in Apšuna the steep price of 1 talent of silver (~60 minas). For a summary of the penalties, see Barmash 2005, 178-201.
^{m}*Ta-li-im-mu* ^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR *a-kán-na iq-bi ma-a* ^{LÚ}DAM.GÀR-*ya i-na* ^{URU}*Ap-sú-na-a dì-ku$_8$-ú-mi…ša* ÚŠ *e-te-ep-šu ù* DUMU ^{URU}*Ap-sú-u-na* 1 GUN KÙ.BABBAR. RS 17.229 1-11 in Nougayrol 1956, 106.
Translation: Talimmu the merchant spoke thus: "My merchant was murdered in Apsuna." …Those who shed blood and the citizens of Apsuna [will pay] 1 talent of silver (omitted text concerns the court proceedings).
[135] For a treatment of this word see Neufeld 1950, 116-130. Neufeld argues that *ḫipparaš* were bondsmen in the service of temples and other state institutions, which is how they appear in most texts.
[136] Sherratt 1998, 294. Near Eastern states often lumped their stateless rivals under generic terms such as *'apiru*, the Egyptian for Levantine rebels. *Ḫipparaš* may be a Hittite equivalent, in the context of unauthorized merchants, although its meaning is unclear because it is attested in multiple contexts. If it can mean "merchant," this strengthens the case for a state-directed ritual economy and the importance that the religious establishment held in Ḫatti if the state insisted on exclusively furnishing it.
[137] "Furthermore, if a friendly comes into Ḫatti, let him trade in whatever city the governor of the rural province assigns him, let him not trade in another city on his own authority" in Von Schuler 1965, 122. Here foreign merchants are tightly controlled in their activities and must have permission to operate from a governor, evidencing a degree of protectionism like that seen at Ugarit.

Central Asia.[138] This following sections will discuss three important resources that the Hittites

sought for the maintenance of their institutions, namely gold, tin, and amber, all important

imported resources in Hittite ritual and economic texts.

Tin and Iron

Despite Ḫatti's many subjects, the state still lacked access to certain resources necessary

for keeping parts of the government and social sectors functional. Among these were tin, amber,

and gold, three important goods documented in Hittite texts that were not locally available. The

Hittite state was in a constant state of conflict, so demands for gold and other war materiel had to

be balanced to avoid bankrupting and alienating Hittite tributaries.[139] To compound the problem,

access to these goods lay in the hands of Ḫatti's enemies. The major tin sources of Anatolia

historically were the Armenian Mountains, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.[140] In the Old

Assyrian Period, Assyrian merchants had traded tin and textiles to Anatolia for silver, implying

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[138] Glatz and Plourde 2011.The Western Anatolian routes are not as well studied but Glatz hypothesizes that the placing of rock monuments such as the Karabel inscription served in part to mark authority on major routes, such as the road from Smyrna to Sardis that brought in crucial resources.

[139] Ugarit complained of excessive Hittite demands for troops and gold. Muršili II, based on a fragmentary text, cut Ugarit's tribute by 1/3 as compensation for cutting Ugarit's territory by the same amount, revealing the problem of tribute demands on small states. Heavy Hittite demands were incentives to rebel, so Hittite kings had to balance and occasionally cede ground to their subjects on these matters.

ù i-na UD-*me-šu* ᵐ*Níq-me-pa šàr* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*Ú-ga-ri-it ana* ᵐ*Mu-ur-ši-li* [LUGAL.GAL] *im-ta-ḫar ma-a* LUGAL.GAL KUR-*ta an-ni-*[*ta a-n*]*a*ˀ *2-šu ma-a* KU₄.SIG₁₇ *ma-a*[*n*]-[*d*]*a-*[*at-tu*] *ù šul-ma-na-tu₄…ša* ᴷᵁᴿ*Ḫ*[*a-a*]*t-ti* [*a-n*]*a muḫ-ḫi* KUR-*ti ka-bi-it-mi* RS 17.382+380 21-24 in Nougayrol 1956, 81.

Translation: In his day, Niqmepa the king of Ugarit appealed to Muršili the great king. The great king [reduced?] this land by 2/3's, but the gold tribute and gifts… of (?) Ḫatti were heavy upon (that) land…

[140] Forbes 1971, 163 and Yakar 1976, 121-22. The Hittite links with the Caucasus are revealed from the attestation of gold from a place called Birundumi (ᵁᴿᵁ*Pí-ru-un-du-um-me-ya-az,* CTH 4.13, 9). Ivanov has equated this locality with the Russian, Persian, and Armenian words for steel or metal, suggesting that this area's importance for mining. Modern Georgia was also a gold mining area, supporting the ritual's Hittite-Caucasian links. See Иванов 1977, 25-26.

that it was easier to obtain the metal from trade rather than mining Anatolia's few sources. By

the Empire Period, the Armenian Highlands were under the control of the politically fractious

land (Hitt. *utne*, usually written KUR) of Azzi-Ḫayaša, and later, Assyria.[141] Assyrian records

confirm the area's political fragmentation, describing it as a collection of warring groups, similar

to the Kaška of Paphlagonia, under the names Urartu and Nairi.[142] This made tin extraction or

importation from this close, but geographically fractured area difficult, because like the Kaška,

there were too many leaders to negotiate with and not enough resources at hand to fully

subjugate the region.[143] By the late 14th-early 13th century BC, these areas were paying tribute in

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[141] Šuppululiuma's treaty with Azzi-Ḫayaša contains several clues that point to the lack of unity in this area. Šuppululiuma refers to Ḫukkana as one of the men of Ḫayaša. Ḫukkana is never referred to as a LUGAL.
˹nu˺-ut-˹ták˺-kán URUḪa-at-tu-ši A-NA LÚMEŠ URUḪa-ia-ša-ia aš-šu-˹li˺ iš-tar-na te-ek-ku-uš-ša-nu-nu-un CTH 42 i 4-5 in Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42.
Translation: I have elevated you in Hattuša and among the men in Ḫayaša.
In another fragmentary section, Šuppululiuma orders Ḫukkana to seize fugitives and take issue with insubordinates who refuse extradition, highlighting Ḫukkana's position as the overlord or chief (LÚ) of a confederacy. Fe cannot extradite fugitives without confronting their protectors.
na-an zi-ik mḪu-uq-qa-na-a-aš e-˹ep˺ na[m-m]a ḫal-lu-u-wa-i CTH 42 A iii 70' and B rev. 54/16' in Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42.
Translation: You, Ḫukkana, seize him! Then be at odds with him!
[142] It is unclear if Azzi-Ḫayaša extended down into the Lake Van area, since it was a confederacy, not a geographical entity. Most likely, the spheres of Hittite Azzi-Ḫayaša and Assyrian Urartu overlapped. By accession of Shalmaneser I, the area was an Assyrian tributary. Shalmaneser claims that Urartu had rebelled during his vice-regency, meaning it had been subjected to Assyria under his father Adad-Nirari I, backdating Assyrian dominance in the are to the reign of Muršili II or Muwatalli II
.…KURÚ-ru-at-ri ib-bal-ki-tu-ni-ma a-na dAš-šur ù DINGIRMEŠ GALMEŠ ENMEŠ-ya qa-ti aš-ši da-ku-ut ERINMEŠ-ya aš-kun a-na ki-ṣir ḫur-ša-ni-šu-nu dan-nu-ti lu e-li Shalmaneser I 01 27-32 in Kirk Grayson (ed.), http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/pager/
Translation: The land of Urartu rebelled against me. I prayed to Assur and the great gods my lords. I organized my levy troops and marched into the mass of their strong mountains.
[143] The Assyrian records give eight different lands each with their own armies (8 KUR.DIDLI ù ILLATMEŠ-ši-na) that Shalmaneser I conquered during his Urartian campaign, each one with its own ruler. Despite this, even Assyria had problems keeping the area under its rule. Shalmaneser I 01, 36-37 in Kirk Grayson (ed.), http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/pager/

tin and other metals to Assyria instead, which had the military power to tenuously subjugate the Armenian Highlands under Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1245-1207BC).[144]

The second option for tin importation was from Central Asia. This route, though, lay within Assyria as well, passing through Upper Mesopotamia on its way to the Mediterranean ports on the Levantine Coast. Beginning under Adad-Nirari I (ca. 1307-1275BC), the Hittites fought Assyria several times over the course of the first half of the 13th century BC, suffering at least two defeats and losing the eastern bank of the Euphrates (Ḫanigalbat), making the source of tin from the Zagros and Central Asia insecure.[145] Since trade tended to stop in times of war, these conflicts threatened Ḫatti's access to tin and its ability to properly equip its military with bronze weaponry. This situation provided an incentive for the Hittite experimentation with iron during the reign of Ḫattušili III. Since smelted iron is superior to bronze it makes sense that the Hittites would have pursued this as an alternative, and were among the first in the Near East to begin

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[144] Tukulti Ninurta's conquest of the region and his exaction of tribute means that these lands were outside the rule of Ḫatti, meaning they could not obtain anything from there.
40-*a* MAN^{MEŠ} KUR.KUR *Na-i-ri a-na* MURUB₄ *ù* MÈ *dap-ni-iš iz-zi-zu-u-ni it-ti-šu-nu am-da-ḫa-as a-bi-ik-ta-šu-nu aš-ku-un* ÚŠ^{MEŠ}-*šu-nu ḫur-ri ù muš-pa-li šá* KUR-*i lu ú-me-kir₆ kúl-la-*at KUR.KUR-*šu-nu a-bel* GUN *ù ta-mar-ta a-na u₄-um ṣa-ti* UGU-*šu-nu aš-ku-un* Tukulti-Ninurta I 05 38-47 in Kirk Grayson (ed.), http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/pager/
Translation: The 40 kings of the land of Nairi aggressively deployed for battle. I fought with them and defeated them (lit. put down their defeat). I made their blood irrigate the ravines and depths of the mountains. I became lord of all their lands and placed tribute and duties upon them forever.

[145] Although Ḫatti's tin sources are hotly debated, the Hittites had trade relations with Elam and the Zagros mountains, as evidenced by the Old Hittite Palace-Building. The ritual lists rock crystal (^{NA₄}DUḪ.ŠÚ.A) from the land of Elam (KUR ^{URU}*I-la-am-da-az*) as a Hittite import. The importation of goods from the Zagros strengthens the possibility for Hittites importation of tin too. The Zagros was the source for Anatolian tin in the Assyrian colony period after the mines in Kizzuwatna were abandoned, although according to Hittite texts, they were providing some tin in later periods. For the ritual, see CTH 413.1 vs. 37 in Susanne Görke (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 413.1.

smelting. [146] However, as seen from Ḫattušili's letter to Shalmaneser I, Hittite iron workers were

having problems with iron smelting because of the ore's quality and long periods of time needed

for the process.[147] Therefore, although the Hittites knew of steel, they still used bronze, which

was easier to produce in large quantities with the technology available. Without tin, the Hittite

military could not be properly equipped.

Amber

In the Late Bronze Age, European luxuries arrived in the Near East via the rivers of

Central Europe and the Adriatic Sea.[148] Chief among these was amber, although types of

weapons, armor, and metallurgy from Greece and Central Europe, such as flanged-hilt swords,

were also among the goods entering the Eastern Mediterranean.[149] Due to their position in the

Anatolian Highlands, the Hittites did not have access to this trade, which could only be accessed

through the ports of Western Anatolia, the Dardanelles, or the Black Sea. Despite this, the

Hittites somehow obtained amber, since it is attested in birth and purification rituals. Although

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[146] Waldbaum 1999, 28-29. Although the Hittites knew about steel (AN.BAR SIG$_5$), it was still a technology in its infancy.
[147] Only 19 forged iron artifacts are known from Hittite Anatolia. The Hittites also produced steel statues, as attested in inventory texts. As far as the texts are concerned, though, in the 13th century BC, the Hittites still had perfected the technology for producing iron weaponry cheaply and quickly. Ḫattušili mentions that his smiths were working and that he would forward Shalmaneser the steel after it was done but could only send him small blades.
a-na AN.BAR SIG$_5$-qi *ša tàš-pu-ra-an-ni* AN.BAR SIG$_5$ *i-na* ^{URU}*Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na i-na* É.^{NA_4}KIŠIB-*ia la-a-aš-šu* AN.BAR *a-na e-pé-ši le-mé-e-nu* KBo 1.14 in KBo 1.14 62-65 in Mora 2004, 62-65.
Translation: Regarding the good iron (steel) of which you wrote me, there is no good iron in my storehouses in Kizzuwatna. The iron was not good for smelting."
[148] Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke 2015, 365-367. In the Late Bronze Age, warriors often doubled as merchants, making them responsible for conducting long-distance trade expeditions from Central and Eastern Europe into the Mediterranean and the Aegean areas.
[149] These goods have similar distributions in the Near East and likely came together with the entrance of merchants from mainland Greece into the Near East. For the distribution of these flanged-hilt swords, see Kristiansen 2002.

many Hittite rituals in the corpus were most likely never performed, some of them, such as birth

rituals, cleansing rituals, and libations ensured the appeasement of the gods or the good health of

aristocratic children, especially heirs.[150] The word *huštis* appears in these rituals and in the

festival of Ištar of Ninve.[151] It was usually ground into a powder, mixed in with other

ingredients, and burned.[152] The cleansing ritual involved "swiping" the statue of a deity with

amber, which Puhvel has interpreted as fumigation with amber incense.[153] A similar procedure

was performed on high-class newborns as part of a birth ritual to give the newborn strength,

highlighting to special qualities associated with the gem.[154] The presence of amber in these

rituals suggests that the Hittites not only desired access to goods like amber for their beauty,

prestige, and possibly medicinal purposes, but required them to properly carry out religious

functions, making it a matter of divine importance to obtain them.

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[150] One of the more common rituals involves "god drinking" (Hitt. *eku-* + *dat.*), which involved libating to gods. Amber occurs in this context. See Puhvel 2003, 54-57.

[151] The meaning of *ḫuštiš* is still disputed. Puhvel and Polvani give the meaning as amber and there is a strong case for this interpretation. See Polvani 1988, sv. "*ḫušti-*" and Puhvel 1984, s.v. *ḫušt(i)*. It appears alongside "a little carnelian, [and] a little alabaster, and lapis lazuli," all of which are stones, as indicated with the NA$_4$ determinative. (^{NA_4}ZA.GÍN *tepu* ^{NA_4}GUG ^{NA_4}AŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL *tepu ḫuštiš tepu*). *Ḫuštiš*, though, appears without the NA$_4$ determinative, suggesting that *ḫuštiš* was not a stone. It appears again in the Ammiḫata Ritual alongside tamarisk and cedar (^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG *tepu*), but without the GIŠ determinative for wood. Therefore, it is not wood or stone, but resembles both. A resin-based gemstone like amber fits this category. It is also attested in KBo 5.2 IV 21-23 as being ground with cedar and tamarisk. *ḫuštin* ^{GIŠ}ERIN ^{GIŠ}ŠINIG *tepu dai n-at-šan A-NA* ^{DUG}*kuškuššulli katta kuškušzi*
Translation: He takes amber, cedar, and a little tamarisk and pounds them down in a mortar.

[152] KBo 23.23 vs. 31 describes amber and another substance being placed together in a fire, confirming that the substance was burned. (*ḫuppannin ḫuštanna paḫḫue*[*ni*]).

[153] *Nam-ma* DINGIR-*LAM ḫu-uš-ti-it ar-ḫa wa-aḫ-nu-u-a-an-zi* KUB XXIX 4 III 65
Translation: Then they swipe the god with amber…
The idea of fumigation is supported in KBo XI 14 i 19, which mentions the burning of *ḫuštiš* when mixed with cedar, butter, and honey (*nu* ^{GIŠ}ERIN YÀ.NUN LÁL *hu-uš-za-aš ša-me-ši-ya-zi*).

[154] Amber is not a tough substance, so its strength must refer to the gem's supernatural associations, perhaps in relation to a solar deity.

Amber is an excellent marker for trade because it could only be obtained from the Baltic

Coast. The states of Late Bronze Age Greece (Aḫḫiyawa) were the amber trade's main drivers.

The routes ran from the Baltic to the Adriatic and ended near Monkodonja in Istria, whence it

was shipped over the Adriatic to the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean.[155] From available

evidence, the Hittites refrained from exchange with the Greek mainland, making it difficult to

obtain the gem, which is found more frequently in the Levant and Egypt, two regions that had

continuous exchange and friendly diplomatic relations with Bronze Age Greece beginning

around 1500BC.[156] The Hittite relationship with Aḫḫiyawa, though, was antagonistic. Ḫatti and

Aḫḫiyawa were rivals for influence in Western Anatolia and had fought on opposing sides at

least once, during the Aššuwa War (ca. 1400BC).[157] Virtually no Aegean goods are found east of

Beycesultan, leading Eric Cline to suggest a Hittite embargo of the Aegean world.[158] Although a

200-year embargo is unlikely, Cline is correct to suggest that the Hittites embargoed Aḫḫiyawa

for shorter intervals, since this is attested at least once in the Šaušgamuwa Treaty with

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[155] Kaul 2015, 85-89. Istria's place as the end of the amber route is confirmed by finds of mixed assemblages including Aegean, Mycenaean, and Central European goods such as amber, faience, and ostrich eggs alongside Mycenaean pottery. The amber found in Egypt and the Levant was obtained through this route, pointing to friendly relations between Egypt and Mycenae as demonstrated under Thutmosis III and Amenhotep III.

[156] The Egyptians maintained trade and diplomatic relations with Greece for mercenaries and precious goods. An Amarna papyrus depicts Mycenaean warriors with boars-tusk helmets fighting against Libyans. See Schofield and Parkinson 1994, 161–62. Amenhotep III's Kom el-Hettan Aegean List provides the names of places an Egyptian delegation visited in the middle of the 14th century BC. Among these is the name *mikinw*, which has been identified with near certainty as Mycenae. See Cline and Stannish 2011, 9-12.

[157] Cline 1996. Cline suggests that the Aḫḫiyawa financially backed Western Anatolian coalitions against Hittite rule. This possibility will be investigated later.

[158] Cline 1991, 2-3. This is countered with arguments that no Egyptian material has been found there either. However, given the proximity of Aḫḫiyawa to Ḫatti and the amount of Aegean goods in Western Anatolia, it would be difficult to explain the complete lack of Aegean goods in the Hittite homeland unless it was intentional. Trevor Bryce has rejected the possibility of a continuous embargo, preferring targeted embargoes over shorter time frames. See Bryce 2003, 69-70.

Amurru.[159] Trevor Bryce has instead argued that Western Anatolia and European trade routes yielded little material benefit for Ḫatti because they were too dangerous due to continuous conflict in the region.[160] Given the Hittite use of amber, whose shipping routes were under the control of various Mycenaean polities, this theory does not hold up. It is more likely that mainland Greek states had barred Ḫatti from the amber trade, requiring the Hittites obtain it elsewhere.

Gold

Ḫatti, despite being a great kingdom, lacked the most important good in the Near East, gold. Gold was the basis of wealth in the Late Bronze Age, a safe and non-fungible store of value. It was available in Western Anatolia near Troy, although these mines may have been exhausted by the Late Bronze Age, and from classical Lydia. The Hittites frequently demanded gold in tribute from their mercantile subjects in Syria and possibly from Lydia, although the extent of Bronze Age gold mining in Lydia is unclear. Lydia's location in the Arzawan heartland made it an unsecure gold source for Ḫattuša. The Hittites used gold for maintaining and supplying the army, temple personnel, and bureaucrats. Increased Hittite involvement in Near Eastern politics in the 13th century BC and the constant state of conflict necessitated more gold

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[159] Under the Šaušgamuwa Treaty, Amurru was not permitted to trade with Aḫḫiyawa or Assyria and was to prevent Assyrian and Aḫḫiyawan cooperation. LUGAL KUR *Aš-šur A-NA* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* GIM-*an ku-ru-ur tu-uk-ka-aš QA-TAM-MA ku-ru-ur e-eš-du tu-el-kán* ᴸᵁ́DAM.GÀR ŠA KUR *Aš-šur le-e pa-iz-zi a-pe-el-ma-kán* ᴸᵁ́DAM.GÀR ŠA KUR-*KA le-e tar-na-at-ti* KUR-*KA-aš-kán iš-tar-na ar-ḫa ˹le-e˺ pa-iz-zi…*[ŠA KUR *Aḫ-ḫ*]*i-˹ya˺-u-wa-aš-ši* ᴳᴵŠMÀ *pa-a-u-an-zi l*[*e-e tar-na-ši*] CTH 105 iv 10-18 and 23 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 62-65.
Translation: Just as the King of Assyria is hostile to my majesty, he shall be hostile to you too. Your merchant will not go to the Land of Assyria. Do not allow the merchant of that one (i.e. the King of Assyria) to go into your land. Do not let him pass through your land… Do not allow a ship of Aḫḫiyawa to [come to you].
[160] Bryce 2005, 62. Bryce argues instead that the Hittites simply acquired whatever they could from the Aegean via their subjects in Syria, which to a degree is true, but probably not the only source.

and resources to keep the empire's systems functional. Egypt, the Near East's biggest gold producer was hostile, while Azzi-Ḫayaša, another source of gold according to the House-Building Ritual, was also out of reach by the time of Muwatalli II.[161] There were other potential sources of the metal in Europe that were also blocked off due to Aḫḫiyawan command of the sea, leaving the Hittites in a difficult situation that had to remedied diplomatically or circumvented with an alternative route.

Conclusion

This brief analysis of the Hittite state apparatus depicts a kingdom that functioned efficiently in peacetime through the procurement of resources from its subjects and contacts. Under Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1344-1321BC), Ḫatti destroyed its Mitannian rivals and was bereft of any major competition apart from Egypt, allowing for a short burst of prosperity that a plague under Muršili II cut short. Shortly after, the Assyrian conquest of Ḫanigalbat and the Armenian Mountains cut the Hittites off from valuable tin and mineral supplies from Central Asia and the Armenian Mountains, while rising tensions with Egypt threatened access to Levantine ports.[162] In Western Anatolia, Arzawan rebellions required nearly ten years of warfare to restore Hittite authority and preserve Ḫatti's main pool of manpower. For the Hittites, such a situation was intolerable, since the empire's survival depended on routes that passed through Arzawa and Assyria. However, the Hittites could also not afford to be constantly at war.

The importation of utilitarian or luxury goods was crucial to the maintenance of the empire's bureaucracy and temples and for the health and well-being of the royal family. Since the gods were the owners of the land of Ḫatti, any wealth stockpiled in Ḫatti was in their name,

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[161] This gold may have originally come from the Caucasus, where it was mined beginning in the Early Bronze Age. See Stöllner and Gambashidze 2014, 102-124.
[162] Yakar 1976, 122.

and by extension, belonged to them. Since a prosperous Ḫatti implied that the gods were appeased, the Hittites could not give up on their commerce, which required a strong military and the requisite resources to equip a fighting force for the defense of its economic lifelines. With little possibility of dislodging Assyria from Northern Mesopotamia or reopening commercial lines there, the Hittites instead focused their energies on protecting the Aegean frontier against economic and military encroachment of the Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa. In Western Anatolia, the continuous fighting between the Arzawan states, Ḫatti, Aḫḫiyawa, and independent adventurers had resulted in a stalemate. Here, the Hittites could potentially reach a settlement to open the Aegean to Hittite commerce.

Chapter 2

Ḫatti, Aḫḫiyawa and the Struggle for the Troad

Introduction

Because the survival of Hittite state institutions and the well-being of the Land of Ḫatti itself were tied to the importation and accumulation of wealth, metals, and other vital resources, the risk of losing access to trade routes passing through the Armenian Mountains and Mesopotamia posed an existential problem. Militarily, the Hittites did not have the power to dislodge Assyria from Urartu or Ḫanigalbat without risking a major military confrontation, forcing Ḫatti to look for alternative supply routes. An important alternative route passed through the Aegean Sea, a conduit that would give Ḫatti access to the riches of Europe via the Adriatic. Here, the Hittites encountered a powerful rival, the Great Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa. Aḫḫiyawa also sought domination of Aegean commerce and the statelets of the Western Anatolian coast at the Hittites' expense. This conflict influenced Hittite actions that eventually led to the opening of the Balkan trade routes via the city of Troy.

The Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa differed from Near Eastern states in most respects, even though it shared their designation as a great kingdom. Despite its ruler's title of LUGAL.GAL, the kingdom in practice was a confederacy of Mycenaean Greek-speaking *wanaktes* and lesser warlords who sometimes united behind the most powerful in a sort of peer-polity network instead of a unified state with a central core (like Egypt or Ḫatti). The states ranged from large palatial kingdoms like Pylos, Mycenae, and Thebes to much smaller polities such as those of Locris, which resembled private estates rather than states.[163] Although in theory the *wanax*

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[163] For Locris, see Kramer-Hajós 2008. For the interpretations of the palatial states, see Small 2007, 43-47. This was the result of Greece's mountainous and fractured geography, which made

headed the state, the Greece's fractured geography resulted in highly decentralized states with multiple exchange mechanisms between different strata of society and institutions that represented them.[164] The states of Bronze Age Greece were not subject to the same rules as the Near Eastern states, although they were aware of Amarna Protocol as interactions with Egypt suggest.[165] Each individual kingdom, despite at times paying lip service to an overlord, had agency to interact and conduct diplomacy with foreign states.[166] This loose organization complicated diplomatic interactions with Aḫḫiyawa due to the multiplicity of Aḫḫiyawan actors and their conflicting interests.

While Aḫḫiyawa was the great sea power opposed to Hittite intervention in the region, the conflict included an oft-overlooked subset of actors, Western Anatolian nobles whom the Hittites had conquered under Šuppiluliuma I and Muršili II. In their conflict with Aḫḫiyawa, the Hittites faced a network of interlocking political, cultural, and economic interests that closely tied the polities of Arzawa and Caria with Aḫḫiyawa. While the Hittites coveted access to Aegean ports, the Western Anatolian nobles that owned them sought to maintain their cultural and political separateness from Ḫatti and strengthen their millennia-old links with Aḫḫiyawa and the Aegean Islands. For them, the Hittites were intruders pulling apart two regions that had

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political unity impossible. The small size of some states made them more akin to personal estates of Achaean warlords rather than full-fledged kingdoms. See also Voutsaki 2010.

[164] Archaeologists agree that the states of Bronze Age Greece were not centralized around an all-powerful palace, since Greece's geography made centralized control difficult even in the small area of the Peloponnese. See Lupack 2011 for reviews of the institutions and mechanisms of exchange between different parts of Bronze Age Greek society.

[165] Jasink 2005, 60-62. She suggests that the states of Aḫḫiyawa were unfamiliar with Near Eastern diplomatic protocols. Evidence from interaction with Egypt and Hittite expectations that the rules would be respected suggests that the Aḫḫiyawans were familiar with the rules but ignored them at their convenience.

[166] Cline and Stannish 2011. This phenomenon is best seen Amenhotep III's Kom el-Hettan list. The text lists each state his ambassadors visited as its own foreign land, suggesting an awareness of the loose political structure of the region, despite the existence of a great king.

maintained close diplomatic, economic, and cultural relationships since the Early Bronze Age. The real problem for the Hittites was not Aḫḫiyawan interference, but the desire of Western Anatolian nobles to preserve their cultural symbiosis with Greece, a policy that required the conscious rejection of Ḫatti and its interference in local politics.

This chapter will analyze the different and sometimes opposing interests that characterized the Hittite-Aḫḫiyawan conflict from the viewpoint of the interests of Arzawan adventurers operating in Western Anatolia. This analysis will show that the Hittites could not hope to separate Western Anatolia from Aḫḫiyawa given the long history of relations between the two areas and the economic and strategic interests of Arzawan rulers. The loose political structure of Aḫḫiyawa added a complicating factor. Although Ḫatti could negotiate with the great king of Aḫḫiyawa, there was the issue of his subjects, who could flout any agreements to which they did not consider themselves parties. The king of Aḫḫiyawa, as a *primus inter pares*, did not control these other actors, leading to a tangled web of competing interests within Aḫḫiyawa itself. Despite Hittite attempts at rapprochement with Aḫḫiyawa, this web of interests forced to look elsewhere for alternative trade routes to avoid becoming bogged down in costly and unwinnable conflicts against Arzawan nobles and their Aḫḫiyawan backers.

