



The Aegean and Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age



Map of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC

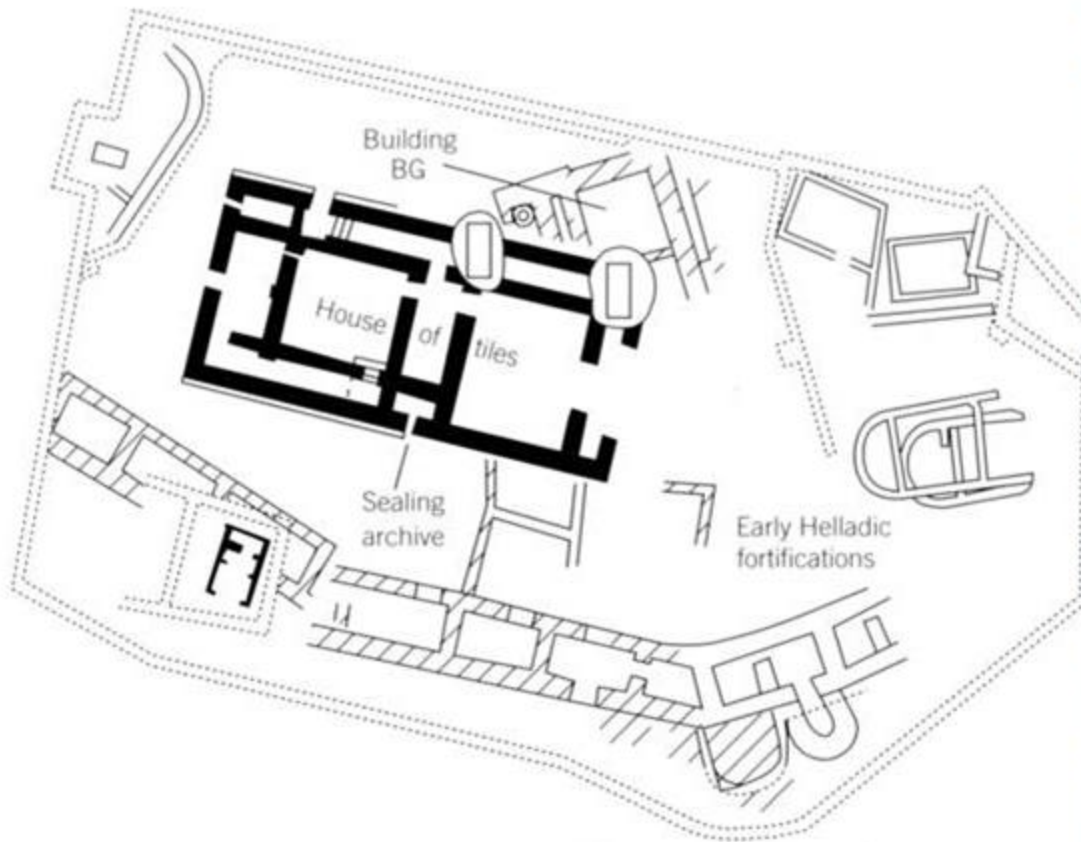
New Features of the Second Half of the Third Millennium BC

- * The appearance of tin
- * The differentiation of Upper City (akropolis) and Lower City within settlements
- * Appearance of fortification walls (especially in coastal localities)
- * Differentiation in the status of houses (→ often one large building in the centre of settlement)
- * Active overseas trade
- * Increasing metal use (esp. copper and silver)
- * Use of carved seals
- * Appearance of monumentalising graves and communal burial (tholos tombs).

Lerna III