Sivrihisar-Miletus (Tawagalawa)
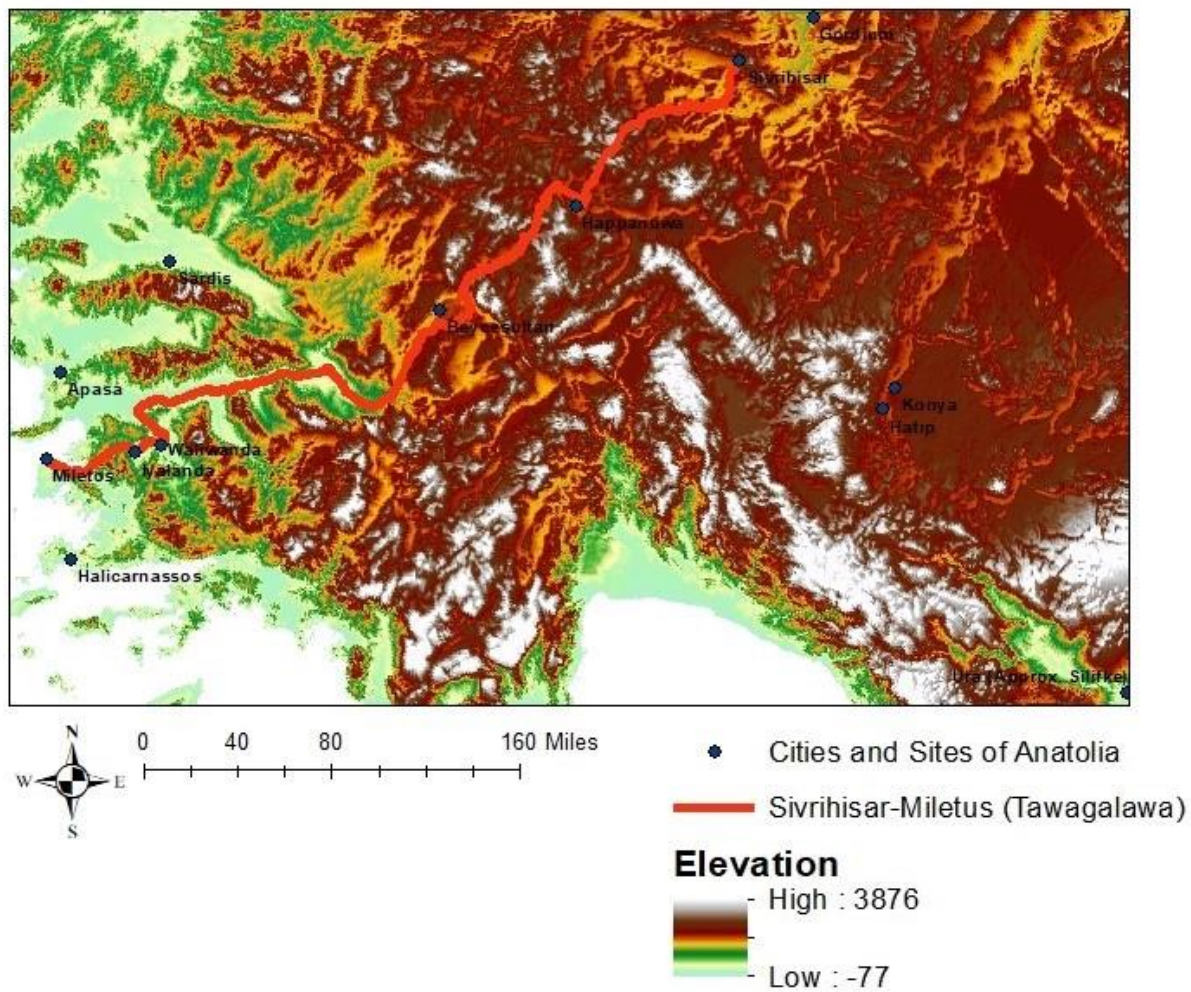
Figure 8: Approximation the Hittite march as described in the Tawagalawa Letter. This shows the least-cost path between the Hittite fortress of Sivrihisar and Miletus, where the journey ended. The map demonstrates the long and difficult march the Hittites faces, while their Aḫḫiyawan rivals who could sail to Western Anatolia to defend their interests. Map made using ArcGIS with elevation data downloaded from the USGS earth explorer.

The Piyamaradu Affair

The underpinnings of the Hittite-Aḫḫiyawan conflict are best exemplified in the Tawagalawa Letter. This text, of which only the third tablet has survived, details the negotiations surrounding Hittite attempts to apprehend the letter's antagonist, an Arzawan aristocrat and adventurer named Piyamaradu and the long and difficult

accompanying journey (**Figure 8**). By the time the letter was written, Piyamaradu's forces had

been attacking Hittite interests in the region for at least 15 years. The text is traditionally been

dated to 1250BC during the reign of Ḫattušili III, mostly based on its style.[167] Another proposal

dated it to the reign of Muwatalli II on the basis of the events described in the text, while a third

places it in the reign of Muršili III (Urḫi-Teššob , ca. 1272-1267BC).[168] Based on Piyamaradu's

age in the letter, the best candidate for the letter's authorship is either Muwatalli II or Muršili III.

Although the author's identity is missing, clues in the text argue for an earlier dating than

Ḫattušili III. Piyamaradu appears in other texts from the reign of Muwatalli II. The Manapa-

Tarḫunta Letter recounts his activities in the Troad and Šeha River Land between 1295BC and

1273BC and not after, since Muwatalli died around 1272BC after Qadesh.[169] The Tawagalawa

Letter also names Piyamaradu as the father-in-law of a certain Atpa, whom the Manapa-Tarḫunta

Letter names as Manapa-Tarḫunta's replacement as ruler of the Šeha River Land.[170] Given the

relationship between Piyamaradu and Atpa possibly as early as 1295BC, it is likely that the

marriage alliance between the two was cemented around this time. To secure such an alliance,

Piyamaradu would have needed a daughter of marriageable age (ca. 12-16 years old), placing his

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[167] This is the traditional date given by Beckman *et al.* 2011, 101. Several other dates as far back
as Muršili II have been proposed as well. See Hoffner 1982.

[168] Gurney 2002. There are several signs that suggest a dating for Muwatalli II: the mention of
conflict near Wiluša, the identity of the correspondents, and the mention of Kuruntiya at Miletus.
This will be expanded on later.

[169] ᵐ*Kaš-šu-u-uš ú-it* ERÍN^MEŠ ^KUR*Ḫat-ti-ya ú-wa-te-et na-at* GIM-*an* EGIR-*pa* ^KUR*Wi-lu-ša*
GUL-*u-wa-an-zi pa-a-ir*… The Manapa-Tarḫunta Letter, obv. 3-4 in Beckman *et al.* 140-41.
Translation: It happened that Kaššu brought the troops of Ḫatti, and when they went back to
attack Wiluša …"

[170]*nu-uš-ma-ša-aš* ^LÚ*E-MI-ŠU-NU ku-it* **nu-u-a** *me-mi-an ku-wa-at ša-an-na-an-zi* CTH 181 i
64-65 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 104-107
Translation: Why are they still hiding the matter? Because he is their father-in-law?
Beckman restores *nu-wa*. However, the *wa* indicates quoted speech, which in the context of the
sentence, does not make sense. Therefore, Sommer 1932's restoration (in bold) of *nu-u-wa* (still)
is preferable.

birth well before 1300BC. By 1250BC, he would have been at least fifty years old, maybe older, making it improbable (though not impossible) that such an old man would have had young children, as he mentions in the Tawagalawa Letter, or would have been physically fit enough to cover such a wide area of territory from Wiluša down to Miletus in Caria.[171] Therefore, this dissertation will assume that the Tawagalawa Letter dates to before 1270BC rather than 1250BC.

The beginning of the text showcases the initial difficulties the Hittite great king faced when dealing with problems involving Aḫḫiyawa and Western Anatolian rebels on the Aegean coast. The Hittites intervened in the area after someone (presumably Piyamaradu) burned a town called Attarimma in the Lukka Lands, resulting in appeals for protection to both the Hittite king and Tawagalawa (identified as Eteokles/*Ἐτεοκλῆς* of Orchomenos by Emil Forrer), an Aḫḫiyawan potentate and brother of its great king.

nu ^URU*At-t[a]-ᒣri-imᒥ-ma-a[n]* ᒣ*ar-ḫa*ᒥ *[ḫar-g]a-nu-ut…[nu] A-NA* ^m*Ta-wa-ga-la-wa* LÚ^MEŠ ^URUᒣ*Lu*ᒥ*-uq-qa-a* G[IM]-*an* ZI-*ni [a]r-nu-e-er na-aš* ᒣ*ke*ᒥ*-e-da-aš* KUR-*e-aš ú-it u-uq-qa QA-TAM-MA* ZI-*ni ar-nu-e-er…*

CTH 181 i 1-5 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: He sacked the town of Attarimma. Just as the people of Lukka appealed to Tawagalawa, and he came to those lands, likewise, they appealed to me…[172]

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[171] The mention of having children in his household suggests that some were not fully grown, making it unlikely that Piyamaradu would have been over 50 at the time the letter was written. DAM-*SÚ*(!)-*ši ku-wa-pí* DUMU^MEŠ É-*TU₄-ya* ŠA ŠEŠ-*YA* ŠÀ KUR-*TI-YA ar-ḫa da-li-ya-zi* CTH 181 iii 56-57 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 114-115.
Translation: …while he leaves his wife children and household in my brother's land…"
[172] The people of Lukka never appealed to the king of Aḫḫiyawa that is addressed in the letter, choosing to appeal to his brother instead, who so far, does not have a title. Tawagalawa was more than just the brother of the great king, possibly also possessing the title, if not in name, in practice. This is suggested further by the juxtaposition with the Lukka Lands' summon of the Hittite great king, opening questions on Tawagalawa's position.

The Hittite king began his journey from Šallapa, (possibly modern Sivrihisar), a Hittite military

base whence all westward campaigns were launched. At Šallapa, the king sent his *tartēnu*, his

"second-in-command," to meet with Piyamaradu.

Nu-wa-mu ⌈LÚ⌉*tu-uḫ-kán-ti-in u-i-ya nu-wa-mu IT-TI* ᵈUTU-*ŠI ú-wa-te-ez-*⌈*zi*⌉ *nu-uš-ši* LÚ*TAR-TE-NU u-i-ya-nu-un*…

CTH 181 i 7-9 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: Send the *tukḫanti* to me to bring me to your Majesty! I sent the *tukḫanti* to him.[173]

Piyamaradu, however, disrespected the *tukḫanti*, and after interrupting him and belittling him,

demanded to be made a king in Western Anatolia as a precondition for negotiation.

a[-*pa-a-aš-š*]*a-kán* LÚ*TAR-TE-NU* ⌈*ka*⌉-*ri-ya-nu-ut nu-za Ú-UL me-m*[*a-aš*]…⌈ŠU⌉-*an-ma-an ḫa*[*r-ta*] *nu-uš-ši-za* EGIR-*an Ú-UL me-ma-aš na-an A-NA PA-NI* KUR.KUR^MEŠ *te-pa-wa*[-*a*]*ḫ-ta*⌐ *nu a-pa-a-at nam-ma-pát IQ-BI* LUGAL-*UT-TA-wa-mu* ⌈*ka*⌉-*a pí-di-ši pa-a-i ma-a-an-wa Ú-UL-ma nu-wa Ú-UL ú-wa-m*[*i*]

CTH 181 i 10-15 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: Then that man silenced the *tukḫanti* and refused… He held out his hand, but he refused in return. He humiliated him before all the lands. In addition, he said: "Give me kingship right now! If not, I will not come!" [174]

In doing so, Piyamaradu had effectively insulted the king's person. Since the *tukḫanti* was

considered the king's equal, insulting him was the equivalent of insulting the king.[175]

LÚ⌈*TAR*⌉-*TE-NU-ma Ú-UL A-NA* ⌈LUGAL⌉ *a-ya-wa-la-aš*
 CTH 181 i 11-12 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 102-103.
Translation: Is the *tukḫanti* not the stand-in/deputy for the king?

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[173] There has been the question as to whether the Akkadian *tartēnu* is the Akkadian writing for Hittite *tukḫanti*, which has been interpreted as "crown-prince" or "heir-designate". For the most recent treatment, see Orozco 2001. This is important, since the Hittite king later claims that he sent a son, potentially Kuruntiya. This would make the letter either from the time of Muwatalli II or Ḫattušili III. See De Martino 2010, 44-46.

[174] Piyamaradu humiliated the *tukḫanti* in front of other dignitaries, as suggested by the KUR.KUR^MEŠ, interrupted him, refused to allow him to speak, and was generally disrespectful.

[175] The word *ayawala* is of unclear meaning and has also been proposed to mean "son" (DUMU). See Melchert 1980, 90-95.

This episode showcased Piyamaradu disrespect for the king of Ḫatti and his belief that he negotiated from a position of strength, ignoring any potential consequences of his actions.

After the negotiation fiasco at Šallapa, the Hittite king crossed the mountains and arrived in a town called Waliwanda (Gk. Alabanda, near Doğanyurt, Aydın Province, Turkey) whence he sent Piyamaradu an ultimatum. Piyamaradu was to pull his forces from Iyalanda (Gk. Alinda/Αλινδα, near Karpuzlu, Aydın Province, Turkey) so that the Hittite force could arrive there in peace as part of the conditions for maybe receiving a kingdom, although the Hittites were in no position to enforce it.

ma-a-an-wa am-me-el EN-*UT-TA ša-an-he-eš-ki-ši nu-wa* ⸢*ka*⸣-*ša* I-NA URU*I-ya-la-an-da ku-it ú-wa-mi nu-wa-kán* ŠÀ UR⸢U⸣*I-y*⸣*a-la-an-da* [*t*]*u-el* UN-*an le-e ku-in-ki ú-e-mi-ya-mi*

CTH 181 i 17-19 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: If you are wanting my lordship, since I am coming to Iyalanda now, do not let me find any of your men in Iyalanda![176]

Piyamaradu ignored it and ordered his brother Laḫurzi to attack the Hittite forces on rough ground, negating the Hittite chariotry and forcing them to fight on foot.

GIM-*an-ma I-NA* URU*I-ya-la-an-d*[*a ar-ḫu-un*] *nu-mu* LÚKÚR 3 *AŠ-RA za-aḫ-ḫi-ya ti-ya-at nu* [*a-pé-e*ʾ *AŠ-RA*ʾ] *ar-pu-wa-an nu-kán* GÌR-*it ša-ra-a pa-a-u-un*

CTH 181 i 22-24 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: But when I arrived in Iyalanda, the enemy engaged me in battle in three places. The place was rough terrain. I went up on foot."

The text says that the attack came in three places, meaning that Hittites had to fight their way out of a carefully planned encirclement or ambush and then take the hilltop town. The battle for

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[176] The Hittite king concedes the possibility of giving Piyamaradu a crown. This calls into question Piyamaradu's sincerity considering subsequent events, which suggest that he never had any intention of serving the Hittites once he achieved his goals.

Iyalanda reveals several important details about Ḫatti's position in Western Anatolia. First, the Hittites could not rely on the locals in Lukka or Karkiša for help; they were loyal to Piyamaradu and were willing to shelter his forces against the Hittites. Secondly, such an attack would have required careful planning with a knowledge of the Hittite military's strengths and weaknesses. Finally, it revealed the Hittite's underestimation of Piyamaradu. The Hittite king, believing in his overwhelming strength, had telegraphed the rebels his intentions, allowing his forces to be ambushed and revealing Piyamaradu's skills as a commander.

The details of the battle reveal the scale of the fighting and give a character sketch of the Hittites' opponent. As mentioned earlier, the Hittites were attacked in three places, suggesting an encirclement, ambush, or both. Such military maneuvers required careful planning and organization to successfully execute. Piyamaradu and his brother, then, must have been skilled commanders and formidable opponents, daring men who believed they had the strength to defeat the Hittites militarily. This agrees with the beginning of the Tawagalawa Letter, which records Piyamaradu's capacity to successfully attack larger fortified settlements such as Attarimma (and perhaps Wiluša). Contrary to consensus, Piyamaradu was a formidable opponent with a large army and resources at his disposal, not a small-time adventurer with a ragtag force. Therefore, Piyamaradu and his relationship with Aḫḫiyawa are key to understanding the failure of Hittite endeavors in Western Anatolia. This relationship explains subsequent events in Miletus and the Hittites' decision to seek allies in the Troad.

Piyamaradu's ability to influence events is best illustrated in the meeting between the Hittite king and several local representatives at Miletus. When speaking of Laḫurzi's ambush, the King of Aḫḫiyawa, up until here a passive recipient, finally appears as a participant in the letter. The section of the letter directly addressed to him depicts frosty, but officially peaceful

and superficially respectful relations between Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa. The Hittite king poses

leading questions to the Aḫḫiyawan king over his knowledge of Laḫurzis and Piyamaradu's

activities.

Nu ŠEŠ-*YA pu-nu-uš-pát ma-a-an Ú-UL kiš-an* ⌈ᵐ⌉*L*[*a-ḫur-zi-iš-ša*] *za-aḫ-ḫi-ya an-da Ú-UL e-eš-ta am-mu-uq-qa-an I-NA* ŠÀ-*BI* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*I-ya-la-an-da Ú-UL AK-ŠU-UD*

CTH 181 i 27-29 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 102-103.

Translation: Ask, my brother, if it is not the case. Was not Laḫurzi there for battle? Did I not defeat him in Iyalanda?

The tone here implies that the Aḫḫiyawan king was aware of Piyamaradu's activities, although

he either did not care or was powerless to stop Piyamaradu because the support was not coming

from the Aḫḫiyawan King, but from somewhere else. From the text's tone, the Hittite king

already suspected outside interference on the part of someone within Aḫḫiyawa, perhaps the

unnamed great king, his brother, or an unknown third party. Despite Piyamaradu's insults, the

Hittite king pressed onward towards the Carian port of Miletus (Hitt. Millawanda, near Balat,

Aydın Province, Turkey), the main base for Aḫḫiyawan activity in Anatolia. Since Ḫatti did not

desire war with Aḫḫiyawa, which according to the Hittite king had nearly happened on one

occasion over Wiluša, the Hittite king hoped to obtain a negotiated solution in this matter too.

LUGAL ᴷᵁᴿ*Ḫa-at-ti-wa-an-na-aš-kán ú-uk ku-e-da-ni A-NA* [INI]M ᵁᴿᵁ⌈*Wi₅-lu-ša*⌉ *še-er ku-ru-⌈ur⌉ e-šu-u-en nu*[*-wa-m*]*u a-p*[*é-e-d*]*a-ni* INIM-*ni la-a*[*k-nu-ut*] *nu-wa tak-šu-l*[*a-u-en*]

CTH 181 iv 7-9 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 114-115.

Translation: The king of Ḫatti, with whom I was hostile over the matter of Wiluša, has persuaded me on this manner. We have made peace.

Therefore, he continued his march despite the difficult conditions and long supply lines that the Hittite army faced.[177]

The Hittite king finally arrived in Miletus and met a representative of the king of Aḫḫiyawa. Here, the representative blatantly violated Amarna diplomatic protocol by not sending him a gift as was customary.[178]

GIM-*an-ma-mu* [^{LÚ}*ṬE₄-MU ŠA* ŠEŠ-*Y*]*A an-da ú-e-mi-ya-at nu-mu Ú-U*[*L aš-šu-la-an ku-in-ki*] *ú-da-aš Ú-UL-*⌜*ya-mu*⌝ *up-pé-éš-šar ku-it-ki* [*ú-da-aš…*]

CTH 181 i 53-54 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 104-105.

Translation: When my brother's messenger met with me, he did not bring me any goodwill (and) he did not bring me any gift. Translation my own based on Beckman *et al.* 2011, 104-05.

Despite the insult, the representative assured the Hittite king that the great king of Aḫḫiyawa had ordered Piyamaradu to be handed over to the Hittites to face justice.

[*ki-iš-ša-an-m*]*a IQ-BI A-NA* ^{m}*At-pa-wa IŠ-PUR* ^{m}*Pí-y*[*a-ma-ra-du-un-wa-ká*]*n A-NA* LUGAL ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-ti* ŠU-*i da-a-i*

CTH 181 i 55-56 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 104-105.

Translation: He only spoke thus: "I (the king of Aḫḫiyawa) have written to Atpawa: Seize Piyamaradu for the king of Ḫatti!"

Because of this, the Hittite king brushed off the diplomatic slight and met with Piyamaradu, who arrived in Miletus by ship, and his two sons-in-law, Atpa and Awayana.[179] According to the

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[177] This passage, although fragmentary, implies that the Hittite forces were having supply problems, a reasonable interpretation considering they were in hostile territory hundreds of miles away from Hattuša.
GIM-*an wa-a-tar* NU.GÁL ⌜*e*⌝-[*es-ta*⌐] CTH 181 i 42 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 104-105.
Translation: When there was no water…
[178] Diplomacy between the Great Kings was based on reciprocity. For the king of Aḫḫiyawa to not send a gift was a direct insult to the Hittite king's person. Avruch 2000.
[179] Beckman *et al.* interpret this section as Piyamaradu departing from Miletus by ship. However, the Hittite text reads *nu-kan Pí-ya-ma-ra-du-uš* ^{GIŠ}MA-*za ar-ḫa ú-it* The Hittite motion verbs *uwa-* and *pai-* are prefixed verbs that indicate motion towards and way from the speaker respectively, at least in the Tawagalawa Letter where this usage is consistent. Therefore, the text

letter, the Aḫḫiyawan king acted in good faith. Atpa countermanded the order and subsequent

ones that negatively impacted his father-in-law, since the Hittite king accused him of redacting

and covering up the details of the crisis in a report to Aḫḫiyawa.

nu-wa-za-kán…me-mi-an DUḪ-*ši pa-ši-ḫa-˹a˺-it…[-wa]-za- kán me-mi-an* DUḪ-*ši pa-ši-˹ḫa˺-a-˹ti˺*

CTH 181 ii 23-25 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 106-109

Translation: Then he countermanded (lit. crushed) the order without hesitation…he will countermand it again without hesitation.[180]

If this is true, then the blame for the failure of negotiations with Piyamaradu lay with Atpa, not

with Aḫḫiyawa, however ill-disposed its ruler may have been towards Ḫatti. Piyamaradu and

Atpa disobeyed superior orders, suggesting that they felt secure enough in their positions to defy

two great kings and support Piyamaradu's campaign against Hittite interests in Anatolia.

The meeting between Piyamaradu and the Hittite king is incomplete, and so the episode

poses some additional questions. Piyamaradu refused to obey the king of Aḫḫiyawa, despite

relying on his aid against Ḫatti. Piyamaradu and Atpa's refusal to obey the Aḫḫiyawan king

opens the problem of where authority in Aḫḫiyawa lay. Aḫḫiyawa was a confederation of

polities that could nominally band together under the most powerful, as illustrated in the Hittite

use of the term LUGAL.GAL to describe the rulers of Aḫḫiyawa, but not a united kingdom.[181] In

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reads literally that Piyamaradu came back by ship to Miletus. This opens the question of where Piyamaradu had been, (possibly in the Greek islands or Greece itself), and with whom he had sought shelter. Ayawana and Atpa were there as well.

[180] Lines 23-25 are highly fragmentary, but Atpa appears to be the subject of both sentences and is guilty of countermanding the king of Aḫḫiyawa's order to hand Piyamaradu over.

[181] The mechanics for such confederacies are unclear, but archaeologists note that within individual states, individuals had a much larger degree of agency vis-à-vis their rulers, which would made putting coalitions together difficult. Shelmerdine 2011, 19-28. However, the Hittites, in identifying the king of Aḫḫiyawa as a LUGAL.GAL, imply that he ruled over subject kings, suggesting that confederacies existed to pursue common interests, as in the *Iliad*.

the Tawagalawa Letter, the unnamed LUGAL.GAL is most likely the *wanax* of Boeotian

Thebes.[182] However, his brother Tawagalawa is also referred to as a LUGAL.GAL, a confusing

situation from the Near Eastern perspective where each kingdom could only have one

LUGAL.GAL.

ᵐTa-wa-ga-la-wa-aš-pát-kán ku-wa-pí LUGAL.GAL [*A-N]A* ᵁᴿᵁ*Me-el-la-wa-an-da ta-pu-ša ú-it…*
CTH 181 i 72 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 106-107
Translation: When Tawagalawa, the great king, crossed to Miletus…[183]

One resolution is to assume that the original Hittite denoted a representative, although the

Hittites in their Akkadian correspondence had other terms for designating envoys, such as *mār-*

šipri, while a *tamkarû* also could hold a similar status. At face value, the letter reads that

Tawagalawa came as a LUGAL.GAL, followed with a leading question from the Hittite king

about Tawagalawa's status.

nu-ut-ta LUGAL.GAL IGI-*an-da ú-un-ne-eš-ta Ú-UL-aš šar-ku-uš* LUGAL-*uš e-eš-ta*
CTH 181 i 74 in Beckman *et al*. 2011, 106-107
Translation: The great king drove to meet you. Was he not a powerful king?[184]

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[182] Košak 1980, Hawkins 2010, and Kopanias 2008. The identifications of Aḫḫiyawa with Crete, Mycenae, and Thebes are all based on Greek tradition and the reading of the name Tawagalawa. Forrer interpreted the name as Eteocles, although some have proposed the equivalency with Deucalion, Idomeneus' father in the *Iliad*. The choice of Mycenae is based on Agamemnon's title of *wanax* (as opposed to Odysseus' title, *basileus*). The center of power shifted to the Greek mainland from Crete by 1300BC and tradition assigns primacy to Thebes, making it the best candidate for Aḫḫiyawa. Kopanias has concluded that LBA Thebes was powerful enough to rival Mycenae and had diplomatic contacts with at least one Near Eastern power, Kassite Babylon.
[183] Beckman *et al.* assume there is only one great king of Aḫḫiyawa, inserting "as a representative." The recipient is a LUGAL.GAL, as seen from the use of ŠEŠ-*YA*, the standard address between great kings. The text does not name Tawagalawa as a representative. Instead the LUGAL.GAL in line 72 is an apposition to Tawagalawa, who shared the title with his brother.
[184] This part of the text is unclear. The LUGAL.GAL in question at appears to be the writer of the letter. However, the Hittite king never refers to himself in the third person, leaving only Tawagalawa as the antecedent, in concordance with his mention as a LUGAL.GAL in the previous line. This still leaves the problem of the second person clitic *-ta*.

According to the letter, the Hittite king assumed that Tawagalawa was also a LUGAL.GAL in Aḫḫiyawa, opening the possibility that there were two great kings in Aḫḫiyawa instead of one.

The Hittites main objective was to obtain guarantees that Aḫḫiyawa would stop Piyamaradu's attacks against Hittite interests. The Aḫḫiyawans in the past were amenable to negotiation, and in the Tawagalawa letter, the unnamed king's willingness to hand Piyamaradu over to Ḫatti suggests that he was pro-peace. The Hittite king appears to believe Aḫḫiyawan intentions, but from his line of questioning, is suspicious of Aḫḫiyawan knowledge of the attacks and their powerlessness or unwillingness to stop them. Piyamaradu and Atpa's defiance of Aḫḫiyawan orders suggests that someone else, potentially a rival of the king of Aḫḫiyawa, was supporting them instead. The best way to solve this is to untangle the competing interests at play.

Piyamaradu's self-stated objective was to obtain kingship (LUGAL-*UT-TA*) in Western Anatolia. In the past, he had relied on Aḫḫiyawan support (either from the recipient of the Tawagalawa Letter or his father) in a conflict over Wiluša. That conflict had ended peacefully, and the truce held despite Piyamaradu's attempts to provoke war. Peace between Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa would cut Piyamaradu's source of support, leaving him to face Ḫatti alone and complicating his plans for kingship.

Nu-uš-ši SES-*YA a-pa-a-at* 1-*an ḫa-at-ra-a-i ma-a-an* Ú-UL *nu-wa* ⌈*ša*⌉-*ra-a* ⌈*ti-i-ya*⌉ *nu-wa* I-NA KUR*Ḫat-ti* ⌈*ar-ḫa i-it*⌉ EN-*KA-wa-at-ta* EGIR-*an* ⌈*kap*⌉-*pu-u-*⌈*wa-i*⌉*t*
CTH 181 iii 63-66 and iv 10 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 114-115.
Translation: Write to him my brother, that one thing! If not, get up and go to Ḫatti! Your lord has settled accounts (lit. counted) with you.[185]

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[185] The Hittite king's desperation is palpable, but he maintained faith in the Aḫḫiyawan king, whose good faith is implied in Piyamaradu's refusal to obey him. The Hittite king follows this with [*ki*]-*nu*⌈⌉-*na*⌈⌉-[*ma-wa-an-n*]*a-aš ku-ru-ur* UL ⌈*a-a*⌉-*ra* (It is not good for us to be hostile), suggesting that war was only in Piyamaradu's interest. Piyamaradu relied on keeping the Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa hostile to ensure Aḫḫiyawan support. Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa peace deal over Wiluša threatened to cut Piyamaradu's support off.

Piyamaradu's defiance risked his main source of support, so his willingness to part with the king of Aḫḫiyawa suggests the existence of another backer who was also hostile to the king of Aḫḫiyawa. The Tawagalawa Letter points to Tawagalawa himself as the source of Piyamaradu's support, creating the impression of a power struggle within Aḫḫiyawa itself.

The fragmented Tawagalawa letter gives little regarding the political situation within Aḫḫiyawa, so Greek tradition must fill in the gaps. Per Greek tradition, Cadmian Thebes was Greece's powerhouse during the heroic age. Its biggest rivals were Orchomenos, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Argos, reflecting Bronze Age Greece's lack of unity and the existence of confederations of different states. Under this arrangement, lesser states could undermine the strongest and engage in their own diplomatic relations, sometimes against the interests of the most powerful. Greek heroic tradition claims that before the Trojan War, mainland Greece experienced two wars between Thebes and the states of the Peloponnese, who sought to dethrone the Cadmian dynasty and subjugate Thebes to Mycenaean power.

Archaeological evidence from Thebes confirms parts of the Greek heroic tradition. Bronze Age Thebes was an archaeologically attested palatial center under a *wanax* with Anatolian and Near Eastern contacts (**Figure 9**).[186] Linear B tablets record natives of Troy, Miletus, and Sminthos, a northwestern Anatolian town sacred

Figure 9: Jug from Thebes. Part of the the inscription reads *wa-na-ka-ta*, indicating the existence of a Theban *wanax* https://www.mthv.gr/en/permanent-exhibition/mycenaean-period/#image-34

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[186] Dakouri-Hild 2001 and Aravantinos 2010. Dakouri-Hild's summary of the palace archaeology places its destruction during the LHIIIB1 period (approx. first half of the 13th century BC). Other images related to palatia Thebes are available at https://www.mthv.gr/en/permanent-exhibition/mycenaean-period/#image-34

to Apollo, living at Thebes.[187] Crucially, Thebes was also sacked in the mid-13th century BC, an event that Greek tradition likely preserved as the tale of the *Epigoni*.[188] Before the *Epigoni¸* Greek tradition had also preserved the memory of another expedition ten years earlier called the *Seven against Thebes* (all before the *Iliad*). Most importantly, the tradition recorded two rulers at Thebes, Oedipus' sons Eteocles and Polynices.[189] Ideally, they would have ruled in alternating years, but fought over the throne and were both killed, leaving an opportunity for other polities to benefit from the strife. Such an arrangement in Aḫḫiyawa explains why Tawagalawa's title of LUGAL.GAL alongside his brother, suggesting that the tradition reflected a historical reality.

The competition between two Aḫḫiyawan great kings explains the Hittite difficulties in their negotiations if Tawagalawa is seen as subverting his brother's position. If the unnamed ruler of Aḫḫiyawa's intentions toward Ḫatti were genuine, as the letter suggests, Tawagalawa should have met with the Hittite king and turned over Piyamaradu in accordance with his brother's orders. However, he did not, refusing to receive the Hittite king, as was befitting of his station. To add further insult, he then accused the Hittite king of attempted murder, which Hittite king emphatically refuted. Tawagalawa's refusal to cooperate with Ḫatti or his brother suggests that he was attempting to undermine any sort of peace deal with Ḫatti, perhaps to spark war and weaken his brother's position. The implied internal instability within Aḫḫiyawa, provides historical background to the Greek heroic tradition of a civil war over the throne of Thebes and more importantly, a reason for the Hittites to give up their aspirations in Western Anatolia in favor of a less politically complicated region.

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[187] Godart and Sacconi 1999, 543-544. Homer, *Iliad*, Book I 35-36 mentions a prayer to Apollo, who is referred to as the "Sminthian god" and ruler of Tenedos.
[188] Nilsson 1972, 107-108 and Dakouri-Hild 2001.
[189] Ibid.

Tawagalawa's subversive actions demonstrate the potential of individuals to create trouble for larger states. Although the Tawagalawa Letter does not mention the involvement of other Aḫḫiyawan states, this is a possibility since the biggest winners in a Hittite-Aḫḫiyawan war would have been Thebes' rivals, especially Mycenae.[190] Regardless of the particulars, Aḫḫiyawa cannot be treated as a peripheral confederacy of small, fragmented states that the Hittites knew little about, but as a major confederation (however loose) of states whose members actively undermined each other and the great king(s). The Hittites were informed enough about Aḫḫiyawa's power structure to correctly identify two co-rulers and the possible existence of a power-sharing agreement in Aḫḫiyawa. These features of the Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa combined with the close historical links between Greece and Western Anatolia made it difficult to stop Achaean interference in the region. Even if the Aḫḫiyawan king was willing to restrain people like Piyamaradu, he could not stop these individuals from appealing to someone else within Aḫḫiyawa, which the loose structure of the kingdom and expansionist ambition of states such as Thebes, Mycenae, Pylos, and Tiryns made possible. In such a conflict, the Hittites, as intruders, were at a disadvantage, since the Western Anatolian polities had closely cooperated with the states of Bronze Age Greece for centuries and had formed a cultural symbiosis with them that is reflected in the material record of Western Anatolia.

Anatolian-Aegean Interaction

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[190] The following passage implies that Thebes' claimants relied on the Peloponnese for support, turning states such as Mycenae and Argos into kingmakers in Thebes. If Homer is to be believed, this gave the most powerful, Mycenae, the opportunity to take the mantle of great king "Once verily he came to Mycenae, not as an enemy, but as a guest, in company with godlike Polyneices, to gather a host…and the men of Mycenae were minded to grant them, and were assenting even as they bade, but Zeus turned their minds by showing tokens of ill." Homer, *Iliad*, Book IV, 386-381.

Hittite attempts to subjugate Western Anatolia faced the challenge of undoing over 300 years of close political, social, and economic relations between Western Anatolia and mainland Greece. Arzawa and Caria had maintained close ties to mainland Greece and the Aegean since the Early Bronze Age while eschewing cultural exchange with Ḫatti. The historical connections and cultural symbiosis with Greece made the region's polities unreliable Hittite subjects. The relationship between Western Anatolia and Aḫḫiyawa has been framed in terms of immigration and conquest, but from the material evidence, it was one of close cooperation and selective adoption of mainland Greek institutions and objects.[191] The city of Miletus (Hitt. Milawanda) was the focal point for exchange with the Aegean. The strongest Aegean presence in the region was from LHIIIA (traditionally 1400-1300BC) to LHIIIB (traditionally 1300-1200BC), when Miletus materially resembled the centers of mainland Greece. During the LHIIIA period around the temple of Athena, excavations revealed that almost 98% of all the pottery found was locally produced domestic Aegean type pottery.[192] Based on these details, archaeologists have proposed the presence of a large resident population from the Greek mainland at Miletus.[193] Regardless, the pottery points to the presence of a population that had embraced Aegean culture and material goods both at the common and elite levels, as illustrated from burial evidence.

While the material evidence does not allow an ethnic characterization of the Western Anatolian elite, they were close enough to mainland Greece to adopt Aegean-style chamber tombs for themselves. The pottery from the Değirmentepe tombs outside of Miletus dates to the

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[191] For the processes regarding the creation of the material assemblages, see Gorogianni *et al*. 2016. It is impossible to determine the Western Anatolian elites' cultural identity, but the archaeology and textual evidence makes their close links with Greece clear.
[192] Niemeier 1997, 347.
[193] Niemeier 2005, 10-13. Miletus V, for instance, may have had a substantial population from the Greek mainland.

LHIIIB period, after 1400BC and the initial influx of Aegean goods into the region. The

presence of luxuries like gold rosettes, bronze weaponry, and blue glass beads speak to their

owners' high status.[194] If Anatolian nobles had adopted Aegean burial practices as seen in

mainland Greece, it suggests that they were consciously trying to identify with the Aegean elite

warrior ideology and palatial culture. The Hittite texts raise the possibility that some of these

aristocrats were born in Greece and immigrated to Miletus. People like Attaršiya, an early

Aḫḫiyawan adventurer from the reign of Tudḫaliya I, drew on soldiers from Western Anatolia,

making it likely that they had spent time there as immigrants before conducting their military

activities. As the material culture of mainland Greece entered Western Anatolia through trade,

close political and military ties naturally followed, especially since the two regions faced a

common Hittite rival.[195]

The Aegean character of Miletus suggests that at very minimum, mainland Greece held

considerable cultural and political clout in the town.[196] Hittite texts, though, only comment of the

political allegiance and are silent regarding the inhabitants' cultural allegiances.[197] Other areas of

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[194] For the findspots of the different types of goods, see Niemeier 2005, 14-15 and 18.
[195] Sherratt refers to them as hillforts centered around a *wanax* and his retinue for the monopolization of trade. While this is an over-simplistic view, she is correct to point out the crucial military component of the state and the general trend of militarism in Mycenaean society. They were chronically unstable due to a large, militarized population with a broad amount of autonomy. The constant strife attested from 15th century BC onward from palatial sackings, induced some aristocrats to seek their fortunes elsewhere, as Palaima proposed. Greek mythology's depiction of the "Heroic Age" as one of murders and palace intrigue supports this interpretation. See Sherratt 2001 and Palaima 2007, 135-138.
[196] Niemeier 2009.
[197] This is an interesting point. Niemeier has suggested that the Linear B script, and therefore, the Greek language was known to the local ruling classes, which is not impossible, given that they allied with the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa. However, Homer's *Iliad* describes Miletus as a non-Greek Carian city. "And Nastes again led the Carians, uncouth of speech, who held Miletus and the mountain of Phthires, dense with its leafage, and the streams of Maeander, and the steep crests of Mycale." Homer, *The Iliad* Book II, 867-69. The word here is βαρβαροφώνων, which is

Western Anatolia also have yielded Aegean material, although admittedly not in the same amounts.[198] The city of Smyrna (İzmir, Izmir Province, Turkey) has yielded both Aegean weaponry and jewelry in funerary contexts. Tombs near Beşik Bay to the south of Troy have yielded Aegean seals, weapons, and pottery.[199] The amount of Aegean material shrinks approaching the Troad.[200] Furthermore, many of these goods are found in tombs that are not of the Mycenaean type, such as those at Troy VI, Lesbos, Kolophon, and Panaztepe among others.[201] Even places like Ephesus (Gk. *Εφεσος*, Hitt. *Apasa*) contain Aegean goods in tombs that are for local aristocrats.[202] Therefore, it is difficult to speak of a "colonization" or outright conquest from mainland Greece, although Aḫḫiyawan aristocrats, such as Attaršiya, did mount military expeditions against Western Anatolia at times.[203] Attributing the Aegean presence in

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used to describe the Carians Nastes leads. In Homer's own time, Miletus was a Greek city with a Carian-speaking hinterland, suggesting that Homer's description hearkens to the Bronze Age when Miletus was a non-Greek city with close contacts with mainland Greece.

[198] See the maps in Niemeier 2005.

[199] Lewartowski 1998. There are many similarities in the Anatolian and Mycenaean ways of burial and arrangement, pointing to a cultural synthesis possibly reflected in the practice of cremation in the *Iliad*.

[200] The Aegean states assimilated some of these Anatolian practices as a matter of practicality. Northwestern Anatolia, having its own elite palatial culture, may have contributed culturally to Greece instead of materially, which explains the lower amount of material interaction. For an example of this in funerary practices, see Rutherford 2007, 223-236.

[201] These are just four examples of many. For the Kolophon tomb, see Bridges 1974, 264-266. Bridges suggests that it was built by local builders working outside Mycenaean building traditions. For Panaztepe, see Erkanal and Erkanal 1986 and Günel 1999.

[202] Gültekin and Baran, 1964.

[203] Piracy and warfare were two key facets of the Mycenaean economy alongside trade. These ranged from smaller-scale raids, such as those in the Madduwatta Text to full-scale expeditions as seen in the *Iliad*. The emphasis on raiding is seen again in Homer's *Odyssey*.
"On the fifth day we came to fair-flowing Aegyptus…But my comrades, yielding to wantonness, and led on by their own might, straightway set about wasting the fair fields of the men of Egypt; and they carried off the women and little children, and slew the men." Homer, *The Odyssey*, XIV 255-65.
This is Odysseus' "Cretan lie." However, scholars have interpreted this as a Bronze Age memory of Aegean adventurers raiding across the Mediterranean and establishing their own kingdoms in places like Cyprus and Cilicia. See Emanuel 2012.

Western Anatolia to colonization and conquest reduces the Western Anatolian aristocracy to passive recipients without agency, although they played a central role in the importation and adoption of Aegean goods and customs, as seen from the contents of their burials.

A more nuanced analysis suggests that the Western Anatolian elites adopted aspects of Aegean palatial culture for themselves.[204] The adoption of Aegean drinking vessels at Miletus links these borrowings to the realms of elite drinking and feasting.[205] Burials suggest that Aegean palatial culture held a certain prestige among the elites of the region, who wished to be buried in Aegean fashion. Although Mycenaean pottery is found in both common and elite contexts, it is not evidence for migration *en masse* from mainland Greece since local goods are often found alongside imported ones. The presence of Mycenaean and Anatolian weaponry side-by-side provides an interesting case study in this regard.[206] The Western Anatolian elites had adopted the institution of the sword-bearing aristocrat, a common image in the Aegean and Bronze Age European world.[207] A Mycenaean type-B sword found at Ḫattuša contains an inscription claiming that Tudḫaliya I dedicated several of these swords to the storm god after his defeat of

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[204] Kelder 2006, 69-71. Aegean pottery forms in Western Anatolia are primarily associated with drinking and feasting in elite circles.

[205] Raymond *et al.* 2016, 65-66.

[206] The weaponry of one of the Degirmentepe burials consists of three Anatolia swords and a Mycenaean type sword in a Mycenaean-style tomb. This suggests the adoption of foreign institutions while using them to give new meaning to local goods. For the swords, see Mountjoy 1998, 37.

[207] Kristiansen 2002, 329-330. The *Odyssey* speaks to the weapon's social significance. Odysseus is given a sword as an apology from a Phaeacian for a perceived slight to his character. "And Euryalus in turn made answer, and said: "Lord Alcinous, renowned above all men, I will indeed make amends to the stranger, as thou biddest me. I will give him this sword, all of bronze, whereon is a hilt of silver, and a scabbard of new-sawn ivory is wrought about it; and it shall be to him a thing of great worth." Homer, *The Odyssey* Book VIII 400-406.
Kristiansen has suggested that throughout Europe and the Aegean, swords served as status symbols among warriors and aristocrats.

the Aššuwa Confederacy in Western Anatolia.[208] These weapons likely carried special meaning

to the original owners, or the Hittite king would not have dedicated them to his patron deity. A

similar weapon is attested in Bulgaria near Varna in a ritual hoard, where it was bent and

deposited. The deposition of such weapons speaks to the significance of these weapons beyond

their utility in war.[209] These weapons have also been found throughout Western Anatolia, such as

those of Değirmentepe and Smyrna, both of which date to the LHIIIA period (ca. 1500-

1390BC).[210] If this theory is true, it suggests Western Anatolian elites were modelling their

image after European warrior ideals, illustrating the closeness between Greece and Western

Anatolia.

Because the material record is biased in favor of Aegean material, it sometimes appears

that exchange between Anatolia and Greece was one-sided. Linear B texts, however, show that

the states of Western Anatolia were active participants in exchange with Bronze Age Greece.

Western Anatolia's main export to Greece was slaves. Linear B tablets from Pylos name Western

Anatolian slaves. Among these are people from Miletus, Chios, Ionia, Lemnos, Troy, and

"Asia."[211] Some of these slaves were likely captives from raids into Western Anatolia. Hittite

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[208] *i-nu-ma* ᵐ*Du-ut-ha-li-ya* LUGAL.GAL KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-aš-šu-wa u-ḫal-liq* GIRᴴᴵ·ᴬ *an-nu-tim a-na* ᵈISKUR *be-li-šu u-ṣe-li.*
Translation: When Tudḫaliya the great king destroyed (lit. made disappear) the Land of Aššuwa, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his Lord.
The sword's inscription claims that Tudḫaliya captured multiple weapons, suggesting they were significant battle trophies, or they would not have been captured, inscribed, and dedicated.
[209] The Bronze Age polities of Bulgaria's Black Sea coast were egalitarian except in their use of metal, a privilege of the ruling class. This suggests the elite context for Aegean and European weaponry that may have been adopted in Western Anatolia too. See Athanassov *et al*. 2012 http://www.aegeobalkanprehistory.net/index.php?p=article&id_art=20.
[210] Niemeier 2005, 13-14.
[211] See the table in Yasur-Landau 2012, 40-43. Many of these people are domestic slave women, some of whom came from as far as the Levant. Wachsmann has pointed out that Mycenaean vessels were constructed for raiding, suggesting that the Aegean palatial states used both trade

texts attest that Aḫḫiyawans such as Madduwatta conducted raids on Hittite territories as far East

as Cyprus, while Homer's *Iliad* mentions that the Achaeans had used their camp at Troy as a

base to sack other parts of the Anatolian coast and enslave their inhabitants.[212] However, Hittite

texts make it clear that the elites of Western Anatolia were well-disposed towards the states of

Greece, so some of these slaves were either gifts from Western Anatolian elites to Aegean rulers

or were sold by Western Anatolian merchants to mainland Greek buyers.[213] The presence of

these slaves confirms the coastal polities' economic relationship with the cities of Bronze Age

Greece and proves that both goods and people crossed the Aegean.

Western Anatolian elites developed a strong, symbiotic economic relationship with the

states of the Aegean world. Aegean culture never swamped Western Anatolia, but was instead

adopted selectively, especially at the elite levels. Together, the two sides of the Aegean formed a

cultural zone separate from Central Anatolia and the Troad, where Aegean influence was

comparatively minimal or non-existent. The expansion of the Hittite Empire into Western

Anatolian threatened to disrupt this centuries-old relationship by removing the Western

Anatolian states from the Aegean economic sphere. In order to preserve this trans-Aegean

economic relationship, Western Anatolian rulers maintained friendly relations with the states of

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and piracy to obtain slaves. Mycenaean art depicts a martial ethos that was important in a highly
militarized society. See Chadwick 1976, 159-179. Greek tradition in the *Iliad* attests to the
Achaeans sacking parts of Anatolia and Thrace to obtain slaves and weaken Troy's allies. See
Wachsmann 1998, 128-130.
[212] The Madduwatta Text from the reign of Arnuwanda I describes the raids of an Aḫḫiyawan
adventurer named Attarsiya against Western Anatolia, Lycia, and Cyprus with the help of
various Western Anatolian actors and nominal Hittite clients, but does not mention slave raiding.
The *Iliad* on the other hand, begins with Agamemnon and Achilles arguing over a slave captured
during the sack of a city allied to Troy. See Homer, *Iliad* Book I, 105-72 for the quarrel over
Briseis.
[213] Niemeier 1998, 41. Niemeier Hittite involvement in the trade. However, given the tenuous
hold on the region that the Hittites had, it is more likely that Western Anatolian nobles drove the
trade, not the Hittite establishment.

Greece as leverage against Ḫatti, since Aḫḫiyawa possessed the military strength to counter the Hittites. Because of this situation, the close economic relations between the two shores of the Aegean naturally passed into the political and military realms to create a bulwark of Western Anatolian states and Aḫḫiyawa that blocked Hittite expansion and allowed the Aegean states to maintain a stranglehold on trade passing into Anatolia at the Hittites' expense.[214]

Western Anatolian-Mycenaean Relations in the Textual Record

Western Anatolian economic relations with Aḫḫiyawa passed into the political and military realms. Hittite rule threatened to undo the centuries of close relations between Western Anatolia and Aḫḫiyawa because under Hittite law, subject kings were not permitted to maintain contact with foreign great kings, of which the ruler of Aḫḫiyawa was one. Under Hittite rule, commerce across the Aegean would stop if war broke out between Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa, affecting the Western Anatolian elites the most. Because of the lack of written sources from Aḫḫiyawa or Arzawa, the Hittites are the only (slanted) source for reconstructing these relations. The history of relations between Ḫatti, Aḫḫiyawa, and Western Anatolia before the Piyamaradu Affair shows that Aḫḫiyawa and the Western Anatolian states resisted Hittite rule to maintain their symbiotic economic arrangement that allowed them to monopolize Aegean commerce while cutting Ḫatti out. The Hittite texts reveal that this resistance was strong enough to drag the Hittites into multiple never-ending conflicts, leading the Hittites to look for alternative allies in the region.

The first Hittite mentions of Aḫḫiyawa appear during the reign of Tudḫaliya I around 1400BC. The Aššuwa Confederacy that opposed Tudḫaliya I had been allied with Aḫḫiyawa through a marriage alliance, and although this is the only such alliance documented, it was unlikely to be the only such arrangement between the Western Anatolian states and the states of

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[214] Cline 1996.

mainland Greece (the possibility of further alliances will be discussed later).[215] Tudḫaliya's

Annals recount that the Hittites defeated and subjugated Aššuwa. There is no reference to

Aḫḫiyawa in the fragmentary text, but a letter from the Great King of Aḫḫiyawa to Muwatalli II

implies Aḫḫiyawan involvement on the Aššuwan side. In the letter, the king of Aḫḫiyawa

claimed a group of islands off the coast of Anatolia, which Muwatalli's ancestor Tudḫaliya

(Tudḫaliya I) had conquered from Aššuwa.

nu-za ᵐTu-ud-ḫ[a-li-ya-aš A-BA A-BA A-BI-KA LUGAL ᴷᵁᴿ*A-aš-šu-wa tar-uḫ-ta]* ⌈*na*⌉*-an-za-kán* ÌR*-na-aḫ-ta-nu nu k[ur-ša-wa-ra ka-ru-ú ŠA* LUGAL ᴷᵁᴿ*Aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa e-eš-ta-pát…]*

CTH 183 obv. 9-10 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 134-35.

Translation: Your ancestor Tudhaliya defeated the land of Aššuwa and subjugated it.

These islands had been part of a dowry from the marriage of an Aššuwan noblewoman to

an Aḫḫiyawan, and the great king of Aḫḫiyawa was enforcing the claim. An alliance between

Aššuwa and Mycenae during the war against Ḫatti would confirm suspicions of Aḫḫiyawan

involvement in the conflict and the close links between Western Anatolia and Greece as early as

the 15th century BC.[216]

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[215] For a summary of brides and their roles in cultural transmission and diplomatic relations, see Gorogianni *et al.* 2015.
[216] There is a certain Kagamuna named in the text. Starke has suggested emending the *-ga* to *ta-*, which would turn the name into Cadmus, making Thebes the center of power in Aḫḫiyawa at the time this letter was composed. See Starke 1981. Melchert disagrees with Starke's reconstruction on a grammatical basis, since Starke makes Kagamuna into an accusative *Kagamun*, which in the context of the sentence does not work due to the presence of a reflexive particle. However, he does acknowledge that the emendation of the sign may be correct but rejects the identity of Kagamuna as a previous king of Aḫḫiyawa, instead identifying him as the king of Aššuwa. Melchert 2006.

Around the same time, an Aḫḫiyawan named Attaršiya, described only as a "man (LÚ) of Aḫḫiya, began raiding Western Anatolia with the help of a Hittite subject named Madduwatta.[217] Despite promises of loyalty to the Hittite king, Madduwatta cooperated with Attaršiya and a "man of Piggaya" in raiding Hittite territory as far as Cyprus, demonstrating the capability to attack distant Hittite possessions and disrupt alliances and trade routes.[218] On the face of it, Madduwatta was cooperating with an Achaean pirate. However, the texts mention that Attaršiya had many soldiers with him, including 100 chariots.[219] Since charioteers in the Bronze Age were usually noblemen, Attaršiya must have also been of noble birth to convince these men to follow him.[220] For Attaršiya to recruit and maintain this force, including and entourage of skilled craftsmen, required relationships with the local elites, which are documented in his alliance with Madduwatta and the "man" of Piggaya. The aid furnished to Attaršiya suggests that Arzawan nobles preferred Aḫḫiyawan alliances over Hittite rule, a problem that surfaced repeatedly in the 14th century BC and thwarted Hittite efforts to tap Western Anatolia's economic potential.

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[217] *tu-uk-ka ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta-an tu-el* KUR-*ya-az* ᵐ*At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya-aš* LÚ KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-aḫ-ḫi-ya-a ar-ḫa par-aḫ-ta* CTH 147 rev. 86-87 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 94-95.
Translation: Attaršiya, the man of Aḫḫiya, chased you Madduwatta away from your land…
[218] ᵐ⌜*Ma-ad-du-wa-at-ta*⌝[-*aš*-⌜*wa*⌝ [*ki-iš*]-⌜*ša*⌝-*an me-mi-iš-ta* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-la-ši-ya-wa m*[*a-aḫ-ḫa-an* ᵐ*At-tar-aš-ši-y*]*a-aš* LÚ [ᵁᴿᵁ*Pí-ig-ga-ya-ya wa-a*]*l*-⌜*ḫa*⌝-*an-ni-iš-kir u-ug-ga-wa-ra-at* **wa-al-ḫa-an-ni-iš-ki-nu-un**
Translation: Madduwatta said: When Attaršiya and the man of Piggaya began to raid the land of Alašiya, **I started to raid it too.** The bolded text is in an erasure.
[219] *nu* ⌜*ŠA*⌝ ᵐ*At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya* 1 ME G[IŠ.GIGIR N *LI-IM* ERÍNᴹᴱˢ *za-aḫ-ḫi-ya ti-i-e*]-*er* CTH 147 obv. 63 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 80-81.
Translation: Attaršiya's 100 chariots and x-thousand infantrymen deployed for battle. Attaršiya had a substantial force with him. To feed and maintain such a force would have been impossible without some local connections.
[220] Niemeier 1999, 149. He argues that Attaršiya was an Achaean aristocrat forced abroad following the establishment of the palatial states. Because the Mycenaean warrior aristocracy was more numerous, rulers eliminated threats by exporting landless aristocrats abroad as adventurers, providing the states of Greece with a safety valve for controlling competition at home. See Palaima 2012.

The Hittite problems with Aḫḫiyawa were not confined to these incidents. The Western Anatolian states' relationship with Aḫḫiyawa was a major factor driving wars in the region under Muršili II (ca. 1320-1310BC). Aḫḫiyawan interference took the form of harboring rebels and providing them with bases to launch attacks against the coast. Upon defeating Uḫḫaziti of Arzawa, Muršili states in his *Ten-Year Annals* that his enemy fled across the sea to some islands.

Na-aš-mu-kan ḫu-u-wa-iš na-aš-kan a-ru-ni par-ra-an-da gur-ša-u-wa-na-an-za pa-it…ku-i-e-eš-ma-kán NAM.RA^{MEŠ} *a-ru-ni par-ra-an-da IT-TI* ^m*Uḫ-ḫa-*LÚ *pa-a-ir*

CTH 61.1 A ii 31-36 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 16-17.

Translation: He (Uḫḫaziti) fled from me and went across the sea to the islands…and some (of his) people went with Uḫḫaziti across the sea.

Uḫḫaziti's destination is not mentioned but given Arzawa's geographical overlap with Classical Lydia and Ionia, his destination must have been the islands off the Anatolian coast, which at the time, were in the Aḫḫiyawan sphere of influence. Although the *10-Year Annals* only mention that Uḫḫaziti had renounced Hittite suzerainty and refused to turn over refugees, the *Extensive Annals* mention that Uḫḫaziti's main offence had been collusion with the king of Aḫḫiyawa.[221]

Ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-za ki-ša-at nu ^m*U-uḫ-*[*ḫa-*LÚ*-iš ku-it A-NA* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*A-ah-hi-u-wa-a* EGIR-*an ti-ya-at…*]

CTH 61.2 A i 23 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 28-29

Translation: When it became spring, because Uḫḫaziti had supported the king of Aḫḫiyawa…

Uḫḫaziti's flight to Aḫḫiyawa and his "support" for its ruler hints to the existence of links that predated Muršili but are not documented until the reign of Muwatalli II.

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[221] Although the rest of the sentence is lost, the text places the context of Hittite intervention in the area, especially near Miletus, as stemming from Uḫḫaziti support of Aḫḫiyawa, which was a more significant offense than simply refusing to hand over captives.

The presence of Aḫḫiyawans in this area and their relations with the Western Anatolian states become clear in Muršili 's defeat of Piyama-Kuruntiya, one of Uḫḫaziti's sons. Although the text is fragmentary, the context of the surviving lines suggests that Piyama-Kuruntiya, like his brother Tapalazunawali, had attempted to regain his father's throne. The text contains a reference to someone being "with the king of Aḫḫiyawa."

[…*n]a-aš-[kán a]-ru-na-az* [*ar-ḫa pa-it…na-aš I*]*T-TI* LU[GAL ᴷᵁ]ᴿ*Aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa-a*
CTH 61 A iii 6 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 22-23.
Translation: He went out from the sea… and with the king of Aḫḫiyawa…[222]

This is preceded by a break in the text and before that, a reference to someone leaving. From the little surviving text, it is hypothesized that Piyama-Kuruntiya went into exile with the king of Aḫḫiyawa. It is possible, given the language, that Piyama-Kuruntiya fled to mainland Greece following his defeat. Regardless of whether he stayed as a guest of the Aḫḫiyawan king at his court, both he and Uḫḫaziti found refuge in territory loyal to Aḫḫiyawa. Aḫḫiyawa's sheltering of Piyama-Kuruntiya would only have been possible with prior interpersonal relations between the various Western Anatolian polities and Aḫḫiyawa. Once Muwatalli II stabilized relations and averted war over Wiluša, certain Western Anatolian nobles, such as Piyamaradu, stopped obeying the great king of Aḫḫiyawa and continued to wage war with Ḫatti despite orders to cease their activities.

Conclusions

Muršili's mention of Uḫḫaziti's relations with the Aḫḫiyawan king assumes that these relations had gone on for some time before, a hypothesis which Muwatalli II's mention of the Aššuwan-Aḫḫiyawan alliance validates. The rich assemblages of Aegean elite goods on the Western Anatolian coast highlight the tight cultural and economic bonds between Western

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[222] Despite the restoration, the part referring to Aḫḫiyawa has survived.

Anatolia and Aḫḫiyawa that Hittite conquests could not undo, leading to a string of never-ending conflicts that drained Ḫatti's ability to respond to threats elsewhere. Because Western Anatolia relied on trade with mainland Greece (and vice-versa), it was economically unfeasible for the polities of Arzawa and Caria to exchange their Aegean partners for a distant and hostile Hittite overlord. Aḫḫiyawa was close and could aid the western polities by attacking the Hittites by sea. The Hittites on the other hand, faced a grueling march across half of Anatolia, making it easier for the western states to resist them (**Figure 10**). Around 1310BC, Aḫḫiyawa is attested as

Sivrihisar-Miletus
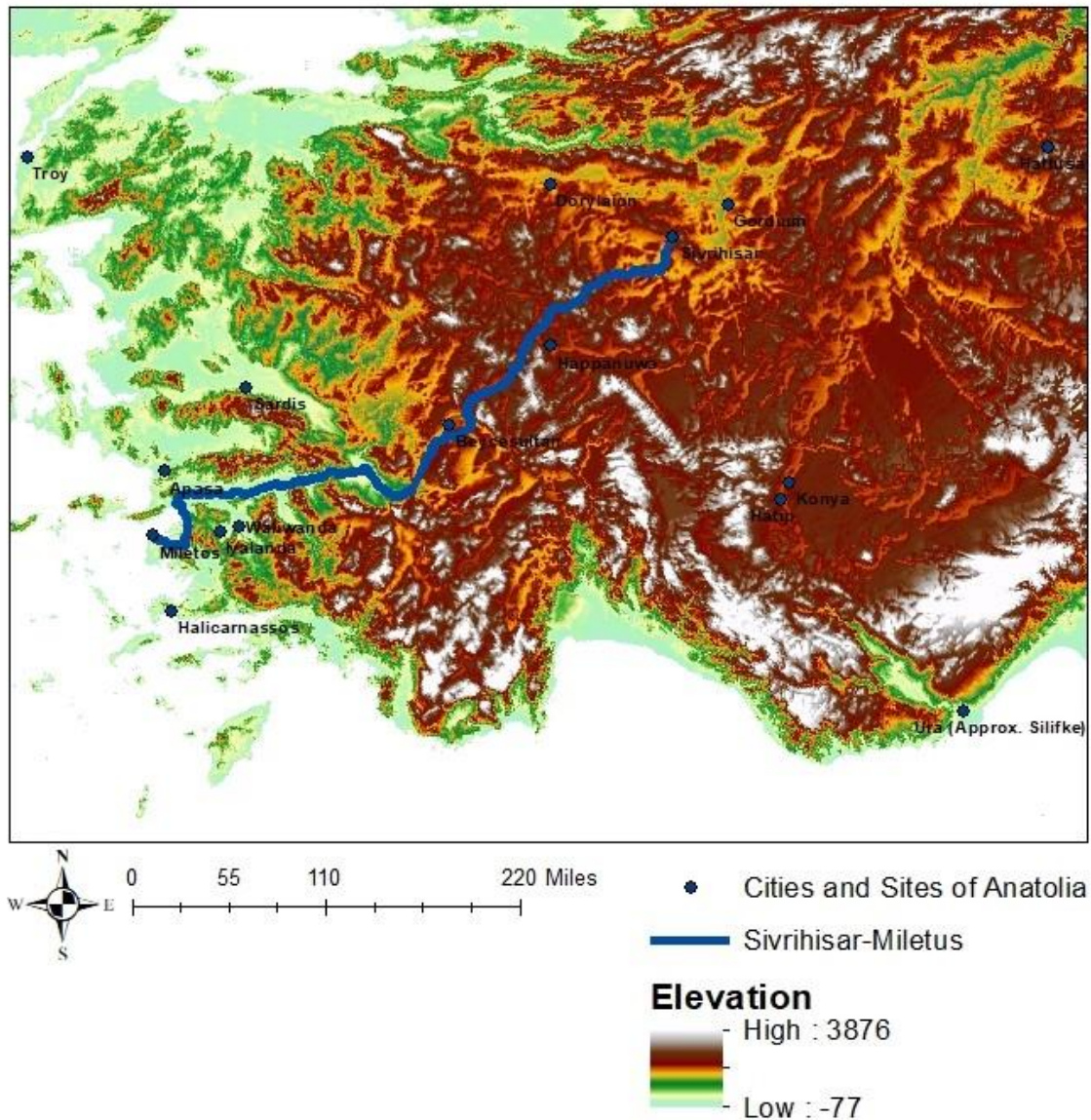
Figure 10: Least-cost path between Sivrihisar and Miletus. The route derived here closely approximates the one described in the Tawagalawa Letter and shows that even the easiest route across Anatolia involved grueling marches through the mountains, while Aḫḫiyawa could reach the coast by sea. Map made using ArcGIS with elevation data downloaded from the USGS earth explorer.

controlling Miletus, one of the main ports of Western Anatolia to the Aegean, depriving the

Hittites of this strategic city and any access to Aegean trade and goods arriving from Europe.

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Nu-kán KUR ^{URU}*Mi-il-la-wa-an-da A-NA* LUGAL KUR *Aḫ-ḫi-u-wa-a…nu-kán* ^m*Gul-la-an*
^m*Ma-la*-LÚ-*in* ERÍN^{MEŠ} ANSE.KUR^{MEŠ}-*ya pa-ra-a ne-eḫ-ḫu-un na-aš* KUR ^{URU}*Mi-il-la-wa-an-da* GUL-*aḫ-ḫi-ir*

CTH 61.2 A i 24-25 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 28-29.

Translation: And the land of Milawata to the land of the king of Aḫḫiyawa… I sent Gulla and Malaziti and chariots and infantry, and they attacked the land of Millawanda…[223]

In areas such as the Šeha River Land, Piyamaradu and his associates took tribute that otherwise

would have gone to the Hittites, dealing a double blow to the Hittite economy in the region.

[*ŠA* É ^m]*Hu-ha-aš* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*ṢE-RI-PU-TI*-⌈*ma*⌉ *A-NA* ^m*At-pa-a kiš-ša-an* [*ar-ku-w*]*a-ar* ⌈*i*⌉[-*e*]-*er*
an-za-aš-wa-an-na-as ar-kam-ma-na-al-⌈*li-iš*⌉ [*nu-wa-kán*] A.AB.BA *p*[*ár-ra*]-*an-ta ú-wa-u-en*
nu-wa-na-aš ar-kam-ma-an [*píd-da-u*]-⌈*e*⌉-*ni*

CTH 191 obv. 14-17 in Beckman *et al.* 2011 142-143.

Translation: The dyers of the house of Ḫuḫa pleaded thus to Atpa: We are people who are of tribute (i.e. subject to), and we came across the sea to render our tribute.[224]

Although Muršili 's general was able to retake the city, by the reign of Ḫattušili III, it had

reverted to Aḫḫiyawa, again showing the futility of Hittite attempts to hold these areas against

Aḫḫiyawan sea power.

During the conflict with Aḫḫiyawa, Ḫatti was also facing the expansion of Assyria and a

long-running war against Egypt in Syria. This combination of conflicts threatened to completely

isolate Ḫatti from its commercial contacts in both Europe and Asia. Although the Assyrian front

was more stable due to the well-fortified Euphrates frontier, Aḫḫiyawan encroachment on Hittite

interests in Arzawa made open conflict in Western Anatolia a possibility. A war with Aḫḫiyawa

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[223] Together with the archaeology, the following passage confirms that Miletus was Aḫḫiyawan forcing Muršili to retake the place, although the verb describing the action Miletus took towards Aḫḫiyawa is missing.

[224] Singer suggests an alternative, saying that the dyers were stating their profession and rendering *arkammanalliš* as "dyers" rather than tributaries. See Singer, Itamar. "Purple-dyers in Lazpa." *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and their neighbours* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 203-13.

would occupy the Hittites in the Aegean region, opening Syria and Mesopotamia to Assyrian and Egyptian offensives and the prospect of fighting a three-front war.[225] The Hittites' best solution was to find an alternative source of goods that would allow the state to maintain its ritual economy, its bureaucracy, and its military. It was no match for the sea power of Aḫḫiyawa, Greece was too far to invade, and troops were needed in the East to protect against Assyria and Egypt. During the reign of Muwatalli II, an opportunity presented itself in Northwestern Anatolia. The Kingdom of Wiluša, previously an ally of Aḫḫiyawa, came under attack, leading Muwatalli II to send a general named Kaššu to Wiluša, although the text is fragmentary, and many details are lost. The most likely culprits for such an attack were Aḫḫiyawans, since their ally, Piyamaradu, attacked Lesbos and the Šeha River Land at the same time.

Although Aḫḫiyawan interference in Western Anatolia cost the Hittites a considerable sum of men and resources, it did present a golden opportunity for the Hittites to seize access to new trade routes, even if they could not tap the Aegean directly. Fighting the Aḫḫiyawans in Arzawa and Caria was futile. The local population was more loyal to Aḫḫiyawa politically and culturally, and Hittite campaigns in the region yielded few net benefits compared to the cost of subjugating it. The easiest solution for the Hittites was to bypass Aḫḫiyawan control of the

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[225] No Assyrian king, per their own inscriptions, ever managed to pass the heavily fortified Hittite city of Carchemish. Adad-Nirari I referred to himself as *da-iš* KUR.KUR-*šu-nu iš-tu Lu-ub-di ù* KUR*Ra-pi-qu a-di E-lu-ḫa-at…a-di* URU*Kar-ga-miš*) Adad-Nirari I 01 6-13 in Kirk Grayson, (ed.) http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/riao/pager/
Translation: …the crusher of their [of his enemies] lands from Lubdi and the land of Rapiqu all the way to Eluḫa…all the way to the city of Carchemish
For the natural defenses of Carchemish, see Woolley, Leonard. *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1914), 61-64. Freu argues that the Assyrians sacked Malatya, an event absent from Assyrian inscriptions and denied vociferously by the Assyrian king. Freu, Jacques. "De la confrontation à l'entente cordiale: les relations assyrohittites à la fin de l'âge du Bronze (ca. 1250-1180 av. JC)." *Hittite studies in honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (Winona Lake: Eisenbraums, 2003), 101-118.

Aegean and its sizeable influence in Western Anatolia. Muwatalli II staked the Hittite Empire's future on Wiluša, which the Hittites were presented with a chance to subjugate after Aḫḫiyawan aggression in the region. Securing the Troad gave the Hittites an economic lifeline to the rich and developed societies of Central Europe and the Balkans, who were allied with Wiluša in a bid to block Aḫḫiyawan expansion into their economic spheres.

Chapter 3

Ḫatti, Troy, and Thrace

Introduction

The Hittite difficulties in Western Anatolia can be attributed to the close bonds between the region's elite and Aḫḫiyawa. Because the Arzawan ruling class had adopted many trappings of Aḫḫiyawa's elite culture and closely intermarried with Aḫḫiyawa's nobility for centuries, a distant occupying power like Ḫatti could not easily break these bonds through military force. Archaeologically, this is even seen in the assemblages on the Aegean coast, which are full of material originating in mainland Greece, but are virtually devoid of material from the Anatolian Plateau. Aḫḫiyawan dominance of the sea gave its constituent states the ability to monopolize trade from Europe and strike Hittite interests without fear of an effective Hittite reaction, since the Hittites could not conceivably invade Greece. Around 1290BC, an unnamed enemy, most likely Aḫḫiyawa, launched an attack against the Troad to seize the Dardanelles and access to the Black Sea and river systems of the Balkans and Central Europe.[226] According to the *Iliad*, the Achaean invaders' objective was Wiluša's capital Troy, which was positioned at the mouth of the Dardanelles, a major commercial choke point. This was a sudden shift in the geopolitical order, since during the 15th and 14th centuries BC, Wiluša had been an Aḫḫiyawan ally. This episode outside of Aḫḫiyawa's Anatolian sphere of influence gave Muwatalli II an opportunity to annex Wiluša and strengthen Ḫatti 's position in the Aegean.

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[226] De Boer 2006. As far as current evidence goes, Mycenaean Greeks did not manage to penetrate the Black Sea. The myth of the Argonauts, who had to sail through the Bosporus, that crush ships between it, may be a reflection of this unfamiliarity with the area, although the myth correctly designates the coast of Georgia (Kolkhida/modern Abkhazia) as a valuable source of gold.

When Muwatalli II came to the throne in 1295BC, he began an internal reorganization of Ḫatti to better position himself against the three-pronged threat he faced from the empire's rivals. He moved the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša in Cilicia, closer to Ḫatti's wealthy Syrian subjects and Egypt. However, Ḫatti still faced the issue of Piyamaradu and Aḫḫiyawa in Western Anatolia. Muwatalli's father Muršili II had spent over a decade fighting Western Anatolian rebels backed by Aḫḫiyawa but had failed to remove Aḫḫiyawan influence in the region or stop Piyamaradu. With Aḫḫiyawa blocking access to the Aegean, Muwatalli realized that Ḫatti needed to bypass Aḫḫiyawa to access the riches of Europe. A Cilician capital made Troy the most logical entry point for European goods, per historical ties between the two regions via the great caravan route. Muwatalli sought to bring the Troad into the Hittite orbit and deny Aḫḫiyawa access to the Black Sea and the riches beyond, reopening the great caravan route and providing Ḫatti an economic lifeline that its enemies could not easily interfere with.

This chapter will argue that the Hittite annexation of Wiluša was motivated by a desire to access the Balkans and the rest of Europe via Troy, denying Aḫḫiyawa access to the Black Sea and securing European trade routes for the new capital in Tarḫuntašša. It will extend the analysis of Hittite-Aḫḫiyawan relations in Western Anatolia to the conflict over Wiluša using Hittite texts from Muwatalli II's reign in the context of overlapping and competing interests between Troy, its Balkan allies, Ḫatti, and Aḫḫiyawa. Because there is no direct evidence for Hittite interest in the Balkans, this analysis will supplement the indirect textual evidence, with an analysis of Hittite incentives for accessing Troy's Balkan alliances. This will require a discussion of the wealthy and stratified society of the Thracian Bronze Age. Archaeological excavations in Bulgaria have revealed a wealthy Bronze Age Thracian world that produced large amounts of gold while also serving as a conduit for goods coming from further north. Overall, the chapter

will show that the Hittites incorporated the Balkans through Troy into the economy of Central and Southeastern Anatolia, setting the stage for Balkan material culture to flow into Anatolia once again at the expense of the old Hittite heartland.

The Stakes

At stake in the conflict over the Dardanelles was control of a rich economic zone that spanned Northwestern Anatolia and the Southeastern Balkans, which were connected through the North Aegean, the Black Sea, and fluvial systems permitting access to inland Thrace and Eastern Europe. Around 1400BC, the Balkans and the Pontic Steppe began exporting goods through the Danube and Ukraine instead of through the Adriatic, which traditionally had been the endpoint of the Bronze Age amber route.[227] The presence of amber in Bulgaria and the former Yugoslavia attests to the development of these routes from Central and Northern Europe. The most important attestation of amber comes from the Vulchitrun Treasure, discovered on the Bulgarian side of the Danube in 1924.[228] This treasure hoard likely belonged to a local aristocrat and contained finely crafted gold and silver vessels used for libations and social drinking similar to those described in Homer's *Iliad*.[229] Several of the vessels had Baltic amber lids, which can only have been

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[227] For the Aegean amber route, see Czebreszuk 2013. This route to the Adriatic gave the Aḫḫiyawan polities of the Peloponnese such as Pylos unfettered access to the gem, which passed through Greece on its way to the Eastern Mediterranean.

[228] For pictures of the treasure, see the plates in Venedikov 1987. Some of the vessels in the Vulchitrun Treasure are also in the catalogue in Александров *et al.* 2017, 504-505. The lids are thought to represent the twin deities of the sun and moon, (Gk. Apollo and Artemis), whom Greco-Roman writers claimed spent half the year in "Hyperborea." See Gergova 1994, 70.

[229] Venedikov 1987, 94. He argues for the vessels' use in ritual drinking as seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For more information on the feasting aspect in Thrace, see Valeva 2015, 197-199. Due to lack of textual evidence, some information is extrapolated from later Greek tradition. The *Iliad* mentions that Priam of Troy had been given a vessel of gold in Thrace for this kind of drinking. The *Iliad* stresses that it was one of Priam's greatest possessions, speaking to the quality of Thracian metalwork as attested through archaeology.
"…and a cup exceeding fair, that the men of Thrace had given him when he went thither on an embassage, a great treasure..." Homer, *The Iliad* Book XXIV, 231-235.

obtained via the Danube or the rivers of Ukraine and Southern Russia.[230] Both are possible,

since amber appears around 1400BC in the modern countries of Serbia, Bosnia, and Kosovo near

the Sava and Morava Rivers, both tributaries of the Danube.[231] Another hoard of amber from

Hordeevka in Ukraine provides evidence for a separate Eastern European route importing amber

and other goods into Anatolia through modern Ukraine.[232] With the progression of the Late

Bronze Age, the resin is also attested in the area of the Marica River in Bulgaria and its

tributaries, pointing to a southward expansion of trade along these rivers and demonstrating the

Balkans role as a conduit and source of goods for the Eastern Mediterranean. The discovery a

statue of the Hittite storm god Teššob in Lithuania suggests that Anatolia was involved in this

trade in return for a plethora of important European goods.[233]

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[230] Gergova 1994, 70-72. The opening of the amber road into Thrace betrays a Thracian elite
interest for this good and perhaps an interest on Anatolia's part, since the Hittites could not
obtain it through the Adriatic due to tensions with Aḫḫiyawa.
[231] Todd *et al*. 1976 and Kosorić and Krstić 1972, 26-27. Areas such as Roćević, the Glasinac
Plateau in Bosnia, and the Drina Valley in Serbia all have easy access to Istria and Monkodonja,
the primary regional center of Istria in the Bronze Age and the end of the amber road.
[232] Ślusarka 2007, 371-375.
[233] Gimbutas 1965, 88-89. The presence of this statue in the Baltic region speaks to trade links
via the Black Sea and the rivers of Eastern Europe. For the Hittites, this required access to the
Dardanelles and Troy.

Gold deposits and traces of ancient mining activity in Macedonia and Thrace, Greece

BULGARIA

Thracian Sea

TURKEY

Thasos island

Samothraki island

Chalkidiki

N

1. Ardas river
2. Evros river
3. Lyssos river (Filiouris) - Makropotamos river
4. Konos-Kassiteres
5. Kompasatos river
6. Kalotycho-Melitaina
7. Kimmeria
8. Nestos river
9. Palea Kavala (Skapte-Hyle)
10. Thasos island
11. Allistrati

12. Aggitis river.
13. Paggaio
14. Agistro
15. Vrontou
16. Chimaros
17. Nigrita region
18. Lachanas
19. Philadelphia
20. Stanos
21. Marathousa-Apollonia

22. Askos
23. Peristera
24. Olymplada-Stratoni-Skouries
25. Metaggitsi-Chavrias river
26. Linthos river
27. Koronouda-Megalo Potami river
28. Echedoros river (Gallikos)
29. Axios river
30. Aliakmonas river-Servia

● Ancient exploitation of placer gold
■ Ancient exploitation of primary gold
○ Possible ancient exploitation of placer gold
□ Possible ancient exploitation of primary gold
▲ Thessaloniki Toumba
△ Kastanas Toumba
〰 River ▰ Lake

Figure 11: Ancient gold deposits in modern-day Northern Greece
Map by Vavelidis and Andreou 2008, 362

The Balkans were not only a conduit for goods coming from further north, they were also a source of gold. Thrace was known in the Greco-Roman sources as rich in gold.[234] Southern Bulgaria and Northern Greece were already known as gold sources to the states of the Bronze Age Peloponnese (**Figure 11**).[235] However, more recent evidence has also revealed the existence of mines north of the Rhodope Mountains, such as Ada Tepe (Eastern Rhodopes, Bulgaria).

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[234] The description of King Rhesus in the *Iliad* pays tribute to this impression of Thrace. "And his chariot is cunningly wrought with gold and silver, and armour of gold brought he with him, huge of size, a wonder to behold." Homer, *The Iliad* X, 437-39.
[235] Vavelidis and Andreou 2008, 361-366. The Khalkidhiki and the areas immediately east of it were known gold mining areas in the Bronze Age, especially around the Struma River.

Here, full-time specialized miners produced gold on an industrial scale for decorating weapons and fashioning luxury objects such as cups, scabbards, and jewelry.[236] However, archaeologists have pointed out that the mine produces a surplus of gold, so it was exported abroad via the Marica River and the town of Ainos.[237] Troy was a potential customer since the EBA, and Balkan gold may have been the source for fashioning "Priam's Treasure" from Troy II.

Per archaeological evidence, the Balkans was a wealthy region whose resources were available to be tapped into during the Late Bronze Age. Aside from gold and amber, there was tin, which was exported from the modern-day Czech Republic to the Black Sea via the Danube.[238] In return, the Balkans received products from the Ancient Near East, such as copper from Cyprus, which coincidentally, was at times a Hittite subject. Finds of copper ingots on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast confirm the participation of Near Eastern merchants in 14th century BC Balkan exchange networks. Cypriot oxhide copper ingots have been found in the Aegean-Danube corridor between the modern Bulgarian cities of Burgas and Varna and the Aegean Sea, clustering along the major rivers and the Black Sea coast. Their findspots include Cenovo near Burgas, and Bjalata Prst near Varna.[239] More have been found at Kirilovo, Yabalkovo, and Chernozem, all of which are on the Marica or its tributaries, the Arda and Tundzha Rivers.[240] On the Danube, ingots were found at Ovcha Mogila, Ruse, and Sokol.[241] Most came from hoards of

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[236] Alexandrov 2009. These include jewels, plating, and hair curls like those mentioned in the *Iliad* as being characteristic of Trojans and Thracians. The proximity of sites like Ovchartsi to Ada Tepe makes the latter the most likely source for this gold. For a list of LBA gold finds in inland Thrace, see Borislavov 2010.
[237] Pernicka *et al* 2003.
[238] For a map of tin sources, see Muhly 1985, 276.
[239] Lichardus *et al.* 2002.
[240] See the maps in Sabatini 2016, esp. 42-44.
[241] For Ovcha Mogila see Krauß 2005. For the Yabulkovo ingots see Leshtakov 2007.

bronze goods, along with swords, axe heads, dagger blades, and other objects.[242] The presence of

these precious hoards reveals an important Balkan market for Near Eastern goods in return for

Central European products. The importance of this Black Sea commercial zone is supported by

the presence of fortified centers and logically by extension, polities along the Black Sea coast

that controlled and managed exchange.

The archaeological finds along the Danube and Marica Rivers and the Black Sea

establish Thrace as a lucrative commercial zone. Settlements were needed to properly manage

this trade, the biggest of which is the Bulgarian town of Nesebar. This town was fortified with

cyclopean walls around 1400BC, a date confirmed from pottery finds.[243] Building such

fortifications required a strong and wealthy central authority that could mobilize the labor and

resources necessary for such a project. This wealth came from commerce, since the town's

position on the Bay of Sozopol shielded ships from dangerous winds coming off the sea and

provided traders a safe place to dock.[244] The ships are evidenced from *stellae* found in Bulgaria

along the Marica and its tributaries and stone anchors along the Black Sea coast.[245] These *stellae*

depict double-headed boats similar to Sea People exemplars in the Medinet Habu inscriptions of

Ramses III.[246] Although these boats were perfected as warships in Europe, as seen in finds from

Serbia to Scandinavia, they have been identified as originating in the Levant and Northern

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[242] Doncheva 2012, 677-79. For a map of all bronze hoards in the Danube regions of Bulgaria and Romania and their contents, see Christova 2017, 44-47. These hoards were either of cultic character or for safekeeping of valuable metals.
[243] Dimitrov 1979, 76-77.
[244] Peev 2008, 303-304.
[245] Porožanov 1994 and Dimitrov 1977, 156-163. The dating is controversial, but the shape of three-holed anchors points to a Bronze Age date. The *stellae* are from Razlog in inland Bulgaria.
[246] de Boer, 1991, 46-47. Finds of Bronze Age boats come from Razgrad (Northeastern Bulgaria), Stara Zagora (South-Central Bulgaria), and Nova Zagora (Southeastern plains of Bulgaria), all LBA settlements, and are further evidence for the navigability of the Marica and its tributaries. For the ships' origins, see Wachsmann 1981 and Yasur-Landau 2010.

Syria.[247] The distribution of the depictions in Bulgaria provides evidence for merchants not only

on the Black Sea coast, but also in the Thracian interior. Settlements in the Bulgarian interior,

such as the fortress of Višegrad on the Arda, Nebettepe (modern Plovdiv) and others attest to the

importance of the riverine and maritime links that made this region so rich during the Late

Bronze Age.[248]

Troy as an Intermediary

Although Thrace and its contacts were wealthy, they were distant and difficult to access

from Central Anatolia without a middleman. Troy served as the perfect intermediary for a

number of reasons, most of all due to its privileged position on Hisarlık overlooking the

Dardanelles.[249] According to geological studies, Late Bronze Age Troy overlooked a large bay,

that exists in the *Iliad*, but had mostly silted up in Homer's own time.[250] Alongside its hilltop

position, Troy benefited from the direction of strong winds and ocean currents, which linked

disparate regions such as the North Aegean and the Troad with the Black Sea and the Pontic

Steppe into a single economic zone.[251] Ships sailing eastward from the North Aegean or into the

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[247] This ship is called the *Vogelbarke* and appears frequently in Scandinavian rock art of the LBA. For the Danish examples, see Panchenko 2012 and de Boer 1991, 46-47. De Boer argues for a Syrian origin of a design that was perfected in Europe.

[248] Дремсизова-Нелчинова 1984.

[249] Kolb 2004 has disputed Troy's status as a trading city. For a refutation, see Jablonka and Rose 2005. A Luwian fragment, KBo 4.11, refers to coming "from steep/remote Wiluša" (*alati Wilušati*), suggesting that the two cities can be identified as the same. See Watkins 1986, 45-62 and Cline 2013, 63-66.

[250] Kraft *et al.* 2003, 163-166. Homer's accurate description of the geography of Troy is an excellent piece of evidence in favor of the poem being an original Bronze Age work passed down into Homer's own day. Despite scholars arguing that Homer's geography was inaccurate, people such as Heinrich Schliemann and others used it to correctly identify Troy as Hisarlik.

[251] The city is referred to as "windy Ilios" seven times (e.g. Book III 305, Book VIIII 499). Troy's lower town and the villages surrounding Hisarlık were built behind the crest of the hill or at lower altitudes to avoid the worst of the gusts, which occur to this day. See Cook and Bean 1973, 153-176.

Black Sea were faced with northeastern winds and currents that flowed from the Black Sea into the Aegean.[252] The only favorable winds, those from the south, rarely occur, forcing long sojourns at Troy. On the other hand, ships coming from the Black Sea area could easily make it through the strait and trade their wares at Troy, allowing the city to get access to European goods first. Therefore, ships faced with unfavorable sailing conditions at the mouth of the Dardanelles had to dock, with Troy being the best and safest port of call due to the bay.[253] Ships sailing from the North Aegean and the coast of Thrace faced similar problems. According to Homer, the Thracian winds from the northeast threatened Achaean ships moored at Troy.[254] These winds drove ships from the North Aegean to the Troad, which Neumann confirmed in his experiment.[255] Therefore, for at least part of the year, ships travelling from the North Aegean were forced to sail towards Troy before continuing their journeys, whether north into the Black Sea, or east towards Anatolia (from Thrace), giving the city first access to anything arriving from the Marica and Struma Rivers. Militarily, the high position on the hill of Hisarlık allowed Troy to dominate the straits and levy customs duties on the ships that were forced to stop there.[256]

Troy's status as a trading center finds some support in the archaeological evidence. The city's position made it an anomaly in Western Anatolia, since it was much larger and richer than

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[252] Neumann 1991 95-97.
[253] The Scamander River was navigable in ancient times according to Polybius, allowing ships to dock in the plain of Troy away from the sea in times of dangerous conditions. Homer mentions Greeks ships sailing onto the plain itself.
"Even thus did their tribes pour from ships and tents on the plain of the Scamander, and the ground rang as brass under the feet of men and horses." Homer, *Iliad*, Book II 463-65
[254] "As when the two winds that blow from Thrace - the north and the northwest- spring up of a sudden and rouse the fury of the main- in a moment the dark waves uprear their heads and scatter their sea-wrack in all directions- even thus troubled were the hearts of the Achaeans." Homer, *Iliad* Book IX 4-9.
[255] Neumann 1991.
[256] Korfmann noted Troy's commanding position overlooking the Dardanelles, where all ships had to dock and pay taxes or risk being stopped. Korfmann. 2001, 82-85.

its neighbors to the south. Unlike the medium-sized settlements of the Arzawan statelets, Troy

was a palatial center comparable to those of Bronze Age Greece or the Near East.[257] Troy's

wealth allowed it to maintain its political and cultural separateness from its Aḫḫiyawan and

Hittite neighbors, and its elite never adopted Aegean material culture to the same degree as

Arzawa and Caria did. Aegean imports at Troy are mostly restricted to elite drinking and feasting

vessels.[258] Overall, they are no more than 3% of total assemblages, a minuscule amount when

compared to centers such as Miletus.[259] Troy's different layers have yielded luxury goods such

as amber, jade, gold, silver, and foreign pottery from Greece and the Levant, attesting to the

city's wealth and wide array of foreign contacts.[260] Some of this is from the EBA and MBA

levels, although the exact context of some finds is unclear because of later burials and

Schliemann's haphazard excavation methods. Troy VI, the biggest and wealthiest iteration of the

city, has yielded some luxuries, such as faience and glass beads, which ironically point to the

city's close relationships with the Peloponnese.[261] Items such as gold foil rosettes and carnelian

"grain of wheat beads" suggest that the Trojan elite maintained commercial, and by extension,

political relations with the palatial states of mainland Greece.[262] Although there are no

magnificent finds comparable to those in Troy II (such as Priam's treasure), the available

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[257] Schliemann 1886 noted that Troy, Tiryns, and Mycenae were all built along similar lines, with large, spacious, elite centers atop their citadels that are lacking at other Western Anatolian sites. Mokrišová 2017 characterizes Western Anatolian settlements as medium-sized centers without large palatial centers.

[258] Serving vessels dominate the assemblages in the LHIIIA period, which are all related to drinking, and must have served a social function as well as a practical one. Girella and Pavúk 2016, 26-27.

[259] Despite the high amount of Mycenaean pottery relative to other dates, only 1-2% of pottery from Troy VI is securely identified as LHIIIB. Mee 1978, 146.

[260] Schuchardt 1891, 38. These are of unclear provenance, since Schliemann dug straight down to the EBA levels of Troy, disturbing the layers of sediment below and causing them to mix.

[261] For the characterization of these finds on the Greek end, see Hughes-Brock 1999.

[262] Pieniążek 2012, 501-503.

material and Troy's position point to the city's role as an important trading center that had once

counted on the palaces of mainland Greece among its partners.

Troy's large size and high-quality buildings provide the final piece of evidence for a

trading city that grew wealthy from its position. Troy's citadel is comparable in size and scale to

Büyükkale, the eastern citadel area of the Hittite capital Ḫattuša.[263] This negates earlier

criticisms of Troy, namely that the city (i.e. the citadel) was too small for a powerful trading

center. Hisarlık also dominated a large lower town, which although not fully excavated,

contained a protective ditch.[264] The citadel was fortified with high limestone walls, which

together with the ditch, enclosed a city of 7,000-10,000 residents.[265] Troy's position over the old

bay provided an excellent natural harbor, but the city may have had several artificial ports as

well. Various excavators of Troy, from Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer to Heinrich Schliemann

noted that canals and ditches crisscrossed the plain of Troy and had diverted the course of the

rivers many times.[266] One such canal, the Yeniköy Canal, would have provided a way to enter

the Dardanelles from the Aegean without having to pass through the straits, allowing ships to

bypass the winds and currents, while other canals connected the rivers of the plain to the Aegean,

preventing the harbors from silting.[267] These hydroengineering projects would have made Troy

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[263] Easton, *et al.* 2002, 78-81.

[264] Korfmann 2002. Korfmann's discovery of the lower city was a huge step to confirming Troy's importance. For a reconstruction of the ditch, see Jablonka 2006, 171-173.

[265] Latacz 2004, 101-103. This estimate is based on a population that could reasonably fit within Troy's 20 hectares.

[266] Zangger and Mutlu 2015, Schliemann and Virchow 1881, 97-99 and Forchhammer and Spratt 1850. Travelers and engineers visiting Hisarlık noted the ancient ditches across the plain. Hydroengineering projects from Pylos and Egypt, where massive artificial harbor installations even lakes were created, lend credibility to this hypothesis. See also.

[267] Homer mentions that ships could sail into Troy directly and describes the building of a wall to shelter the ships in the Dardanelles (the Hellespont in the *Iliad*), which means that the Achaean

the most important trading center in the region, and perhaps in the Bronze Age, since it provided

access to virtually all of Europe on its own terms.

Troy maintained its cultural separateness from Aḫḫiyawa and Arzawa throughout the

Bronze Age and did not receive material influence from Aḫḫiyawa to the same degree that the

statelets of Arzawa and Caria did.[268] Troy's wealth and power gave it leverage in negotiations

with its neighbors, and as a result, made it a potential competitor to rivals such as Homer's

Achaeans. The states of Bronze Age Greece coveted Troy's wealth and its privileged access to

Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Because Troy lay on the coast of the Dardanelles

and the Aegean, it fell within Aḫḫiyawa's sphere of interest, making an alliance between the two

difficult, but not impossible. Once the alliance collapsed and Aḫḫiyawa became hostile, Troy

required a protector against its neighbors. Into this vacuum stepped the Hittite Empire, a power

that was too distant to micromanage Troy, but close enough to provide protection in return for

access to commerce.

Troy in the Hittite Records

Troy makes its main appearance in the Hittite records during the reign of Muwatalli II

around 1290BC, coinciding with the development of Bronze Age Balkan society. Troy (Hitt.

KUR ^{URU}*Wiluša*) passed into Hittite hands following a Hittite counterattack against Piyamaradu

and his forces, who had been causing problems throughout Western Anatolia since the time of

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ships had to dock inside the bay or somewhere in its environs. This require sailing around the
Dardanelles or through an artificial channel.
"Hard by the funeral pyre we will build a barrow that shall be raised from the plain for all in
common; near this let us set about building a high wall, to shelter ourselves and our ships, and let
it have well-made gates that there may be a way through them for our chariots." Homer, *Iliad*
Book VII, 337-341
[268] Girella and Pavúk 2016, 31-32.

Muršili II. Wiluša called the Hittites into war as allies, and subsequently became a Hittite subject through treaty.

nu ^d*UTU-ŠI* GIM-*an tu-uk* ^m*A-la-ak-ša-*⸢*an*⸣*-du-un* SIG₅-*an-ti me-mi-ni IŠ-TU A-WA-AT A-BU-KA pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ḫa-ḫa-at nu-ut-ta wa-ar-ri ú-wa-nu-un nu-ut-ták-kán* ^{LÚ}KÚR-*KA še-er ku-e-nu-un…*

CTH 182 A i 71'-73' in Friedrich 1926, 55-56.

Translation: And when I, My Majesty, protected you, Alakšandu, out of goodwill due to the word of your father, and came to your aid, and killed your enemy for you…

Although Muwatalli did not name the enemy, the Manapa-Tarḫunta letter provides clues to the attacker's identity. The Manapa-Tarḫunta Letter mentions that the nearby region of Šeha River Land produced purple dye, which was valued among aristocrats, already betraying an economic motive for Hittite interference in the area. Little, though, is said of Wiluša's strategic importance, which must be extrapolated from Hittite correspondence with the region. Most knowledge of Hittite-Wilušan relations comes from the Alakšandu Treaty. The text contains clues as to the relationship between Ḫatti and Wiluša and the importance the region had for Hittite interests.

At first glance, the Alakšandu Treaty resembles other Hittite bilateral pacts in most respects. It requires Wiluša to provide troops in case of war, specifically with Egypt and Assyria, and to have the same enemies as the Hittite great king, a condition that was expected of Hittite subjects under Muwatalli II as he was planning war with Egypt.

A-NA ^d*UTU-ŠI ku-i-e-eš* LUGAL^{MES} ⸢*an-te-e-li-e-eš*⸣ LUGAL KUR ^{URU}⸣*Mi-iz-ra* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Ša-an-ḫa-ra* LUGAL KUR ^{URU}⸢*Ḫa-ni-kal-bat na-aš-ma*⸣ LUGAL KUR ^{URU}*Aš-šur nu ma-a-an a-pí-ya k*[*u-iš-ki*] ⸢*za-aḫ-ḫi-ya*⸣…⸢^d*UTU-ŠI-ma-at-*⸣*ta A-NA* ZAB^{MEŠ} ANŠE.KUR.⸢RA^{MEŠ} ḫa-at-ra-a-mi*⸣ ⸢*nu-mu-uš-ša-an*⸣ ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *wa-a*⸢*r-ri lam-mar ar-nu-ut*⸣

CTH 182 iii 12-15 in Friedrich 1926, 68-69.

Translation: The kings who are equals of my majesty, the King of Egypt, the King of Babylon, the King of Ḫanigalbat, the King of Assyria, if one of these attacks…and I My Majesty write to you for infantry and chariots, send me infantry and chariots right away![269]

It does not, however, contain the obligation to supply Wilušan conscripts to the Hittite royal army, a condition typically placed upon other defeated Western Anatolian states. There are no demands for tribute either. Alakšandu was not obliged to pay anything outside of military assistance in the treaty itself, something unusual for a city of Troy's wealth, although tribute obligations were sometimes written in separate documents. The treaty also contains the typical curse formulae of Hittite treaties, which would bring misfortune to the subject if the treaty was violated on the subject's part, the clearest case of Hittite dominance in the treaty.

nu-kán ma-a-an zi-ik [ᵐ*A-la-ak-ša-an-d*]*u-uš ki-i tup-pí-ya-aš* [*A*]-*WA-TE*ᴹᴱˢ̌ *šar-ra-at-*[*ti ku-e ku-e ki-e*]-*da-ni A-NA ṬUP-PÍ ki-it-ta-ri nu-ut-ta ku-u-*[*uš NI-EŠ* DINGIR-*LIM*] *IŠ-TU* SAG.DU-*KA* DAM-*KA* DUMUᴹᴱˢ̌-*KA…ar-ḫa ḫar-ni-in-kán-du*

CTH 182 iv 31-36 in Friedrich 1926, 80-83.

Translation: If you Alakšandu, violate these words of the tablet, whichever are (lit. lay) on this tablet, may these oaths of the gods destroy you along with your wife, your children, etc.…

Their presence is supposed to reinforce Alakšandu of Wiluša's status as an inferior to the Hittite great king, since they are all one-sided, but in the context of the whole treaty, they compensate for Hittite weakness. Although Alakšandu is a subject, the omission of important historical details and the lack of certain other subjugation clauses in the treaty suggests that Wiluša possessed leverage against the Hittite king that made him more equal to the Hittite king than the rest of the rulers in Western Anatolia.

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[269] Normally, the alliance was defensive, but in this case, Muwatalli inserted an offensive obligation as well. This should be seen in the context of Muwatalli's plans to engage Egypt's Ramses II in a decisive battle to end the fighting in Syria, which eventually happened at Qadesh in 1274BC.

Despite the resemblance between the Alakšandu Treaty and other Hittite pacts, the former lacks one major feature that one would expect from a Hittite treaty with a city such as Troy. Hittite treaties almost always contained a historical preamble detailing a history of relations between the Hittites and their subjects-to-be. The treaties with Ugarit, Azzi-Ḫayaša, Aleppo, and Amurru all contain this section.[270] The purpose of this preamble was to provide the Hittite Great King with leverage against his subjects, most of whom had a history of sedition against Ḫattuša.[271] In describing the previous sedition, the Hittite Great King presented himself as a merciful and forgiving overlord in return for his subject's loyalty. In the Alakšandu treaty, the writing of the historical preamble appears to favor Wiluša, whereas normally, it was the other way around.

The Alakšandu Treaty contains a historical preamble. However, the Wilušan preamble is vague and conceals the history of relations between the two states. This is unlike the Šaušgammuwa Treaty, which provides a detailed history of Hittite relations and conflict with Amurru going back three generations, or the treaty with Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, which appeals to actions taken as far back as the reigns of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I (17th-16th centuries

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[270] The treaty with Azzi-Ḫayaša is the best example of a subjugation pact. Here, Šuppiluliuma I refers to his new subject Ḫukkana as a "dog" which he has taken for himself (*ka-a-ša tu-uk* ᵐ*Ḫu-uq-qa-na-a-an ap-pé-ez-zi-in* ⌜UR.GE₇⌝-*an ša-ra-a da-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*).
CTH 42 A i 2-3 in Gernot Wilhelm (ed.), hethiter.net/: CTH 42.
[271] Altman 2004. The Šaušgamuwa Treaty with Amurru for instance, makes it clear that Amurru's ruler owes his throne to the Hittite king's goodwill. The following passage illustrates the Hittite king's power to dethrone a subject at will if disloyalty occurred and served to remind the subject of the consequences if he crossed Hattuša.
GIM-*an-ma-za* ᵐNIR.GÁL-*iš* ŠEŠ *A-BI* ᵈUTU-*ŠI* LUGAL-*iz-zi-at nu-uš-ši* ᴸᵁ·ᴹᴱˢKUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-mur-ra* IGI-*an-da wa-aš-te-er…na-an-za-an* ᵐNIR.GÁL-*iš tar-uḫ-ta* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-mur-ri-ya IŠ-TU* ᴳᴵˢTUKUL *ar-ḫa ḫar-ga-nu-ut na-at-za* ARAD-*na-aḫ-ta* nu *I-NA* KUR ᵁᴿᵁ*A-mur-ri* ᵐ*Ša-pi-li-in* LUGAL-*un DÙ-at* CTH 105 A i 28-39 in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 54-55.
Translation: When Muwatalli the brother of the father of his majesty became king, the people of the land of Amurru wronged him…Muwatalli defeated him, ravaged the land of Amurru with arms, and subjugated it. He made Šapili king in the land of Amurru.

BC).[272] The preamble states that Wiluša had originally fallen under Hittite rule during the reign of one Labarna (either Labarna or Ḫattušili I), but had defected from Ḫatti during the Aššuwa War.

ka-ru-ú-za ku-wa-pí ᵐ*La-ba-ar-na-aš A-BI A-AB-BA-A-YA* KUR.KUR^MEŠ ^URU*Ú-i-lu-ša-ya za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-at na-*at ÌR-*aḫ-ta nu a-píd-da* EGIR-*an-da* KUR ^URU*Ar-za-u-wa ku-ru-ri-aḫ-ta* KUR ^URU*Ú-i-lu-ša-ma* A-NA KUR ^URU KU.BABBAR-*ti*

CTH 182 B i 2-5 in Friedrich 1926, 50-51.

Translation: When in the past my ancestor Labarna conquered the lands of Wiluša and Arzawa, he subjugated them. The land of Arzawa then became hostile and the land of Wiluša rebelled against Ḫatti…

Muwatalli's claim that Arzawa and Wiluša declared war against Ḫatti is true. The next part, though, contradicts the Annals of Tudḫaliya I. The treaty claims that although Wiluša had abandoned Ḫatti, presumably to ally with Arzawa and Aḫḫiyawa, Ḫatti and Wiluša had maintained friendly relations and continued to exchange envoys.

ku-e-da-ni **LUGAL-*i*** *še-ir a-u-wa-an ar-ḫa ti-i-ya-at nu me-mi-ya-aš ku-it iš-ta-an-ta-an-za na-an Ú-UL* **ša-ak-ka-ḫi** *da-a-aš* **nu-u-ma-a-an** KUR ^URU*Ú-i-lu-ša* A-NA KUR ^URU*Ḫa-at-ti a-wa-an ar-ḫa ti-ya-at tu-u-wa-za-ma* A-NA LUGAL^MEŠ KUR ^URU*Ḫa-at-ti tak-šul-***pát*** *e-šir nu-uš-ma-aš* LÚ^MEŠ *ṬE-MU-TIM u-eš-ker*…[273]

CTH 182 B i 5-9 in Friedrich 1926, 50-51.

Translation: …(but) under which king I do not know, because the event was long ago (lit. too late). When the land of Wiluša defected from Ḫatti, from a distance, they (the people of Wiluša?) were peaceful towards the kings of Ḫatti and they regularly sent envoys.

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[272] The Talmi-Šarruma treaty with Aleppo also was drafted under Muwatalli II. "Formerly the kings of Aleppo possessed a great kingship, but Ḫattušili, Great King, King of Ḫatti, brought their kingship to fullness…" The treaty gives a detailed history of relations until the time of Muršili II. Muwatalli deployed history when it suited him, as most Near Eastern rulers did, omitting that Ḫattušili I had failed to conquer Aleppo, whitewashing this as bringing Aleppo's status "to fullness."

[273] Bolding indicated readings on copy C, not included in Friedrich 1926.

Per Muwatalli's explanation, the two states never went to war and Wiluša refused to fight Ḫatti, despite previous claims that it had become rebellious. This part of the treaty poses some problems regarding Hittite-Wilušan relations considering other historical records.

Muwatalli's treatment of Hittite-Wilušan relations suggests that he was either unaware of the historical facts, which is highly unlikely, or he was lying by omission. When Wiluša took part in the Aššuwa War, it likely played some role in the war rather than observing the conflict from the sidelines. The Annals of Tudḫaliya I explicitly name Wiluša as part of a confederacy with a king (LUGAL) extending down from the Troad to Caria that opposed Hittite rule.[274] Muwatalli's claims of unbroken friendship are dubious in light of the Aššuwa text, suggesting that the Hittite king sought to conceal the real history of relations with Wiluša. The Hittite king's dismissive tone in the preamble is suspicious and contradicts Hittite policy towards other states. Normally, the Hittites used historical preambles to browbeat their subjects with multigenerational acts of sedition by long-dead rulers. Although Muwatalli is supposedly unable to name the Wilušan ruler from the time of Tudḫaliya I, he does name the ruler of Wiluša one or two generations after Tudḫaliya I, who was a contemporary of Šuppiluliuma I.[275]

GIM-*an-ma nam-ma* KUR ^URU*Ar-za-u-wa ku-ru-ri-ya-aḫ-ta nu A-BI A-BI-YA* ^m*Šu-up-pí-lu-li-u-ma-aš ú-it* KUR ^URU*Ar-za-u-wa tar-aḫ-ta* ^m*Ku-uk-ku-un-ni-iš-ma-aš-ši* LUGAL KUR ^URU*Ú-i-lu-ša ták-šul e-eš-ta*

CTH 182 B i 16-18 in Friedrich 1926, 52-53.

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[274] As soon as I had returned to Hattuša, the following lands declared war on me: Unaliya... Dura, Ḫalluwa, Ḫuwallušiya... **Karkiša**, Dunta, Adadura, Parišta....Waršiya, Kuruppiya... **Lukka**, Alatra, the country of Mt. Paḫurina, Pašuḫalta... **Wilušiya, Taruiša**…
Annals of Tudḫaliya I obv. 13'-21'.

[275] It is possible that Wiluša and Ḫatti had friendly relations during the time of Šuppiluliuma I, after the events of the Aššuwa War had passed, but remained independent.

Translation: And when the Land of Arzawa began war once more, and my grandfather Šuppiluliuma came and attacked the land of Arzawa, Kukunni, king of the Land of Wiluša, was at peace with him.

It is unlikely that Muwatalli would have known the identity of Kukkunni, the Wilušan ruler named here, but not that of his father or grandfather, Tudḫaliya I's contemporaries. Much like the Talmi-Šarruma Treaty with Aleppo, in which Muwatalli omitted his ancestor Ḫattušili I's defeat against Aleppo, the Alakšandu Treaty seems to be an attempt at revisionism, but in favor of the subject.

Muwatalli's revisionism of relations with Wiluša and selective memory of Wilušan rulers is unusual for Hittite treaties, especially considering the detailed genealogies or chronologies of events given in other treaties. Ignorance cannot explain the omission of this critical detail either, since the letter from the King of Aḫḫiyawa to Muwatalli about the consequences of the Aššuwa War discusses these events. The only way to explain the vague preamble is that the Hittites were keen on not alienating Wiluša because it provided economic leverage and access to essential goods at the center of the economic zone that spanned the Troad and the Balkans. To maintain access to the commercial networks of the Dardanelles and its partner regions in Central Europe and the Balkans, the Hittites negotiated with Wiluša on a more equal basis rather than humiliating it as they did their other subjects.

The effects of the Hittite negotiations with Wiluša are apparent in the archaeological record. Beginning in the LHIIIA period, Troy had imported small quantities of Aegean pottery. The city shows a steady increase in these types of Mycenaean pottery from the LHIIIA period into the LHIIIB period, when the number of shapes expands.[276] Troy, though, was the only area in the Northeastern Aegean that imported Mycenaean pottery. The surrounding areas and the

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[276] Mee 1978, 146.

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islands off the coast of the Troad do not have much Mycenaean pottery, while sites south of Troy such as Pergamum have yielded no Mycenaean pottery at all.[277] Based on the distribution, Troy either limited the amount of Aḫḫiyawan goods, or Aḫḫiyawa lost interest in the Troad, a highly unlikely scenario considering Troy's importance. The decline in mainland Greek vessels coincides with Wiluša's alliance with Ḫatti, lending credence to the former interpretation.[278] Mycenaean pottery at Troy was replaced with imitations, but the number of forms represented in the assemblages dropped.[279] Based on the lack of Aḫḫiyawan cultural and material influence in the Troad, Wiluša can be placed outside of the Aḫḫiyawan sphere of influence, making it more independent and reliable ally for Ḫatti's purposes. However, the Hittites would have sought gain out of a treaty with Wiluša. Through Troy, Ḫatti gained access to the commercial zone focused around the Dardanelles, Thrace, and lands that lay beyond.

Troy's Balkan Alliances

Apart from wealth, Troy gave the Hittites a valuable network of allies that protected their trade interests and ensured an uninterrupted flow of goods to Anatolia and Syria from Europe.[280]

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[277] For pre-Iron Age Pergamum, see Dieter 2011.
[278] Girella and Pavúk 2016, 28-30.
[279] Blegen 1963, 158-59. Blegen's expeditions recovered over 250 sherds of imitation Mycenaean pottery mostly from Troy VIh and VIIa, a small amount of the total assemblages at Hisarlık. Troy VIIa resembles Troy VIh but shows a drop in the use of Mycenaean pottery, which coincides with the troubles mentioned in the Hittite texts. The destruction of VIIa is another issue, since archaeologists do not allow for Balkan influence at Troy until the VIIb1 level based on the appearance of small amounts of crude hand-made ware. Pavúk dated the VIIa layer to ca. 1200BC while Blegen dated it to around 1260/40BC. Most scholars accept a later date for Troy VIIa based on the presence of LHIIIC pottery. The LHIIIC sherds push the date of VIIa's destruction to after 1200BC. This is an issue, but the small number of Mycenaean sherds at Troy VIIa suggests that they could be intrusions from higher levels. Regardless, Mee noted that these sherds do not inspire a confident dating of the VIIa level. See Mee 1984, 48-49. Since these are also local productions, not imports it is more difficult to date them, since poor imitation may be confused for lateness chronologically. See Mylonas 1964, 363. For the most recent chronology and synchronisms see Pavúk 2015, 85.
[280] Korfmann 1998, 381-383.

Since the Dardanelles economic zone encompassed both sides of the strait, Troy required allies and contacts in Thrace and other parts of the Balkans to ensure that trade operations ran smoothly. Although there are no texts from Western Anatolia or the Balkans that attest to these relations, Greek tradition and archaeology do. The *Iliad* makes continuous references to Thracian goods and styles among the Trojans.[281] Among these are Helenus' use of a Thracian sword and Achilles' looting of a Thracian sword off the body of the Paeonian Asteropaeus.[282] Homer's identification of the weapon as Thracian suggests that the weapon's provenance was important. Homer's attachment of special value to Thracian goods is repeated in his description of Priam's Thracian cup, a valuable piece of craftsmanship with which he ransomed Hector's body.[283] Thracian fashions are also mentioned among Trojan nobles such as Paris, who wear their hair upright in the Thracian manner to the scorn of the Achaeans.[284] These references point to a close material, diplomatic, and cultural relationship between Troy, Phrygia, and Thrace, whose noble

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[281] "Thracian" is used in this dissertation to describe the region of Thrace, not as an ethnic or linguistic moniker.

[282] "Helenus then struck Deipyrus with a great Thracian sword, hitting him on the temple in close combat and tearing the helmet from his head." Homer, *Iliad* Book XIII, 576-79.
Given the quality of Thracian metalwork attested archaeologically, the weapon must have carried prestige. The value of Thracian weaponry appears again during Patroclus' funeral games Achilles gives the Paeonian Asteropaeus' silver-inlaid Thracian sword as a prize. Both the weapon's provenance and decoration with precious metals give it prestige.

[283] "…not even this did the old man spare in his halls…" (Homer, *Iliad* Book XXIV, 236). The poem makes it clear that Priam was willing to give this up for his son's body only, but not for anything else, stressing the value of Thracian gold work and the prestige they gave their bearers.

[284] The adoption of Thracian hairstyles among the Trojan elite is circumstantial evidence for relations like those between Arzawa and Aḫḫiyawa. This Thracian hairstyle draws mockery from people like Diomedes, who mocks Paris for being "proud of thy curling locks" (Homer, *The Iliad*, Book XI, 385). These were held in place with the kinds of gold curls found at places such as Ovchartsi in Bulgaria.
"In blood was his hair drenched, that was like the hair of the Graces, and his tresses that were braided with gold and silver." Homer, *The Iliad*, XVII.51-52.

families were related and fought together against Achaean expansion. The *Iliad* has preserved the details of some of these alliances which are worth discussing below.

PLAN OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF AMPHIPOLIS.

1. Site of Amphipolis.
2. Site of Eion.
3. Ridge connecting Amphipolis with Mt. Pangaeus.
4. Long Wall of Amphipolis: the three marks across indicate the gates.
5. Palisade (σταύρωμα) connecting the Long Wall with the bridge over the Strymon.
6. Lake Cercinitis.
7. Mt. Cerdylium.
8. Mt. Pangaeus.

Figure 12: Map showing the position of Rhesus' home of Eion (no. 2) near Amphipolis. Note Eion's position (in blue) as the Struma's last settlement Drawing by William Smith in Smith 1854

Greek tradition records that Troy was allied with several European polities from the regions of Thrace, Mysia, and Paeonia.[285] In the *Iliad*, Troy's connections with Thrace are of central importance since Thracian contingents are an important part of the army defending the city. Homer names two of their leaders, Peirous son of Imbrasos and Rhesus son of the Eioneus. Their importance stems from their home cities. Peirous ruled over the city of Ainos at the mouth of the Marica River (modern Enez), giving him control of all goods entering and exiting Thrace to and from the Aegean.[286] Ainos is generally known as Lesbian *apoikia* built up in the 8th century BC, but

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[285] Ignatov 1995. The Homeric Mysians comprise two groups. Some live in Anatolia, but Ignatov has proposed a Balkan connection based on Strabo's equation of the name Mysia with Moesia. Supporting this, Homer groups the Mysians with the European Thracians, Hippomolgoi and Abioi, the latter two being Pontic Steppe peoples.
"Now Zeus…turned away his bright eyes, and looked afar, upon the land of the Thracian horsemen, and of the Mysians that fight in close combat, and of the lordly Hippomolgi that drink the milk of mares, and of the Abii, the most righteous of men." Homer, the *Iliad*, XIII, 1-8.
[286] "…it was the leader of the Thracians that made the cast, even Peiros, son of Imbrasus, that had come from Aenus." Homer, the *Iliad*, Book IV, 519-520.

according to Strabo, it had originally been called *Apsinthis* in Thracian.[287] Homer's mention of

the town in the *Iliad* alongside Strabo's attestation of a Thracian settlement suggests that the

town was older than the 8th century BC. The city is archaeologically attested from the Neolithic

through to the Bronze Age, confirming Homer's mention of the town as a contemporary to Troy

and Mycenae, as would be expected for a town of such vital strategic importance.[288] Rhesus'

father is presumed to be the mythical founder of the city of Eion (Gk. *Hiṓn*, near modern

Chrysopolis, Central Macedonia, Greece), making Rhesus a native of that town.[289] Eion (near

classical Amphipolis) lay near the exit of the Struma River, which was an important waterway

for the movement of gold and amber from the West Balkans to the Aegean (**No. 2 in Figure 12**),

as found in the cemetery of Fea Petra.[290] The mentions of Rhesus and Peirous highlight the

importance of the Marica and Struma Rivers for those who controlled them. Their presence at

Troy suggests that they had a common interest in stopping Achaean intrusion into their

commercial spheres.

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[287] "…their country is called Corpilice; for Aenus lies in what was formerly called Apsinthis, though now called Corpilice." Strabo VII, fragments, 59. Apsinthis is derived from a Thracian language.

[288] Most literature on Ainos focuses on earlier settlements Bronze Age settlements, since those under the modern city and cannot be easily excavated. However, the city was inhabited since approximately 6500BC onward and maintained close relations with Anatolia. See for instance Özdoğan 1998 and Yakar 2013. For the Bronze Age settlement, see Casson 1926, 125-127.

[289] This tradition survived into the time of Euripides, so the Greeks were aware that Homer referred to the port at the mouth of the Struma. See Fries 1915.

[290] Peloponnesian War attests to Eion's strategic importance from its access to the inland areas. The Homeric attestation suggests that it extended to the Bronze Age, which the discovery of gold and amber at Fea Petra supports. The finds confirm the use of the Struma for commerce from inland Europe. See Valla 2007.

"His army lay then at Eion, a town of traffic by the seaside subject to the Athenians, at the mouth of the river Strymon, five-and twenty furlongs from the city. Agnon named this city Amphipolis because it was surrounded by the river Strymon, that runs on either side it."

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* Book IV, 102.

The presence of Thracians among Troy's defenders necessitates the existence of alliances and mutual interests between Troy and the Southeastern Balkans. The *Iliad* mentions that not only did Thracians arrive at Troy as warriors, but that several nobles and dignitaries at Troy were married to the daughters of Thracian potentates. Priam, Troy's ruler, had a lesser wife named Castianeira from a town called Oesyme near the Khalkidhiki Peninsula.[291] Priam's advisor Antenor's son Iphidamas had a Thracian mother named Theano from a place called Cisseus, where he had grown up with his grandfather.[292] These examples in the *Iliad* demonstrate that intermarriage with the Thracian nobility, according to Greek tradition, was common and expected among the Trojan elite. The alliances in the *Iliad*, however, extend beyond Thrace. The presence of Paeonian warriors under Asteropaeus is likely due to a similar alliance between Troy and that area.[293] Paeonia was drained by the Struma, Haliacmon (Ἀλιακμων) and Axios (Αξιος) rivers, all waterways for the transport of materials, especially timber, in later times. Through Priam's marriage to Hecuba, Troy also maintained an alliance with Phrygia, a region under a paleo-Balkan-speaking elite whom Greco-Roman writers believed to be Balkan migrants.[294]

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[291] "Priam's valiant son, that a mother wedded from Oesyme had born, even fair Castianeira, in form like to the goddesses..." Homer, *The Iliad*, Book VIII, 304-305. Porožanov believes that this marriage is a preservation of relations between Thrace and Anatolia in the Bronze Age. Priam had received a golden cup from a Thracian ruler, which was considered a sign of royal dignity and patronage. See Porožanov 1995, 114-115.

[292] "It was Iphidamas, son of Antenor, a valiant man and tall, that was nurtured in deep-soiled Thrace, mother of flocks, and Cisseus reared him in his house while he was yet but a little child…" Homer, *Iliad*, XI, 221-223.

[293] The placement of the Paeonians is excellent evidence to support a Bronze Age origin for the *Iliad*. The Paeonians are from the Axios, which flowed through both Classical Macedonia and Classical Paeonia. Homer mentions that Pyraechmes, one of the Paeonian commanders, was a native of a town called Amydon, which tradition places on the Lower Axios in the Amphaxitis region of Macedonia, meaning that the *Iliad* could be from a time before the term "Macedonia" existed. See Strabo XII 20.1 for the location of Amydon.

[294] …even of Asius, that was uncle to horse-taming Hector, and own brother to Hecabe, but son of Dymas, that dwelt in Phrygia by the streams of Sangarius. Homer, *The Iliad* Book XVI, 718-

Although the *Iliad* is the only descriptive source for a Balkan connection between Troy and Europe, Homer's nomenclature for the inhabitants of the Troad suggests that the Bronze Age connections between Troy and Thrace were a historically reality, not a later invention.

Trojans and Dardanians

The marriage alliances between Troy and Europe make sense if one considers the terminology Homer uses to describe the Trojan elite. Although Troy is an Anatolian city, its ruling class identifies with European Thrace. Troy's ruling family per tradition descended from the Samothracian Dardanus, establishing a strong connection between Troy and Thrace that the *Iliad* builds upon.[295] The *Iliad* divides Troy's ruling class into two groups. The first is the Trojans (Τρῶας) and the second is the *Dardanoi* (Δάρδανοι). Among the *Dardanoi* are Priam's trusted councilor Antenor, Antenor's sons Iphidamas and Acamas, and Aeneas, the former of whom maintains close ties with Europe. The terms "Trojan" and "Dardanian" are conflated in later literature. In the *Iliad*, however, they are identified as closely related but distinct groups, although Homer never completely explains the difference.[296] The word Dardanian derives from

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19. The presence of a Phrygian *ethnos* in Anatolia during the LBA opens the possibility that the language was already present in Anatolia too. This is highly speculative given current evidence but is worth considering anyway.

[295] Macurdy 1915, 120-123. Other traditions identified Dardanus with Illyria and even Italy. According to Roman tradition, he was a native of the Umbrian city of Cortona and made his way to Anatolia via Greece. This corresponds with the idea of the travelling warrior aristocrat of the LBA. While the Anatolian and Illyrian connections between Etruscan Italy, Troy, and Thrace are too much to cover in this dissertation, ancient writers and people had already these regions as having a common origin.

[296] Astour 1972, 453. Although both are the "sons of Dardanus," the *Iliad* never conflates the two terms. Antenor's speech to the Trojan assembly addresses Trojans and Dardanians, which would hardly be necessary if they were interchangeable terms for the same group.
"Among them wise Antenor was first to speak, saying: 'Hearken to me, ye Trojans and Dardanians and allies, that I may speak...'" Homer, *The Iliad*, 346-348.
Books XX 177 and XIII 460 hint to friction between these groups, confirming that they were viewed as distinct. The name *Dardanoi* has a possible paleo-Balkan etymology, deriving from

Dardanus of Samothrace, the ancestor of both the Trojan and Dardanian members of the Trojan aristocracy. While both groups are "sons of Dardanus," the use of the term *Dardanoi* as an in-group term and some of its members' close relations with Thrace suggests that at least some of this branch of the aristocracy identified strongly with its mythological ancestor and his Balkan origins. The poem's emphasis on the links between Troy's elite and Europe (real or imagined) suggest that they were based on historical relations, which find support in a single attestation of the term *Dardanoi* in Egyptian records.

Homer's mention of *Dardanoi* at Troy initially appears to be an anachronism because the term usually refers to Bardylis' 4th century BC Illyrian kingdom. Astonishingly, though, there is a single Bronze Age attestation of this term in Egyptian records. Among the groups mentioned in Ramses II's list of Hittite allies at Qadesh is a foreign land (Egy. *t3 h3st*) called *dardnwy*, which bears a striking similarity to the name *Dardanoi*.[297] The Egyptian use of the term, which consensus equates with the Troad, confirms that Homer's use of the term is an authentic Bronze Age memory rather than a later addition.[298] It also opens the new question of why Ramses used this term. The term *Dardanoi* is unattested in Hittite. The Hittites referred to Northwestern Anatolia as *Truisa* (cognate to Troy) or *Wiluša* (cognate to Ilios), so the attestation in the Qadesh

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the word for "pear tree" (preserved in Albanian as "*dardha*.") See Orel 1998, s.v. *dardha*. This was also the name of a 4th century Illyrian kingdom. The similarity in names is unlikely to be coincidental, pointing to common linguistic origin.

[297] The Egyptian transliterates to *d3rdnwy*. It is accompanied with the foreign land determinative (transliterated as *ḫswt*), which can indicate a foreign state or a (perceived) ethnic group, like the Hittite designation KUR ^{URU}x. Here, Ramses does not indicate that he triumphed "in the land" (*m p3 t3*) of the *Dardanoi*, but simply in Dardani(a) (*m p3 d3rdnwy*), so whether this indicates a place or group is unclear. Nevertheless, the usage confirms that the Troad was still known in Egyptian parlance as Dardania instead of Wiluša, opening the possibility for multiple in-group term. This raises the question of Troy's elite juggling multiple identities depending on its audience. See the Qadesh Poem in Kitchen 1989, 11-15 for the list of Hittite allies.

[298] Ignatov 1985, 109.

text stands in isolation.[299] Egypt, however, maintained commercial relations with several Aegean states, including Mycenae and Troy. They were aware of the names and ethnic identities of at least some of these regions, such as *Keftiu* (Crete) and *Tanaja* (Greece).[300] Either the term *Dardanoi* was an older ethnic moniker preserved from the Middle Bronze Age, or the Trojan elite still identified with their supposed Balkan ancestry via Dardanus (as Homer presents it) and passed the term into Egyptian via LBA commercial relations. The close identification of the Trojan elite with the Balkans and their alliances with that region in the *Iliad* provide a strong argument for the latter. Although evidence for this is scarce, discoveries on the Gallipoli Peninsula and in Bulgaria have bolstered the case for Troy's Balkan allies, who kept the European trade routes running efficiently.

Maydos-Kilisetepe

Political relations between Troy and Europe should be reflected in the material record, perhaps by Anatolian material culture on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Before, lack of evidence made it impossible to prove economic interaction between Troy and the Gallipoli in the Late Bronze Age.[301] While much work has been done on Troy's role in the Dardanelles, little is known about Gallipoli's role in the Dardanelles' economy, despite its important position. Until recently, there was little evidence for Late Bronze Age habitation on the Gallipoli Peninsula, the European side

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[299] The term *Truisa* is used in the Annals of Tudḫaliya I when describing the alliance of western states arrayed against him during the Aššuwa War.

[300] For translations of some of the toponyms, see Cline and Stannish 2011. Not all the toponyms are known with certainty, but they are all Aegean locales in both Greece and Western Anatolia.

[301] Özdoğan 2003. Evidence from the Bulgarian side has grown considerably, but there is still very little archaeological evidence for material exchange into the Late Bronze Age. As the author mentions, though, it is unlikely that the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara formed any barrier to interaction.

of the Dardanelles.[302] Beginning in 2015, excavations of the ancient port city of Maydos-

Kilisetepe (near Eceabat, Gelibolu Province, Turkey on the Gallipoli Peninsula) have changed

the picture and provided evidence for interaction between the European and Asian sides of the

strait and intra-Balkan relations. Maydos is the largest identified site on the European side of the

Dardanelles and a possible partner to the cities of the Anatolian Dardanelles.[303] It was a well-

fortified, permanently-inhabited *megaron* with strong Aegean influences.[304] Archaeological

excavations have revealed mudbrick buildings, stone floors, and evidence for monumental

architecture in the form of a one-meter volcanic stone column base.[305] Another crucial find was

the presence of silos used to store grain, suggesting it was a regional central place on the

European side of the Dardanelles.

Finds at Maydos have revealed LBA commercial interaction between the two sides of the

Dardanelles, which until recently, did not have much support in the material record. Although

the pottery is still being studied, Anatolian gray ware dominates Maydos' assemblages, while

Mycenaean pottery is present only in minuscule quantities in the fifth layer, which corresponds

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[302] Göksel and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 139. Troy and Beşiktepe were the only two major sites excavated on the Northwestern Anatolian mainland. There had also been excavations on Lemnos, Lesbos, and Samothrace, but little on the European side of the Dardanelles. This is principally due to excessive focus on Troy.

[303] Aslan *et al.* 1993, 187-189.

[304] Derya 2016. This is based on finds of textiles and incised decorations on buildings. The term *megaron* since it implies that the citadel resembled the large palaces of Greece and Anatolia. The mix of Balkan and Anatolian makes sense given the town's crossroads position.

[305] Sazci and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 143. The area excavated was interpreted as a workshop area. This in combination with the grain silos points to a regional production and storage center, and not just an outpost. The presence of such a settlement suggests a complex society had developed on the European side of the Dardanelles to the same level as that on the Anatolian side. The column base is of interest, since Blegen discovered a similar one at Troy VIf. See Blegen *et al.* 1953, 285-297.

to Troy VI and VIIa.[306] There is also encrusted pottery, whose closest parallels come from

Transylvania and the Central Balkans.[307] Following the destruction of Maydos level V,

Buckelkeramik, the "barbarian ware" of Troy VIIb2, also appears. Unlike at Troy, the elements

that constitute this type of pottery, namely the fact that it is handmade and has knobs, had been

present at Maydos-Kilisetepe throughout the Bronze Age.[308] The ceramic assemblages point to

regular commercial interaction with the opposite shore of the Dardanelles and more importantly

with the Central and Western Balkans (e.g. Serbia, Northern Macedonia, Kosovo), making

Maydos a true Balkan crossroads. Maydos also has another feature that ties it with the region of

Classical Macedonia and the North Balkans. The walls of the buildings were decorated with

incised reliefs.[309] The closest parallels for these do not come from Anatolia, but from Apsalos in

Greek Macedonia (Paeonia in the *Iliad*), pointing to an interest of Maydos' elites in styles from

Macedonia and the Western Balkans and vice-versa, and the existence of a wide network of

Balkan contacts that linked it to Troy and Anatolia. These relations explain the presence of the

Iliad's Paeonians as Trojan allies, who are from the region that later became Greek

Macedonia.[310] Troy's interests did not stop at the Gallipoli Peninsula though, since Greek

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[306] Sazci and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 143-144. The small quantities of Mycenaean pottery suggest that the cities of this area did not look much to Mycenae for their prestige culture. Maydos looked to Troy instead, which can be interpreted as further evidence for Troy as a competitor to Mycenae during the Late Bronze Age.

[307] Sazci and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 145. For the Romanian parallels, which date to the Middle Bronze Age, see Dietrich and Dietrich 2011.

[308] Sazci and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 152. It is debated how this kind of pottery arrived in Maydos, whether by migration or something else. If the same earthquake or invasion that levelled Troy VI, destroyed Maydos, this would suggest an appearance of Balkan elements during Troy VIIa, not in the 12-11th centuries as at Troy VIIb.

[309] Göksel 2013, 35-38.

[310] Sazci and Basaran Mutlu 2018, 144. For the Macedonian examples, see Chrysostoumou and Georgiadou 2005, 168-169. Finds of mace heads resembling those from the North Balkans and Ukraine have also been found at Maydos. For the European/Eurasian parallels, see Boroffka and Sava 1998.

tradition records that Troy had made alliances with different polities in the Southeastern Balkans to buttress its influence in the region. Bulgarian archaeology has revealed the existence of polities that took part in international diplomacy with Anatolia as shown in the *Iliad* and formed an important bulwark for the maintenance of Balkan trade into Anatolia.

Thracian Society

Evaluating the plausibility of Trojan contacts with Thrace first requires an overview of the societies of the region. The hilltop sites of Thrace show signs of a complex, hierarchical society that was wealthy and cannot be considered peripheral. The gold mining settlement of Ada Tepe (near Krumovgrad, Bulgaria) best illustrates the vibrancy and diversity of the economies of the Thracian polities. The settlement of Ada Tepe reflects the existence of elite-directed production and craftsmanship. The site contained several types of pottery, including storage, kitchen, and domestic wares. There were also numerous houses, suggesting that it was a diverse settlement with permanent inhabitants.[311] Household pottery shapes were produced according to standard techniques, pointing to some centralized production.[312] Included were pots related to the preparation, consumption and storage of foods, as well as a significant number of drinking vessels.[313] Ada Tepe also maintained a metallurgical industry, as finds of molds for casting axes of the Aegean type and other bronze implements show.[314] Evidence of widespread metallurgic activity was also found at Pobit Kamak (near Razgrad, Bulgaria) in the mountains

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[311] Popov *et al*. 2017, 165-179.

[312] Horejs 2017, 210-216.

[313] The high number of vessels for holding liquid is related to gold mining. The high number of kitchen wares points to a larger population present there on a permanent basis. The gold miner was a full-time occupation, and families lived on site too. See Nikov 2017, 63-65.

[314] Popov and Jockenhövel 2010, 273. These axes are restricted to the 14th and 13th centuries BC and have similarities with the double axes found at Kirkovo to the west.

near the Arda, a tributary of the Marica, where molds for metal casting have also been found.[315]

Pobit Kamak produced molds for tools such as forging hammers, axes, and most importantly, swords, which were symbols of prestige in the Bronze Age among warriors and aristocrats.[316] The houses of Ada Tepe revealed a host of implements, including pottery, sword handles, scepters, needles, sickles, and spindle whorls, all pointing to a vibrant and diversified economy.[317] The matrices used to cast the weapons at Pobit Kamak had Mycenaean influence but also used local designs, suggesting that they were being cast for a local aristocracy rather than a foreign one.[318] The maintenance of such industries in Bronze Age Bulgaria required strong authorities to direct and maintain the social order, and such large settlements that formed the basis for this type of power have recently been discovered in Bulgaria.

Bronze Age fortified hill settlements such as Bresto (Near Banya, Plovdiv District, Bulgaria), overseeing a tributary of the Mesta River (Gk. Nestos), provide archaeological evidence that the Hittites, through Troy, gained access to a system of alliances that ensured trade routes to the Dardanelles stayed open. The finds confirm that Homer's description of alliances between Troy and Thrace is a Bronze Age memory. Bresto hosted a walled town that turned up Mycenaean goods such as part of a boars' tusk helmet similar to that of the Dendra armor, and a Mycenaean alabastron (perfume vessel), attesting to the citadel's international contacts.[319] The

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[315] Лещаков 2008, 102-103 and Bulatović 2002, 139-144.Similar molds are found in Serbia, suggesting an LBA link with the Western Balkans.

[316] Published molds from Pobit Kamak are available in Черных 1970, 193 and 291 and Venedikov 1987, 69-75.

[317] Popov and Jockenhövel 2010, 277. As Popov notes, the most significant finds from the site all come from the 14th-11th centuries BC, meaning Ada Tepe was already in use. The Arda and Marica Rivers were the settlement's main waterways, making isolation from the Aegean and Anatolia unlikely.

[318] Venedikov 1977 11-13.

[319] Атанасов *et al* 2017, 422-423.

Bresto citadel dates to the 13th century BC, coinciding with the height of gold production and settlement size at Ada Tepe. Building the architecture of the settlement at Bresto would have required a strong central authority and cohesive society to plan, amass the raw materials necessary for construction and development of the settlement, and build the structures. Such influence could have come from Greece. In the case of Bresto, though, the strongest architectural parallels are not with Greece, but with the "fine" walls of Troy VI.[320] Another larger citadel similar to Mycenae and Tiryns has also been discovered at Zlatograd (South-Central Bulgaria), although the results have not yet been published. The existence of such Late Bronze Age towns suggests that there existed a powerful, wealthy, and well-connected supra-tribal aristocracy in Thrace that went beyond kinship and sought to distinguish itself through opulent displays of wealth and collection of foreign prestige goods, such as Mycenaean armor and weapons, and most importantly, gold.

Although Troy gave the Hittites access to Europe, the Hittites still required a route to access the Troad without having to pass through Aḫḫiyawan or Arzawan areas. Troy's system of Balkan alliances provided Muwatalli II a solution. The route in question existed in the Early Bronze Age and has been referred to as the Great Caravan Route. In the Early Bronze Age, this route connected Cilicia with Troy via the Anatolian Plateau and classical Mysia, allowing interchange between the Balkans and Anatolia.[321] This interchange is seen in artifacts depicting common features such as aquatic birds associated with solar deities, like those found in the Vulchitrun Treasure, Alaca Höyük, and in Serbia.[322] Likewise, this route could connect the

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[320] Ibid, 421.
[321] Turan, 2007. This is based on the spread of Trojan pottery from the Trojan "maritime culture" throughout Central Anatolia and Cilicia, but not in Western Anatolia, which the route bypassed.
[322] Venedikov 1987, 88-92.

Hittite government in Cilicia with the Troad through Phrygia and Mysia. Muwatalli II's move of the capital away from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša in Cilicia coincides with the alliance with Troy and is not coincidental. In moving the capital to Tarḫuntašša, Muwatalli placed himself at the eastern end of the old caravan route that connected Tarḫuntašša to the Troad via Troy's Anatolian allies.

Phrygia, Mysia, and the Great Caravan Route

Troy and Cilicia were the ends of the route but depended on the regions of Phrygia and Mysia as connectors. The two regions avoided Western Anatolia and the Aegean Sea and served as a bridge between the Anatolian Plateau or Tarḫuntašša and the Troad. The area around the Sea of Marmara is never explicitly described in Hittite texts. However, it is believed that the Hittites referred to the area as "Maša," while the Egyptian term *msnṯ* has been equated as an ethnonym for Phrygia.[323] Hittitologists have equated Greek Mysia with Hittite Maša, which sent a contingent to Qadesh and briefly sheltered Mašḫuiluwa of Mira after Muršili II defeated him.[324] Although it appears similar to Lukka, in that there was no single king, the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus places this region under a king named Telephus (Gk. Τήλεφος), Priam's son-in-law.[325] At minimum, it is likely that Mysia's alliance with Troy was a Bronze Age memory, as shown in

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[323] Ignatov 1995, 109.

[324] Гиндин 1993, 73-74. Gindin has proposed a connection between Telephus of Mysia, Eurypylus' father, with the Hittite-Luwian name Telepinu, while Eurypylus' brother in the Aeneid, Tarchon, is connected to the Hittite Tarḫunta. Therefore, Gindin accepts the equation of the *Iliad's Ketheioi* with Hittites. The name Telephus also has a Greek etymology from the word Ἔλατος (deer), so Hittitologists such as Bryce reject the equivalency as implausible. See Bryce 2009, s.v. "Telephus."

[325] Papyrus.Oxyrhynchus LXIX 4708 available at: http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/monster/demo/Page1.html
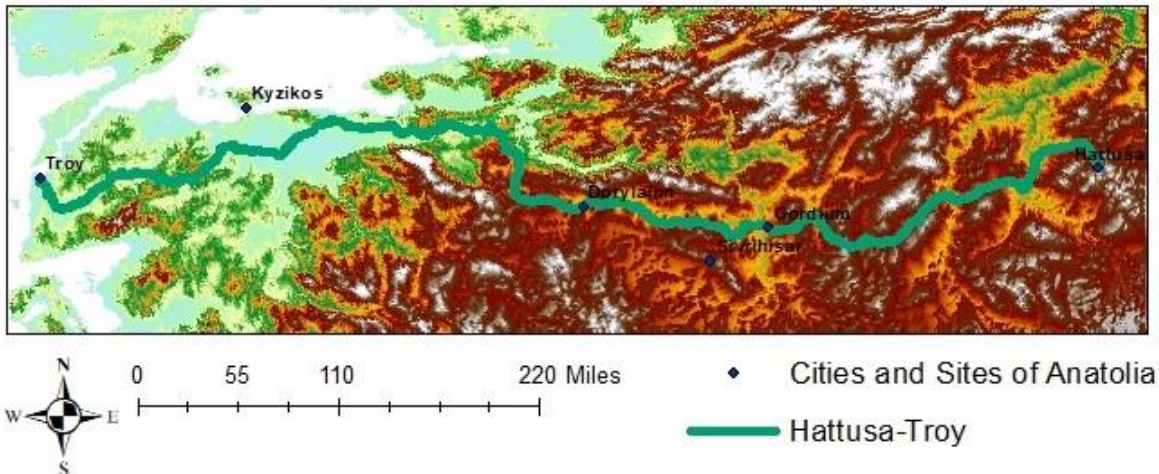
Hattusa-Troy

Figure 13: Least-cost path between Hattuša and Troy. This path passed through Phrygia and connected the Troad to Hattuša. However, the difficulty of accessing Cilicia and the Levant from Hattuša made an alternative capital preferable. Map made using ArcGIS with elevation data downloaded from the USGS earth explorer.

the *Iliad*. This agrees with proposed routes through Anatolia that converged near Dorylaeum in Phrygia before heading towards Mysia and then the Troad (**Figure 13**).[326] In light of this, Muwatalli's move of the capital to Tarḫuntašša makes sense form an economic perspective, although the Troad could still be accessed from Ḫatti via Phrygia.

Archaeological evidence around Phrygia from the Assyrian colony period into the Late Bronze Age, as well as texts, support the idea that Phrygia and Mysia were major stopping points

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[326] Winfield 1977, 151-153. One of the proposed routes runs straight from Hattuša through Gordium, Dorylaeum, and Bursa. From Bursa, a journey through the Troad eventually ends at Troy. ArcGIS analyses of cost-paths reveal that this is the easiest route between Hattuša and the Troad.

along the route to the Troad, contrary to previous assessments.[327] Despite the lack of explicit

mentions in Hittite texts, surveys around Eskisehir have revealed that the area later called

Phrygia was densely populated in the Late Bronze Age.[328] The high population and number of

sites, in addition to the ease of connections with the Konya Plain to the southeast and the

Anatolian Plateau to the east make it unlikely that this region was peripheral.[329] The importance

of the region between Gordium and Dorylaeum is attested in older Hittite records. The Anitta

Text speaks of attacking the "man of Šalatiwara," by crossing a river called the Ḫulana.[330] The

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[327] Bryce 2003 disputes the existence of a Black Sea route, since the mountains of Paphlagonia cut the Hittites off from this area, and generally rejects the idea of any route through northern Anatolia as too dangerous. Given the finds at Gordium and the Mysian alliance with Troy, this idea should be reconsidered.

[328] See Turan and Perello 2016 for a full list of site references and associated finds, some of which come from the Hittite homeland.

[329] Mellaart 1964.

[330] LÚ URU*Ša-la-ti-wa-ra QA-DU* DUMU^meš*-šú a-ra-a-iš- -an-da ú-e-et* KUR*-e-še-et ù* URU-*LIM-šu da-a-li-iš nu* ÍD*Ḫu-u-la-an-na-an IŞ-BAT* KBo 3.22 obv. 65-67 available at https://hittitetexts.com/en/tools/reader/text/7761/kbo-3.22#Reverse-line52
Translation: The man of Šalatiwara along with his sons rose up. He came and left his land and city and took a position on the Ḫulana River (lit. seized the Ḫulana River).
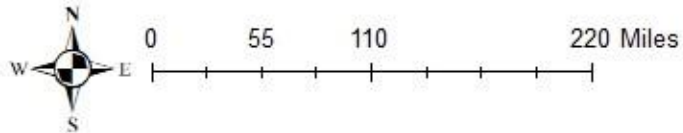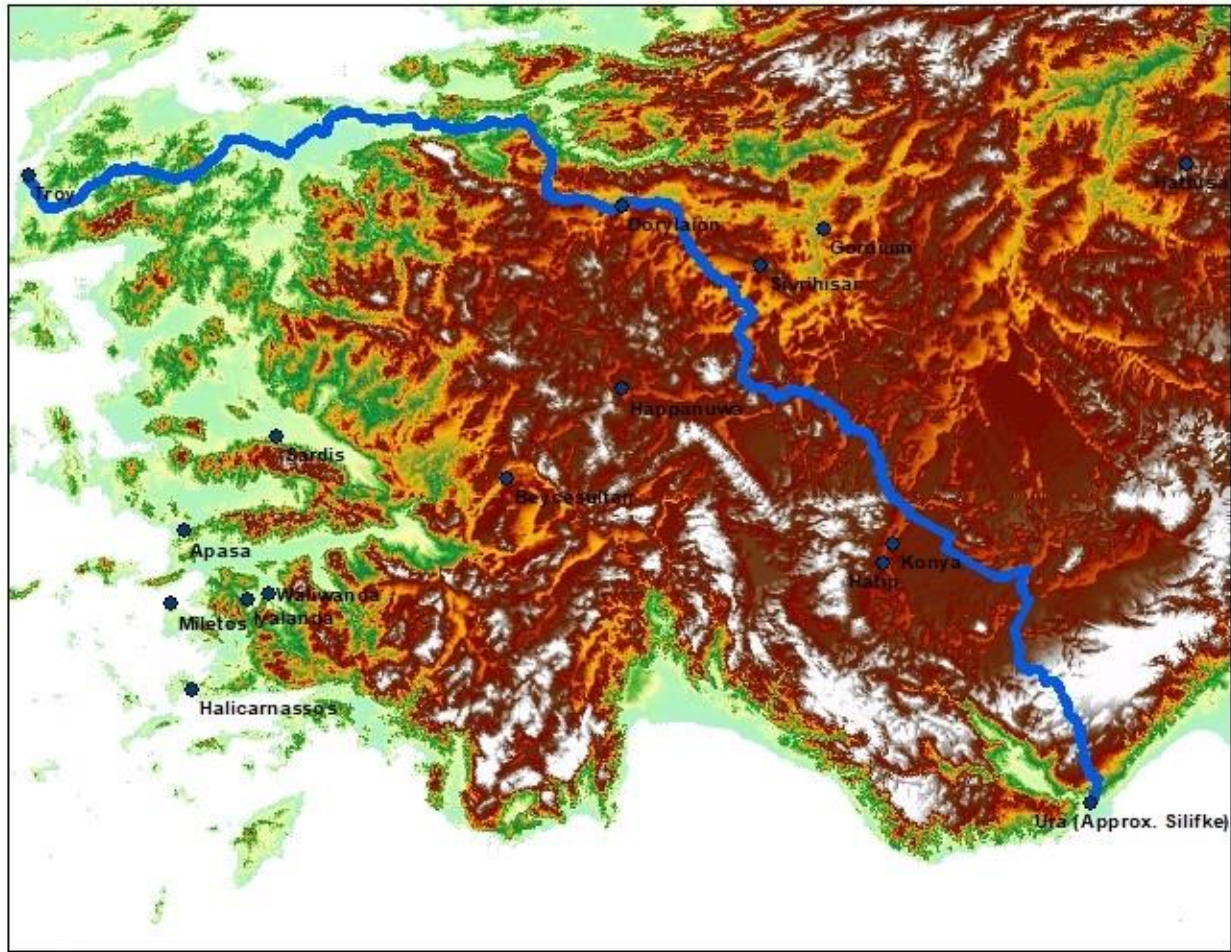
Troy-Ura

Figure 14: Least-cost path between Troy and Ura in Cilicia. The route passes through Phrygia to Cilicia via a well-settled area, cutting Hattuša out of any trade. Note the old capital's isolation in the upper-right corner of the map. This route empowered Tarḫuntašša and is attested through the spread of Trojan pottery in this corridor all the way into Cilicia. Map made using ArcGIS with elevation data downloaded from the USGS earth explorer.

army of Šalatiwara defended this river crossing, which Hittitologists have equated with the Porsuk River that

flows through modern Eskisehir near ancient Dorylaeum.[331] Since Gordium in antiquity guarded

the main ford at the confluence of the Porsuk and Sangarius Rivers, it is possible that Anitta

crossed there to attack Šalatiwara. Šalatiwara also appears in Assyrian records as an important

crossing for commerce.[332] This corridor between Gordium and Dorylaeum was a potential route

bypassing the Aegean and delivering goods into Central Anatolia and Cilicia, making it critical

for the Hittites' economic survival (**Figure 14**).[333]

The Hittite presence at Gordium is attested through ceramics, which form a small but

important part of the assemblages and provide evidence for Hittite state industries.[334] The pottery

at Gordium fits into a standard repertoire of empire shapes and production techniques from

Ḫattuša and its environs, indicating the presence of Hittite ceramic production.[335] Some carry

marks which have been interpreted as hieroglyphic Luwian or as a record of production, which

speaks to the bureaucracy's presence in the region either way.[336] Several Luwian seals from the

Hittite period add further credence to the presence of a bureaucratic apparatus at Gordium. The

presence of a bureaucracy gives it some local importance, which makes sense given its strategic

location.[337] The types pottery and seals found demonstrate the Hittite presence in Phrygia,

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[331] The exact site of Šalatiwara is unknown, with some placing it as far south as Mersin. Barjamovic has suggested the mound of Kepen, northeast of Eskisehir (ancient Dorylaeum) which controls traffic passing through the area. See Barjamovic 2010, 16-17. Anitta's campaign demonstrates Hittite interest in the region during the early kingdom, an interest that pottery finds at Gordium slightly further east confirm continued into the Late Bronze Age.

[332] Barjamovic 2011, 400-401.

[333] See the map in Sarı 2013, 326.

[334] Roller 1987, 71-74.

[335] Voigt and Henrickson 2000, 40-42. Currently, pottery and seals are the only markers for Gordium's Bronze Age layers, which are buried deep below later settlements. Only a small part of the Bronze Age city has been surveyed.

[336] Glatz 2012, 28-30. It is not always clear what the marks are meant to represent, but some, such as 10e on page 29, do resemble the H. Luwian sign REX (king).

[337] Güterbock 1980 51-57.

although it lay on Ḫatti's edge. Hittite influence in Phrygia allowed travelers from the Troad to reach Hattuša to the east or continue south towards Tarḫuntašša safely.

Thrace formed the third part of the block opposing Aḫḫiyawan expansion after Ḫatti and Wiluša. The relations between Thrace and Greece support the idea that Thrace and Wiluša were bound together in an economic system including the North Aegean and the Black Sea. The Thracian region had a short period of contact with Bronze Age Greece in Western Bulgaria from the 15th to 14th century BC, when Aegean traders accessed Thrace's wealth via the island of Samothrace. The island has revealed mainland Greek and Cretan goods, while Greek tradition tells stories of heroes that went to Samothrace to be initiated into mystery cults that have parallels to Thracian and Phrygian cults.[338] The Aḫḫiyawans maintained a geopolitical and economic interest in the region sought to export their influences into Thrace. Jung has noted that many of the weapons in Thrace were of the early Mycenaean type.[339] Gold beads from the Izvorovo tombs are also influenced by Mycenaean craftsmanship, suggesting that at one point, Thrace looked to Mycenae for elite culture as well.[340] Horejs and Jung note that the amount of gold in some of these tombs was similar to the richness found at the shaft graves at Mycenae, and argue that these similarities were due to their close exchange networks between the 16th and

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[338] Blakely 2007 and Lawall 2005. Per Blakely Samothrace was considered a boundary of sorts, not just from an ethno-linguistic point of view, but also from a religious one. Between the Greek world and the Thracian world, a tradition that is reflected in the pre-Classical traditions. Troy's close association with Samothrace continued into the Classical era, as shown in Schliemann's discovery of a fragment attesting to a sanctuary of Samothracian gods. The Achaean relationship with Samothrace and beyond, although couched in religious terms later, was more pragmatic. Woudhuizen notes that Aegean polities sought metals, such as tin and gold from Thrace and Europe, explaining the Achaean desire to capture Troy and defeat its Thracian allies. See Woudhuizen 2009.
[339] Юнг 2017, 244-245.
[340] For the gold beads, see Borislavov 2010 and Александров *et al.* 2017, 493.

14th centuries BC.[341] This corresponded with the rise of Mycenaean pottery at Troy, and with the eastward expansion of the states of the Greek mainland into Western Anatolia at the expense of the Hittites.[342] The close contacts between Mycenae and Eastern Thrace ended suddenly in the 14th century, similar to Troy, where the LHIIIB pottery numbers dropped off suddenly. This coincides with the beginning of the Hittite counterattack against Aḫḫiyawan in Western Anatolia under Tudḫaliya I (ca. 1400BC). The convergence of these events suggests that Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia, which had been politically, culturally and economically linked since the Early Bronze Age, had formed a bulwark against Aḫḫiyawan expansion and aggression to protect their economic interests in the Northern Aegean.

Conclusions

The rich finds from the Balkans and Central Europe demonstrate the existence of wealthy, culturally developed, and well-connected polities with a hierarchical society that built towns and fortresses throughout the area. It was not a peripheral area isolated from Anatolia, as Homeric epic attests through relations between Troy and several economically important Balkan polities positioned alongside major riverine routes. Together, Troy and the Balkans formed a two-part bulwark against Aḫḫiyawan expansion and served as an economic lifeline for Hittite Anatolia. The Trojan-Balkan bulwark against Aḫḫiyawan expansion, further strengthened with Hittite backing, successfully kept Aḫḫiyawa out of the Black Sea in the Late Bronze Age and ensured Ḫatti a steady, secure supply of important luxury and utilitarian goods. Northwestern Anatolia following its incorporation into Ḫatti begun to export its material culture into Central

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[341] Horejs and Jung 2017, 101-102.
[342] Ibid.

Anatolia, with Trojan wares appearing in the corridor that passed along the old Great Caravan Route of the Early Bronze Age.[343]

Once Troy was firmly in the Hittite grip, the Dardanelles could export the material culture of the Balkans into Central Anatolia as well. This would have to wait until after the Hittite Empire collapsed. Hittite ceramic production and material culture were highly standardized, while linguistically, all extant official correspondence was in Hittite. In this situation, local languages, per evidence available, did not enter the textual record (treaties, inscriptions, etc.) on a medium that would preserve them.[344] In the Aegean, the Aḫḫiyawan problem still posed a danger to Troy and the Balkans, meaning that their attention was directed towards the Dardanelles and the coast of Thrace rather than Central Anatolia. If Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa clashed in Western Anatolia and the Troad, it was unlikely that the Dardanelles region and its connected areas would be able to expand successfully into Central Anatolia. Towards the end of the 13th century BC, the fragmentation of the empires of the Bronze Age and the end of the Amarna system created the conditions for the Dardanelles' eastward expansion.

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[343] Mac Sweeney 2009, 106-109. Although Mac Sweeney's main focus is the formation of group identities through material culture, she does note that the use of Northwestern Anatolian goods implies closer economic relations between the interior and the Troad in the 13th century, which correlates with the Alakšandu Treaty and the Hittite annexation of Wiluša.

[344] Yakubovich 2008, 155. Hittite has survived in the textual record mostly because it was written on clay, which preserves much better than other media such as wood or wax. It is not known if regional languages were ever written down.

Chapter 4

The Expansion of the Dardanelles

Introduction

When Muwatalli annexed Troy and moved the capital to Tarḫuntašša, he created a corridor through which Balkan goods and people could enter past the Troad into Central Anatolia and Cilicia. With the capital at Tarḫuntašša instead of Ḫattuša, the Hittite government gained access to European and Levantine trade routes, completely bypassing Aḫḫiyawa and the Western Anatolian states that had thwarted Hittite interests in the Aegean. This policy in the long term, may have saved the empire by giving it more profitable core territory. However, in the end, Muwatalli's move, which was meant to save the Hittite Empire through an economic connection to Europe, ironically empowered the subject states that posed the greatest threat to the Hittite government and led to Ḫatti's eventual downfall. The narrative for the fall of Ḫatti has centered around LBA collapse narratives of "sea people" and Kaska invasions, similar to those proposed in other parts of the Near East for the end of the Bronze Age.[345] These simplistic narratives are based on Egyptian texts from Medinet Habu reliefs of Ramses III, which were in part composed for ideological purposes. Although foreign invasion contributed to Ḫatti's fall, this factor alone not explain it.[346] Therefore, scholars, especially Stefano De Martino, have focused on a myriad of factors, from internal strife and foreign invasion to famine for a more complex, multi-causal

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[345] Millek 2017. Millek's article focuses more on the Levantine cases, but he also gives a brief review of literature involving Ḫatti's fall.

[346] Drews 2000. Ramses III's Egyptian reliefs are in part copied from earlier reliefs of Ramses II and others, shedding doubt on their historical value. The Medinet Habu texts claim that the conspiracy of Sea Peoples overran Ḫatti among others before attacking Egypt. Iacovou 2007 has lamented the "invincible" Sea People narrative for these reasons.

narrative.[347] In addition to these factors, there was an economic factor that scholars have not properly accounted for.

During the 13th century BC, Hattuša's economic importance gradually declined vis-à-vis its subjects in Syria and Cilicia, leading to its abandonment and the opening of Central Anatolia to Balkan influence through the Dardanelles. This chapter will create a narrative for the causes of Balkan influence in Anatolia from limited direct evidence and a wealth of related evidence from neighboring areas. It will first analyze the economic and political relationships between the deteriorating capital of Hattuša and its wealthy Syrian and Cilician subjects through the power struggle between Hattuša and Tarḫuntašša during the reigns of Tudḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II. This analysis will show that the Hittite lands around Hattuša, the empire's core, had become economically unviable, leading to a loss of influence of the Hittite elite. Meanwhile, the economic prosperity in Cilicia and Syria left an opportunity for their subject rulers to usurp the great kingship, a problem exacerbated by dynastic struggles within the Hittite royal house. In tandem with Ḫatti's collapse, the disappearance of Aḫḫiyawa and the reorientation of mainland Greece towards the Eastern Mediterranean ensured that the Troad, Thrace, and the North Balkans continued their relationships and expanded into Anatolia without fear of large-scale Aḫḫiyawan military activity against them. Without Hittite influence, the polities of the Dardanelles were best positioned to replace it culturally and politically as people moved from Europe to Anatolia, leading to the appearance of material culture associated with the Balkans.

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[347] Mauro and Giorgeri 2010. The authors identify issues within the ruling family and the conflicts between the different appanage kingdoms, such as Carchemish and Tarḫuntašša. However, their argument is framed in purely political terms, with economic ones taking a secondary role. For the most recent treatment, see De Martino 2018, 29-onward.

The Deterioration of Ḫattuša

Muwatalli II had realized that the economic center of gravity in Ḫatti was moving away from the Anatolian Plateau around Ḫattuša towards North Syria and Cilicia. Tarḫuntašša benefitted most from the changing economic and political landscape as Cilicia's main power center. It possessed the empire's main port, the Cilician coastal city of Ura, and sat astride the great caravan route that connected the Troad and the Balkans with the Near East, profiting the most from trade with Troy, Europe, and the Levant. Muwatalli had desired to make Ḫatti more competitive economically and politically in the Near East while keeping access to the Troad and Europe open for trade, completely reorienting the Hittite Empire away from its historical core lands in the Anatolian Plateau.[348] Such a change would have raised religious questions, since the king was the steward of the land of Ḫatti, and abandoning it undoubtedly would have caused problems of legitimacy.

For religious and historical reasons, Muršili III returned the Hittite capital to Ḫattuša.[349] The city, however, had become a purely administrative center whose continued existence and relevance were dependent on the presence of the Hittite government.[350] Ḫattuša began to deteriorate as early as the reign of Muwatalli II, who began closing the capital's temples and transferring their personnel to Cilicia. Once the rebellions in the subject kingdoms began, Ḫatti was powerless to defend its inland position against its richer and stronger Cilician and Syrian subjects. During the reign of Muwatalli II, certain temples fell out of use after their personnel

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[348] Muwatalli had multiple reasons for moving the capital besides economic ones, such as political and religious concerns. See d'Alfonso 2014, 220-224 and Singer 2006.

[349] Bryce 2005, 1-9. Bryce believes that the original motivation for returning to Hattuša was an attempt by Ḫattušili III and Muršili III to reinforce their legitimacy in their respective situations. This would have been true for Ḫattušili, who was by Hittite law, illegitimate due to his usurpation of the throne.

[350] Schachner 2011, 95-96.

were permanently transferred to Tarḫuntašša.[351] The capital's return to Hattuša did not halt the decline. Under Ḫattušili III, the temple area of Sarıkale, was abandoned and its fields left fallow.[352] Soon, the religious significance faded too under Tudḫaliya IV, who blocked off the old festival routes with palatial architecture, a sign that they were no longer used.[353] The capital's condition from ca. 1250BC onwards suggests that the beleaguered Hittite elite had ensconced itself in Ḫattuša away from the empire's centers of gravity. This in part came from fear of attacks against the city itself. Under Tudḫaliya IV, the city built a new reservoir, irrigation, and fortified bastions along the roads leading to Ḫattuša.[354] This defensive posture on the Anatolian Plateau isolated Ḫattuša's elite from the empire's new centers of gravity in Syria and Cilicia, leaving these regions under cadet branches with legitimate claims to the Hittite throne. The extent of Ḫattuša's stagnation became apparent under the reign of Tudḫaliya IV, when his cousin, Kuruntiya of Tarḫuntašša, rebelled against Hattuša.

Kuruntiya's Rebellion

The developing disparity between Ḫattuša and the rest of the empire is exemplified in the struggle between the lines of Ḫattušili III and Muwatalli II. In 1267BC, Ḫattušili overthrew his nephew Urḫi-Teššob, Muwatalli's son (throne name: Muršili III) and installed himself as great king. Ḫattušili appointed his nephew Kuruntiya, whom he had raised as his own son, as the ruler of Tarḫuntašša (Muwatalli's old capital), and elevated him to the third-most powerful man in the
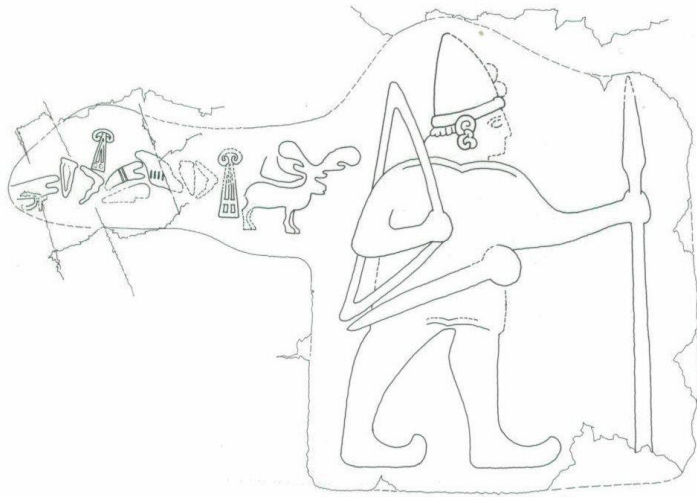
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[351] Ibid., 94.
[352] Schachner 2020, 385.
[353] Ibid., 96.
[354] Schachner 2011, 107-109. Because of the layering, some of these layers may be from earlier. See also Schachner 2020, 388.

Figure 15: Hatıp Inscription depicting Kuruntiya the great king (CERVUS-*ti* MAGNUS.REX) Drawing from Ehringhaus 2005 https://www.hittitemonuments.com/hatip/hatip05.

empire, after the great king and the heir-apparent.[355] Tudḫaliya IV reconfirmed this arrangement in the Bronze Tablet.[356] This arrangement worked under Ḫattušili, and the consequences of his actions did not become apparent until the reign of his son, Tudḫaliya IV, almost 40 years later.

Tudḫaliya's problems began in earnest around 1233BC, when Ḫatti suffered a military reverse against Tukulti-Ninurta I's Assyria at the Battle of Niḫirya.[357] Features in late Hittite texts such as curse formulae against desecration of texts and eternally-binding loyalty oaths suggest that Tudḫaliya's position was already fragile.[358] The defeat against

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[355] [*nu* DUMU ŠEŠ-*YA*] ᵐ·ᵈLAMMA-*an ša-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-za* ŠEŠ-*YA* ᵐNIR.GÁL-˹*iš*˺ ˹*ku-it AŠ*˺-*RU* URU ᵈU-*aš-ša-an pár-na-wa-iš-ke-et na-an a-pí-ya pé-*˹*di*˺ ˹LUGAL-*ez*˺-*na-an-ni ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un*

Translation: I took the son of my brother, Kuruntiya. My brother Muwatalli had made his home in Tarhuntassa, so I installed him (Kuruntiya) there in kingship.

[356] The Bronze Tablet implies Tudḫaliya's already shaky position *vis-à-vis* Kuruntiya as evidenced by the many concessions Tudḫaliya granted him.

[357] For the details of this episode, see Van den Hout 1991 and Singer 1985.

[358] Goedegebuure 2012, 414 includes a full list of desecrated texts and those that provide injunctions against anyone that engages in the practice. One example of this comes from the Emirgazi text, which contains Luwian curse formulae typical of the Iron Age against vandals. Goedegebuure notes the curses' Assyrian origin, which were part Tudḫaliya's attempt to reinforce his position vis-à-vis the Assyrian king. Given Tudḫaliya's fragile internal position, it is also possible that they reflect an attempt to reinforce his position at home.

NÉG-*sa* REL-*i/ia-sa-há* CAPUT-*wa tara/i-tu a-wa-tá*… NÉG-*sa* REL-*i/ia-sa-há tu-pi* DEUS-ni-za/i STELA

Assyria weakened Tudḫaliya enough that Kuruntiya sensed the opportunity to make his bid for

the great kingship, which under Hittite law, was his birthright.[359] Kuruntiya's rebellion is

postulated mostly on the basis of seals referring to him with the title MAGNUS.REX, which also

appears on the Hatıp Inscription in Cilicia (**Figure 15**).[360] An additional text from Yalburt helps

reconstruct some of the events if it can be dated to the reign of Tudḫaliya IV. According to this

text, an unnamed enemy marched on Ḫattuša and occupied it.[361] The identification of Tudḫaliya

is made more secure if part of the Yalburt translation is reworded, as Goedegebuure has

proposed, making the inscription read that the author was the "rightful king."[362] Since there

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Emirgazi Inscription in Masson 1979
Translation: "May no person knock over this stela…and may no one hit the gods on the stela.
[359] For a treatment of this episode, see Bryce 2007. This is somewhat ironic considering
Tudḫaliya's praise of Kuruntiya in the Bronze Tablet. *ma-aḫ-aḫ-an-ma-za A-BU-YA ku-wa-pí*
DINGIR-*LIM ki-ša-at nu* KUR.KUR[HI.A] *ku-it a-ar-ša ti-ya-at* [m.d]LAMMA-*aš-ma-mu a-pe-e-da-
ni-ya me-e-ḫu-ni še-er ak-ta nu-mu pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ta*
Translation: But when my father died (lit. became a god), when all the lands which were
waiting (to attack me), Kuruntiya was ready in that time to die for me. He protected me.
[360] The Hatıp inscription is damaged, perhaps intentionally, but Kuruntiya's name (CERVUS-*ti*)
followed by the sign MAGNUS.REX is clearly visible. The desecration of this inscription,
possibly by Tudḫaliya's partisans, suggests that the great king was not willing to tolerate
competition for his title, although by the end of the Hittite Empire, Hattuša could not prevent its
subjects from styling themselves as great kings. If so, the curses against desecration of
Tudḫaliya's texts were accompanied by his desecration of those of his rivals to ideologically
secure his position as great king.
[361] **a-wa/i-mu* (VIR2) *ali-wa/i-ní-sa* LINGUA+CLAVUS-*tu-sa*(URBS) **a*-POST URBS+MI-*a*
IUDEX+LA PES Yalburt Inscription in Yakubovich 2009, 3-4.
Translation: Then my enemy returned to Hattuša, the city of the *Labarna*…
[362] *a-wa/i-mi-tá* THRONUS SOLIUM *a-wa/i* MAGNUS.REX DOMINUS ***ara/i*(?)** THRONUS
PES₂.PES₂
Translation: I sat upon the throne. I came to the throne as the **rightful** ruler (bolded for
emphasis).
Aras in Luwian is usually translated as "right" in the sense of "correct." Here Goedegebuure
translates it as "rightful" based on the context, which stresses the position of the great king vis-à-
vis his enemy. Based on the timeline, the only candidate is Kuruntiya. Goedegebuure 2012, 432-
433." *Aras* in Hittite appears only in the expression *natta ara*, meaning "strongly forbidden"
(taboo) in cases of sexual relations, or in the context of treaties, simply prohibited. In Luwian,
has a similar meaning, but is attested without the *natta*. Given the meaning of the word with

could only be one great king in Ḫatti at a time, Kuruntiya's claim to great kingship was tantamount to treason. Although Tudḫaliya emerged victorious, Ḫattuša's growing economic and political irrelevancy coupled with environmental disasters led to the inevitable collapse of the Hittite Empire under his son Šuppiluliuma II.

Conflicts within Ḫatti were normally solved through negotiation or military force, and the empire had managed to recover from several near-disasters in its past when Ḫattuša's authority had waned.[363] In the case of the Late Hittite Empire, however, the situation was compounded by an aggravating factor. The Egyptian Pharaoh Merneptah records in his Great Karnak Inscription that Egypt sent grain to Ḫatti to keep the Hittite Empire alive.[364] At Ugarit, another text dated to Tudḫaliya's reign demands a shipment of grain immediately, claiming that it was a matter "of life or death."[365] These two references attest to a famine in Ḫatti (caused by an increasingly dry climate) that hampered Ḫattuša's ability to feed its people and maintain its military and religious institutions, which both depended on agricultural produce from the Anatolian Plateau.[366] The famine gave the Hittite subjects in Syria and Cilicia, the middlemen for Egyptian grain, leverage against Ḫattuša. Increased piracy and insecurity in the Eastern Mediterranean compounded this problem as new states rose hostile to the old order of the Near East arose in Cyprus, Philistia, and

natta, the opposite would be that which is allowed. When in reference to a ruler, "rightful" or "legitimate" is the most logical translation. IE cognates: Avestan _arəta_ meaning "order or truth," or Vedic _ari_, meaning "righteous." See Cohen 2002, chapter 2 for a discussion of the word in Anatolian and Indo-European contexts.

[363] Beckman 2007, 110-112.

[364] _idi=i iṯзy=tw it=w m mk=w r sꜥnḫ tꜥ pn n ḫtз_
The Great Karnark Inscription of Merneptah, line 24 in Manassa 2003, 34-35
Translation: "In order to make the Land of Ḫatti live (lit. cause to be alive) I caused that grain be sent in ships."
Manassa also provides detailed commentary on the text's context.

[365] RS 20.212

[366] Macqueen 1975, 112-117. For the studies on climate change, see references in Schachner 2020, 394-395.

the Levant.[367] The combination of powerful subjects and a weak center in Ḫattuša allowed for

Ḫatti's subjects, especially Tarḫuntašša and Carchemish, to gain greater independence, resulting

in open defiance of Ḫattuša's authority and splintering the empire into its constituent parts.

Usurpation and Fragmentation

By the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, Ḫatti's Syrian and Cilician subjects were openly defying

the great king, especially with mitigating factors such as famine and rebellion elsewhere. By

1200BC, despite Šuppiluliuma's best efforts, the empire was unsalvageable due to geopolitical

shifts. At the end of the 13th century BC, a murky period in Hittite history, some of Ḫatti's

Luwian-speaking Syrian subjects may have adopted the title of MAGNUS.REX for

themselves.[368] A Luwian seal from Carchemish belonging to Kuzi-Teššob, who reigned at the

end of the 13th century BC or the beginning of the 12th, refers to the viceroy as a REX in

Carchemish, his proper title in the Hittite hierarchy.[369] However, inscriptions from his

descendants refer to him as a MAGNUS.REX instead, opening the possibility that he at some

pointed opted for the title of MAGNUS.REX. A triad of Luwian inscriptions at Kızıldağ,

Karadağ, and Burunkaya provide the possible attestation of another MAGNUS.REX named

Ḫartapu. This man described himself as the son of another MAGNUS.REX named Muršili ,

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[367] Joffe 2002 argues for a new Iron Age paradigm. Whereas Amarna states were bureaucratic entities, the new states incorporated ideologies such as group belonging ("ethnicizing" states). Elite ideologies were redefined in local terms, contrary to the Amarna elite international order and culture. The rise of such states made it impossible for large, bureaucratic empires such as Egypt and Ḫatti to survive in this world, since they were reliant on keeping these states in line in order to procure metallic wealth and prestige objects.

[368] MAGNUS.REX is the Luwian translation of the Akkadian LUGAL.GAL and is the title normally used in the Luwian inscriptions at the end of the empire. The states of North Syria and Cilicia continued to produce Hittite art and maintained the Luwian language until their final conquest by Assyria in 717BC.

[369] Hawkins 1988. It is unclear if Kuzi-Teššob was a contemporary of Šuppiluliuma II, but his use of the title MAGNUS.REX so soon after the collapse of the Hittite Empire points to the loss of power in Hattuša and the rise of North Syria as the main Hittite power base.

opening the possibility that the line of Muršili III continued to fight for the Hittite throne until

the end of the 13th century BC.[370] Ḫartapu's place is contested, since, he may have reigned later

in the Neo-Hittite period, mainly based on the style of the accompanying relief.[371] However,

Kuzi-Teššob is dated with certainty to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II, meaning that there may have

been two different MAGNUS.REX in the Hittite Empire around the same time, opening the

possibility that there were others as well. Therefore, the Hittite Empire did not have a "hard

collapse" due to invasion or migration but splintered into its constituent parts as regional rulers

mostly in Syria jockeyed to replace Ḫattuša as the capital and claim the title of Great King of

Ḫatti for themselves during the Neo-Hittite period. The possibility of multiple great kings in the

final years of Ḫatti confirms that the Land of Ḫatti proper (the Anatolian Plateau) was no longer

the center of power in the Hittite Empire, a problem that eventually led to the abandonment of

Ḫattuša and the creation of a power vacuum on the Anatolian Plateau.

Šuppiluliuma's decision to abandon the capital, whether planned or in sudden response to

geopolitical pressures in the Levant, came too late to salvage the Hittite Empire.[372] With the

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[370] The inscription at Kızıldağ reads: SOL$_2$ MAGNUS.REX *há+ra/i-tá-pu-sa* MAGNUS.REX
HEROS (DEUS)TONITRUS AMPLECTI URBS-*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS (My sun,
great king, Ḫartapu great king and hero, beloved of the storm god, son of Muršili, the great king
and hero). This is a near-direct Luwian translation of the Hittite royal titulary. For its
implications, see Jasink 2001, 235-240. Ḫartapu's identity is unclear, but since he names himself
as the FILIUS (son) of a MAGNUS REX named Muršili, he could be a son of Urḫi-Teššob
(Muršili III). See Sürenhagen 2008 for the seal.
[371] The Ḫartapu inscription appears in the area known in the Neo-Hittite period as Tabal. The
inscription is accompanied by an image of the ruler in Assyrian style. Some have proposed a
later date for the image, but the placing of the inscription suggests that the image and text were
made together. If so, Ḫartapu would be from Neo-Assyrian period although his claim of descent
from a MAGNUS.REX named Muršili is interesting if it refers to Muršili II or III. D'Alfonso has
pointed out the similarities between the Ḫartapu inscriptions and Südburg and rules out the late
date for the Iron Age, a view Hawkins has also supported. See d'Alfonso 2014.
[372] Yakar 2008, 16-17.

abandonment of Hattuša, the Hittite language went extinct and cuneiform writing disappeared.[373]

After the abandonment, Ḫattuša's buildings were gradually emptied of any remaining valuables,

sealed, and abandoned.[374] The new centers of Anatolian culture and the heirs to Ḫatti became the

neo-Hittite states of Cilicia and North Syria, such as Carchemish.[375] Looters and invaders burned

and plundered what remained over time, leaving a power vacuum in the Anatolian Plateau.

The Reorientation of the Aegean

The collapse of the Hittite Empire was accompanied by the collapse of its western

antagonist, the Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa, which disappeared from the historical record towards

1230BC.[376] The society of Bronze Age Greece suffered violent change, beginning around 1240-

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[373] Van den Hout mentions that the Hittite language had become increasingly "artificial" by the end of the empire and was relegated to an official medium for communication rather than a spoken language. The inscriptions of Šuppiluliuma II reflect this trend, since they are translated directly from Luwian. Van den Hout 2010, 105-106. Demographic changes from the importation of many Luwian speakers from Western Anatolia combined with the plague under Muršili II which devastated the Land of Ḫatti may have been the driving causes of the relegation of Hittite to the ruling class.

[374] Schachner 2011, 113 and Seeher 2001.

[375] For overviews of the Neo-Hittite and Aramaic states of the Iron Age, see Bryce 2012 and Younger 2016. After the collapse of the Hittite Empire, North Syria became the "Land of Ḫatti," while Central Anatolia is consistently referred to as the "Land of the Muški "(probably Phrygia). For an explanation of this change, see Thomason 2001. An example of this is seen in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. Ḫatti's position between the Euphrates and Upper Sea (Mediterranean) means that Ḫatti refers to the Luwian-speaking states of Northern Syria, not the Anatolian Plateau as in the Bronze Age

ŠU NIGIN 42 KUR.KUR^MEŠ *ù mal-ki-ši-na iš-tu e-ber-ta-an* ÍD *za-ban… a-di e-ber-ta-an* ÍD *pu-rat-te* KUR *ḫa-at-te-e u* A.AB.BA *e-le-ni-ti*

Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I in Grayson 1991, 24-25.

Translation: Altogether I [conquered] 42 lands and their rulers from the banks of the Zab to the banks of the Euphrates, the Land of Ḫatti, and the Upper Sea.

[376] Bryce 1989, 303-304. The treaty crosses out the name of Aḫḫiyawa, suggesting that either its ruler was no longer a great king, or the state had disappeared. Aḫḫiyawa may also have been hostile to the Hittites at this time, since the treaty also mentions a Hittite embargo on Aḫḫiyawan ships going to Assyria. However, the Hittites were also hostile to Assyria, which remains on the list, suggesting that Aḫḫiyawa was no longer considered a great kingdom. See also Güterbock 1983, 135-137.

1230BC, shortly after the sack of Troy VIIa according to Blegen. Unknown culprits destroyed

Orchomenos, Pylos, and Iolchos, all important centers in the Greek mythical tradition and in the

Bronze Age.[377] Mycenae and Sparta were abandoned, while Tiryns briefly became the Argolid's

main power center before deteriorating as well.[378] Causes of Bronze Age Greece's collapse

include famine, war, social reorganization, and overpopulation.[379] The political reorganization of

Greece and the end of the old aristocracy had several important consequences that were felt from

the Aegean all the way to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant, and Egypt.

The most important consequence of the violent social and political reconfiguration of

Greece was the movement of Greek-speakers and other ḫꜣswt into the Eastern Mediterranean.[380]

Evidence for migrant Greeks, pirates, and mercenaries is found in at least two Egyptian texts, the

Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramses III, and the Karnak Victory Stela of Merneptah (ca. 1213-

1203BC), both of which mention, among others, a group called the *Akawaša*.[381] This name has

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[377] Several scholars tried to confirm the Dorian invasion through sackings of Mycenaean settlements. However, this is based mostly on the appearance of new pottery. This does not rule out the possibility of new settlers from the north, but the collapse of the Mycenaean states cannot be reduced only to this. See Bouzek 1994 for a summary of Balkan involvement in this subject.

[378] Zangger 1994. Tiryns' role is not completely clear. Zangger rejected Tiryns' LHIIIC growth due to a lack of LHIIIB buildings. Zangger instead proposes that parts of the LHIIIB ruins are buried under unexcavated deposits resulting from flashfloods. The destruction of the palaces in Greece has been attributed to "Dorian" invaders (e.g. Hooker 1979). While foreign invaders did enter Greece from further north, the causes were more complex. The account presented in Thucydides 1.12 is astonishingly accurate in general details, attributing the problems in Greece to foreign invasion, internal rivalry, and factors driving people to settle elsewhere.

[379] For a general overview of the proposed causes of the end of the Bronze Age, see Drews 1993. For climate change in Greece attesting a dry period, see Psomiadis *et al.* 2018. For earthquakes, see Hinzen, *et al.* 2018. For overspecialization and exploitation, see Scafa 2006.

[380] See Yasur-Landau 2014, the main proponent of this hypothesis. While scholars generally accept the occurrence of population movements, the scale is debated. ḫꜣswt is the Egyptian term for foreign lands as used in the Egyptian texts.

[381] The Merneptah Stela (ca. 1210BC) and the Medinet Habu text of Ramses III (ca. 1170BC) mention the *šrdn škrš iḳwš rkw twrš* (*Šardana*, *Šekeleš*, *Akawaša*, *Lukka*, and *Tureš*). These have been identified with Sardinia, Sicily, Achaea, Lycia, and the North Aegean (as in Tyrsenian languages of Etruscan, Raetic, and Lemnian) respectively. See Cline and O'Connor 2016.

been equated with Aḫḫiyawa on the basis of the linguistic similarity.[382] Mercenaries from

mainland Greece had served in Near Eastern armies since the reign of Akhenaten and were

known in Egypt.[383] Since Greek-speakers were already well-established in the Eastern

Mediterranean, this region was the most logical destination for the dethroned rulers and destitute

aristocrats sidelined in Greece's political reconfiguration.[384]

As the palatial states collapsed, Greek-speakers made their way into the wealthy but

vulnerable Eastern Mediterranean in a bid to establish their own kingdoms, especially in Cyprus

and Cilicia.[385] Interestingly, the polities of Cyprus did not suffer a collapse to the same degree as

other Near Eastern states, so an Achaean invasion and migration to the island *en masse* is

unlikely.[386] Greek heroic tradition suggests that they successfully integrated themselves into the

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[382] This appears to be a reference to what the Egyptians perceived as an ethnic group rather than a political entity. Previous Egyptian texts referred to Greece and the Aegean states as *ṯnỉ* (normalized as *Tanaja*). In the Merneptah Inscription, they appear with the foreign land determinative. In Egyptian eyes, these *Akawaša* were a unified *ethnos/ḫꜣst*, but not a state. See Kelder 2010.

[383] Bryce 2010, 47-49. The Hittites employed Greek mercenaries in Syria and Cilicia, perhaps some of the "sea people" bands operating in the region, while Egypt employed them in Libya during the reign of Akhenaten.

[384] David Anthony has noted that migrants tend to go where they already have established contacts, in a phenomenon known as chain migration. In the Eastern Mediterranean, the presence of Greeks in places such as Cyprus, Egypt, and the Levant gave newly arrived Greek aristocrats a potential support system to realize their ambitions. See Anthony 1990.

[385] For an excellent summary of the end of the Bronze Age in Cyprus, see Voskos and Knapp 2008. There are questions regarding the role of migrant Greeks vis-à-vis the Cypriot elite, which also played a role in the island's transformations in tandem with newcomers. See Fisher 2007. The appearance of domestic ware is considered the strongest marker for migrants, since it implies the presence of foreign women maintaining their old diets, cooking habits, and traditions in their new homelands. See Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002.

[386] Iacovou 2007. She advocates for a model called Cyprocentrism in which the local Cypriot elites were the driving force for state formation on Cyprus. Greek arrivals were involved too but did not swamp the existing elites. Instead, they became part of them.

Cypriot elite through intermarriage, as seen in the story of Agenor of Tegea.[387] Gradually their

dialect of Arcadian Greek became one of the island's main languages alongside Phoenician and

another indigenous language called Eteocypriot.[388] Since Cyprus had maintained trade, and

likely diplomatic relations with the Aegean, aristocrats from the Aegean would have found the

island a fertile ground to establish themselves.[389]

The processes on Cyprus are not clear, but Hittite texts suggest that elements on Cyprus,

Greek or otherwise, had become hostile to Ḫatti. Hittite texts record that Tudḫaliya IV and

Šuppiluliuma II invaded Cyprus twice and fought several naval battles around the island to fend

off an enemy with a strong naval presence.[390] Although the name of the enemy is lost, evidence

from Cilicia suggests that some of these may have been migrant Aegean adventurers working

alongside Cypriot kingdoms against Ḫatti. A pair of Iron Age inscription from the Kingdom of

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[387] Scheer 2018 summarizes the main myths. Although these were edited for political purposes, they should not be entirely discarded. See Fourrier 2008. Among the aristocrats who fought at Troy with links to Cyprus and Cilicia were Agenor of Tegea and Mopsos the seer.

[388] For a full study of the language situation including a bibliography, see Steele 2013. The first attestation of written Greek on Cyprus is from the 11th-10th centuries BC, making it difficult to ascertain exactly when the language was introduced to the island, although it was likely several centuries before that.

[389] Obviously, this is much more complicated, but is outside the scope of the dissertation. The *Iliad* preserves an account of Agamemnon's visit to Paphos, whose ruler Kinyras gave him the gift of a breastplate.

"…next he did on about his chest the corselet that on a time Cinyras had given him for a guest-gift. For he heard afar in Cyprus the great rumour that the Achaeans were about to sail forth to Troy in their ships, wherefore he gave him the breastplate to do pleasure to the king." Homer, *Iliad*, Book XI 19-24.

Other traditions linked Kinyras' daughter to Agenor of Tegea in Arcadia, implying diplomatic relations between the two areas. The presence of Greek on Cyprus suggests that these were genuine historical memories of long-past events.

[390] Güterbock 1967. The Hittites did not normally fight naval battles, so the ships were probably borrowed from Ugarit and other coastal cities of Syria. This would have interrupted the capacity of these cities to conduct their commerce and embittered them for having to continuously provide ships and money to the Hittite state, contributing to the eventual disintegration of the Hittite Empire.

Qu'e in Cilicia (possibly based near modern Adana, Turkey), Çineköy (Adana Province, Turkey) and Karatepe (Osmaniye Province, Turkey) name the ancestor of the ruling dynasty as one Muksas.[391] Linguists have equated the name with the Greek seer Mopsos of Homeric fame, leading to the suggestion that Qu'e's ruling dynasty originally spoke Greek.[392] These pieces of evidence suggest that the Aegean world had made the Eastern Mediterranean world its focal point for expansion rather than the North Aegean, which was left alone to continue its development.

The Expansion of the Dardanelles

The disappearance of the Kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa and Greece's shift towards the wealthier and more fertile Eastern Mediterranean meant that large-scale military expeditions against the North Aegean as seen in Hittite texts stopped.[393] Without Hittites and Aḫḫiyawans to dictate its position, the Troad tightened its connections with the Balkans and continued its existence under its old elite despite its sack, most likely at the hands of Aḫḫiyawan forces, sometime around 1240BC (per Blegen). Despite the cultural continuity between the VI, VIIa and VIIb1 layers, Troy began to change gradually, reflecting the closer commercial relations with the Balkans in the absence of Hittite and Aḫḫiyawan influence in the region. After the destruction of VIIa,

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[391] [*mu-ka*]-*sa-sa* INFANS.NEPOS-*si-sà hi-ia-wa/i*[-*ni*]-*sá* [URBS] REX-*ti-sa* Line 1 of the Çineköy Inscription in Beckman *et al.* 2011, 264-65. The king of Qu'e, Warikas, refers to himself in the Çineköy Inscription as "the grandson of Muksas (Mopsos), king of Aḫḫiyawa." The name *Ḫiyawa* is taken as an aphaerised Luwian form of the Hittite *Aḫḫiyawa*.

[392] Yakubovich 2015. For the mentions of *Ḫiyawa* written phonetically in Luwian (and its correspondence to Hittite *Aḫḫiyawa*) see Dinçol *et al.* 2015. In addition to Qu'e, there existed a kingdom called Palastina (Egy. *plst*) in Syria, whose origins are also traced to Greece. See Margalith 1995, 105-106. Othniel argues that the Egyptian *plst* derives not from the Greek *pelasgos*, but from the name of Pylos, which in Mycenaean Greek was spelled *pu-ro* (Linear B does not distinguish liquid consonants *r* and *l*). Other support comes from the armor and weapons used among the Sea Peoples. See the plates in D'Amato and Salimbeti 2015.

[393] Aslan *et al*. 2014. Greek mainland influence dropped accordingly after ca. 1300BC and did not return until the proto-Geometric Period with the arrival of Aeolian colonists at Troy VIII.

social unrest in the Balkans combined with the creation of a power vacuum in the Anatolian

Plateau gave the Dardanelles the power to reshape the cultural and political landscape of west-

central Anatolia and amalgamate the different Balkan and Anatolian elements into a single state.

The first question regarding the appearance of Balkan material at Troy involves dating

the sack of Troy VIIa. Archaeological consensus dates the sack to 1200BC from purported

LHIIIC pottery from the destruction layer.[394] However, ^{14}C-dating studies have raised doubts

about the age of LHIIIC pottery. Similar pottery has been found at tombs in Assiros in Greek

Macedonia. The wood used to construct the tomb, though, was cut down much earlier, in the 14th

century BC, suggesting that the pottery labelled LHIIIC (post-1200BC) could be from as early as

1340BC.[395] A ^{14}C study of Troy also suggests that the city suffered multiple fires around

1300BC (likely the burning of Troy VI), 1270BC, 1250BC, and 1150BC, presenting a much

more complicated picture that involved accidental fires in addition to sacks.[396] The carbon dates

also suggest that Troy VIIa was not burned around 1200BC, leaving a date around 1150BC or

1250BC as the most viable. The *Iliad* records that an Achaean army destroyed the city, while

Hittite records confirm Achaean interest in the region back to the 15th century BC. This could not

have happened in 1150BC, by which time the states of Bronze Age Greece were gone, making

Blegen's date of 1240BC the best candidate for the sack of Troy VIIa. If Troy VIIa was

destroyed around 1240BC, the subsequent appearance of Balkan material can be seen in the

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[394] Mountjoy 1998. This date is based on pottery seriation of a small number of sherds found in Troy VIIa's destruction layer.

[395] Wardle *et al*. 2014. It is possible that the wood for the tomb was reused from somewhere else, so the dating of the pottery is not certain. Nevertheless, if the wood and the pottery were from the same time, the pottery cannot be LHIIIC.

[396] Kromer *et al.* 2003, 43-54. The authors do not give any absolute dates for any of the levels of Troy. Their caution is warranted, since carbon dating cannot give the year of a destruction. Carbon dating only gives the year a tree was cut down. Here, the data can suggest reconstructions of the city after fires but there are issues of the reuse of older wood.

context of regional geopolitical events relating to the collapse of Aḫḫiyawa and the end of the Bronze Age.

Due to a lack of evidence, it is difficult to create any sort of narrative for the undoubtedly complex processes that led to the movements of Paleo-Balkan speakers into Anatolia. The limited archaeological evidence that can be combined with tradition to create a skeletal narrative, and this section will limit itself to these two sources. Population movements from Thrace towards Anatolia were likely set off around 1240BC as Achaeans and Hittites fought over the Troad. Greek heroic tradition is replete with cases of attacks against Anatolia and Thrace during the Trojan War. A tradition attributed to Archilochus (ca. 645BC) recounts an attack on the city of Pergamum to the south of Troy to dethrone King Telephus of Mysia, Priam's son-in-law.[397] Book I of the *Iliad* recounts Achilles' attack against Cille and Chryse in Mysia, from which he carried off plunder and women as concubines.[398] Diomedes also mentions during a war council that the Achaeans were relied on Thrace for a supply of wine, meaning that they had subjugated it as well.[399] Finally, in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus recounts to King Alcinous his attack against Ismara (Gk. dat. ἰσμάρῳ) of the Thracian Cicones, whose king Eumeles had sided with Troy.[400]

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[397] Papyrus.Oxyrhynchus LXIX 4708 Mysia interestingly also encompasses the coast south of Troy along with the area east of it. The area south of Troy Homer and Archilochus' time was called Aeolia, meaning that Bronze Age Mysia (Maša) extended to the Aegean Sea. This supports the equation of Telepinu and Telephus, although it should be mentioned that Telephus is Arcadian in the legend. For the pre-Greek archaeology of Pergamum, its capital, including the Bronze Age fortification walls, see Hertel 2011.

[398] See Book I of the *Iliad* for this episode. The two girls in question are both captives, as Agamemnon and Achilles both make clear in their dispute.

[399] Full are thy huts of wine that the ships of the Achaeans bring thee each day from Thrace, over the wide sea; all manner of entertainment hast thou at hand, seeing thou art king over many. Homer, *Iliad,* Book IX 71-73.

[400] "From Ilios the wind bore me and brought me to the Cicones, to Ismarus. There I sacked the city and slew the men…" Homer, *Odyssey* Book IX 39-41. This region has revealed a network of sanctuaries, which would have required a political authority to maintain them, making it

These instances, which likely go back to real Bronze Age events, suggest an Achaean preoccupation with weakening not only Troy and Ḫatti, but Troy's Balkan allies along the coast of Thrace, displacing people towards Troy.

In the Hittite corpus, Achaeans are attested attacking the area of the Dardanelles, and given the importance of Thrace in the region's commerce, it is unlikely that they only attacked the Asian side (as the *Iliad* attests to). Troy's close relations with the Balkans combined with Achaean attacks against Thrace made Troy a perfect shelter for refugees fleeing the North Aegean coast. Blegen discovered small quantities of coarse ware with Thracian parallels in Troy VIIb1 alongside Troy's indigenous wares, suggesting it was the product of a resident population from the Balkans, not of a dominant group. Once people from the Balkans, including destitute nobles and other refugees established themselves at Troy, the city would have become a natural magnet for people fleeing from subsequent disorders that engulfed the Balkans at the end of the Bronze Age.

The disorders and social realignments that affected Greece also occurred in the Balkans. Thrace experienced invasions, social reorganization, and political unrest beginning around 1230BC, which archaeologists have attributed to newcomers who used *Buckelkeramik* and buried their dead in tumuli.[401] The citadel of Bresto, which had modelled itself on Troy VI, was destroyed and refortified in preparation for further attacks.[402] Another site named Kamenska

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reasonable to assume that this particular part of the *Odyssey* can be squared with the Bronze Age milieu in which it claims to take place. See Triandaphyllos 1985. Wachsmann has noted that this was a typical Bronze Age razzia, in which men were killed while women and children were taken in lightening raids against coastal areas. This explains the presence of large numbers of female slaves in the Linear B archives. See Wachsmann 2000.

[401] Nenova has placed the end of the Thracian Bronze Age between 1230 and 1160BC, just about the time when Aḫḫiyawa fell and Troy's material assemblages began to reflect an increased amount of Balkan material. Nenova 2018, 258-71.

[402] Athanassov, *et al.* 2015.

Chuka near the Macedonian border also was destroyed around 1230BC and then abandoned.[403]

Along the Sea of Marmara, the settlement density grew, its material record finally attesting

interchange with Troy.[404] Although the processes are not clear, *Buckelkeramik* came to dominate

Troy's material assemblages in the VIIb2 level. If the VIIb2 level was the result of newcomers,

the occupation was peaceful, since VIIb1 was not sacked.[405] Since the VIIb1 level gave way to

the VIIb2 level without violence, it suggests that Troy, free of influence from Central Anatolia,

became gradually Balkanized as local elites merged with newcomers to create Troy VIIb2.[406]

Conclusions

The collapse of the Hittite Empire stemmed from Muwatalli's desire to make it more

competitive by positioning its center between trade routes linking Cilicia with Europe and the

Levant. The disappearance of the Hittite Empire did not stop interaction between Cilicia, Troy

and Europe, but instead opened a power vacuum that had to be filled. Disorders in Thrace and

Greece, meanwhile, displaced people that gravitated towards the Troad due to longstanding

historical ties, bringing their own ways and languages and amalgamating them with local

Anatolian elements, although the Balkan element became dominant. This new amalgamation of

Anatolian and Balkan elements was best positioned to fill in the cultural and political vacuum

left behind in Ḫatti's wake, leading to the rise of the Kingdom of Phrygia, the only paleo-Balkan-

speaking state attested in Anatolia.

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[403] Stefanovich and Bankoff, 353-360.

[404] Nenova 2018, 258-59. For the Marmara settlements, see the map in Özdoğan 2003. Some unfortunately, are now underwater.

[405] A potential sign of continuity at Troy is a Luwian seal from the VIIb level. This could have been an heirloom passed down, but it suggests that its owner identified with Troy's Anatolian elites. See Korfmann 1998, 379-380.

[406] A major indicator for new arrivals at Troy is the presence of barley, a sign that people from further north had taken up residence in the city. Grave *et al*. 2013, 1762-1763. For discussion of foodways in the Near East see Yasur-Landau 2005.

Aftermath and Conclusions: The Rise of the Kingdom of Phrygia

Once Ḫatti and Aḫḫiyawa disappeared, Troy and Thrace continued their interaction, allowing material, culture, and people to flow between Northwestern Anatolia and the Balkans unabated. Although it seems that Balkan-speaking polities already existed in Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age, none ever were able to establish themselves as powers due to Hittite dominance of Anatolia both culturally and politically.[407] The Hittite Empire's collapse around 1200BC created an opportunity for local states to take advantage of the new geopolitical alignments of the Early Iron Age, which sidelined the old land of Ḫatti in favor of the Dardanelles, Cilicia, and North Syria. In Anatolia, the most important kingdom of the Iron Age was Phrygia, a state based at Gordium with a Balkan-speaking elite.[408]

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[407] Oreshko 2017, 62-63. If the land of Maša was a Balkan speaking region, this would be the only attestation of a known Balkan group in the Hittite records and evidence for the presence of Balkan languages in Anatolia. The *Iliad* claims the existence of an Anatolian Phrygian state during the Trojan War, suggesting that paleo-Balkan speakers, as several linguists have suggested, were already present in Anatolia during Hittite times:
"…even of Asius, that was uncle to horse-taming Hector, and own brother to Hecabe, but son of Dymas, that dwelt in Phrygia by the streams of Sangarius…" Homer, *Iliad* Book XVI, 717-720. The Homeric Hymns consider Phrygian a linguistic outlier in Anatolia. Aphrodite, in the disguise of a Phrygian claims to fluently speak the Trojan language (possibly Luwian or a Luwic language), meaning that Phrygian and the Trojan language were not mutually intelligible:
"Nay, I am but a mortal, and a woman was the mother that bare me. Otreus of famous name is my father, if so, be you have heard of him, and he reigns over all Phrygia rich in fortresses. But I know your speech well beside my own, for a Trojan nurse brought me up at home." Hesiod, *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 110-115.
[408] There is a debate as to whether the Phrygians were European. Given the complexities of ethnogenesis, Kopanias refers to the search for European Phrygians as a "ghost hunt." However, it is impossible to ignore the Balkan component in the Phrygian Kingdom, opening the possibility for a more complex ethnogenesis and state formation narrative that involved multiple identities being subsumed under the term "Phrygian." Kopanias 2015, 212-214.

Figure 16: The Kingdom of Phrygia at its greatest extent. Note how the kingdom was perfectly placed to dominate traffic between Cilicia and Troy, which became important towards the end of the Hittite Empire
Map by Gareth Darbyshire, Gabriel Pizzorno, and Ardeth Anderson
https://www.penn.museum/sites/expedition/gordion-and-the-penn-museum/

By reopening the route between the Troad and Cilicia, Muwatalli allowed for the

amalgamation of elements from the Balkans, the Troad, the Aegean, and Central Anatolia under

Phrygia.[409] The most obvious elements, which backdates Phrygian to the Late Bronze Age, is the

use of the title *lavagtei vanaktei*, a near-exact rendering of the Mycenaean titles for king and

military commander.[410] Other influences include stamped pottery and the cult of Matar

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[409] Voigt and Henrickson 2000, 46. Voigt and Hendrickson argue for a migration early in the Iron Age. They argue for the presence of two different groups at Gordium around the same time towards the end of Ḫatti and shortly after, suggesting that the Phrygian *ethnos* emerged from an amalgamation of these elements and others. However, this runs into the problem of packaging the Phrygian *ethnos* into a material culture package.

[410] The original inscription is as follows: *μιδαι λαϝαλται ϝαναϰτει* in Friedrich 1932, texts 1 and 2. Greek had mostly lost its semivowels by Mita's time, while the word *basileus* had replaced *wanax*, suggesting that it was borrowed when Mycenaean Greek was still spoken and in contact with Balkan languages. See de Graaf 1989, 153-155. Brixhe has proposed a common Indo-European origin for the title. See Brixhe 2008, 68-69. If it did exist before and both languages obtained the terms at the same time, this would strengthen the case for a Phrygian presence in

Kubileya, both imports from Thrace, and Phrygian rulers' use of Anatolian names drawn from Luwian.[411] As time went on, the Phrygian elites redefined themselves in both Anatolian and Balkan terms to ingratiate themselves with their conquered subjects further east to reflect the amalgamation of identities.[412] Despite the adoption of Anatolian elements, the kingdom retained its Balkan language until its fall and passed into the historical record with strong European associations. Muwatalli's actions placed Phrygia as the perfect intermediary for trade between the wealthy Hittite successor states in North Syria and Cilicia, and Northwestern Anatolia (**Figure 16**). Phrygia became the bridge that linked the Near East with Greece and the Aegean, a position it maintained into the Iron Age until its fall around 700BC.

Most narratives on Balkan-Anatolian relations of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages have concerned themselves with the appearance of "Phrygians," and nearly all of them rely almost exclusively on Herodotus. While the events encapsulated in Herodotus and Strabo's tales of mass migration undoubtedly had a historical background, scholars have not considered the role of Bronze Age political interests in creating the conditions for such population movements. This dissertation has rectified this problem by introducing a narrative that considers the competing geopolitical and economic interests of the historically attested Bronze Age polities instead of relying on later Greek migration narratives written with ethnocentric agendas. The dissertation has presented a narrative of economic and political orientations and reorientations of the different states of Bronze Age Anatolia and the Balkans, whose economic interests came

Anatolia in the Bronze Age, since no migration would be necessary for the borrowing of the term from an area closer to Greece in the Balkans.

[411] Strobel 2008, 200-202.

[412] Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016, 204-206 and Kopanias 2015, 218. The issues regarding Phrygian expansion in Eastern Anatolia is probably how they adopted the term Muški as an identifier. Originally, the Muški referred to an Eastern Anatolian group and only later was used to identify the Kingdom of Phrygia.

together to join the region of the Dardanelles, Thrace, and Ḫatti into an economic unit centered around supplying the new Hittite court at Tarḫuntašša.

The Hittite Empire relied heavily on imports and tribute to sustain its institutions, as reflected in the numerous inventory and tribute texts from the Hittite lands and from Ugarit. If the *Labarna* and his government were supplied with the goods they needed, such as tin, gold, amber, and numerous others, they could perform the festivals and rituals to maintain the health and well-being of the Land of Ḫatti. Earlier Hittite texts have shown the wide geographical spread of Hittite trade contacts, but by the 13th century BC, Ḫatti had lost access to many of these areas in foreign wars, especially against Assyria. In Western Anatolia, alliances between various Arzawan rulers, adventurers, and Aḫḫiyawa thwarted Hittite attempts to establish a stake in the lucrative economic zone encompassing the Greek and Anatolian shores of the Aegean Sea. The evidence depicts a Hittite Empire under siege and threatened with commercial strangulation by its enemies.

The archaeological and textual evidence from the 13th century BC shows that Muwatalli's move to Tarḫuntašša was motivated in part by economic reasons. His annexation of Wiluša reconnected Cilicia with the Troad, allowing the Hittite court to obtain resources from Europe without worries of Aḫḫiyawan or Arzawan interference. The evidence from Bulgaria and Central Europe has shown the wealth of Europe that could be funneled into Tarḫuntašša through Troy. This trade route, maintained by Troy and its Balkan allies, could provide Ḫatti with many essential goods it needed to survive in the rapidly changing world of the Ancient Near East. However, Muwatalli's actions isolated Hattuša and allowed Tarḫuntašša and the Syrian states to overpower the imperial government once the capital returned to the Anatolian Plateau, as the existence of multiple great kings and the near success of Kuruntiya's rebellion demonstrate.

The dissertation has offered a multi-causal historiographic explanation for the appearance of paleo-Balkan languages and the Kingdom of Phrygia that accounted for the role of the Hittite Empire in reorienting Anatolia towards the Balkans. By framing the Anatolian-Balkan contacts of the Iron Age in the context of Bronze Age Troy, Tarḫuntašša, and economic realignments, it connects Hittite imperialism during the 13th century BC and Ḫatti's eventual fall, with events of the Iron Age instead of letting the "Phrygian migration" stand in isolation. The result of Hittite imperialism was the appearance of the Kingdom of Phrygia, which rose along the old corridor between Cilicia and the Troad sometime around the 10th-9th century BC. Despite the temporal gap, Phrygia's existence can be traced to Muwatalli II. When Muwatalli subjugated Wiluša and moved the capital to Tarḫuntašša, he unwittingly began the processes that led to Phrygia's rise. Muwatalli's attempt to find an alternative supply line to Europe to avoid Aḫḫiyawan and Western Anatolian interference reopened the Great Caravan Route with Cilicia and allowed elements from the Balkans and Northwestern Anatolia to enter Hittite territory on the Anatolian Plateau once again, as they had in the Middle and Early Bronze Ages. When the Hittite capital returned to Ḫattuša, the Hittite state was cut off from these routes, which bypassed the Anatolian Plateau on their way to Cilicia.

With current evidence, it is not possible to fully explain the processes that occurred in Anatolia after the collapse of the Hittite Empire beyond what has been presented above. Until Turkish Thrace and Northwestern Anatolia's Late Bronze Age sites are fully excavated, scholars will not have a full material perspective of Bronze and Iron Age Balkan-Anatolian relations. Such new evidence, which will accumulate as archaeologists follow the lead of Maydos' excavators, will contextualize Hittite texts discussing Northwestern Anatolia, since Hittite interests will become visible in the material record, as they have in Thrace. Nevertheless, placing

the beginning of Iron Age Balkan-Anatolian relations into the Late Bronze Age provides a strong narrative that helps explain multiple questions, such as the collapse of the Hittite Empire and the motivations for Hittite intervention in Western Anatolia. With such a framework, future research should focus on questions outside of migration and mythical origins, within a framework that seamlessly transitions from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age and relates events from both eras to each other rather than analyzing them in isolation

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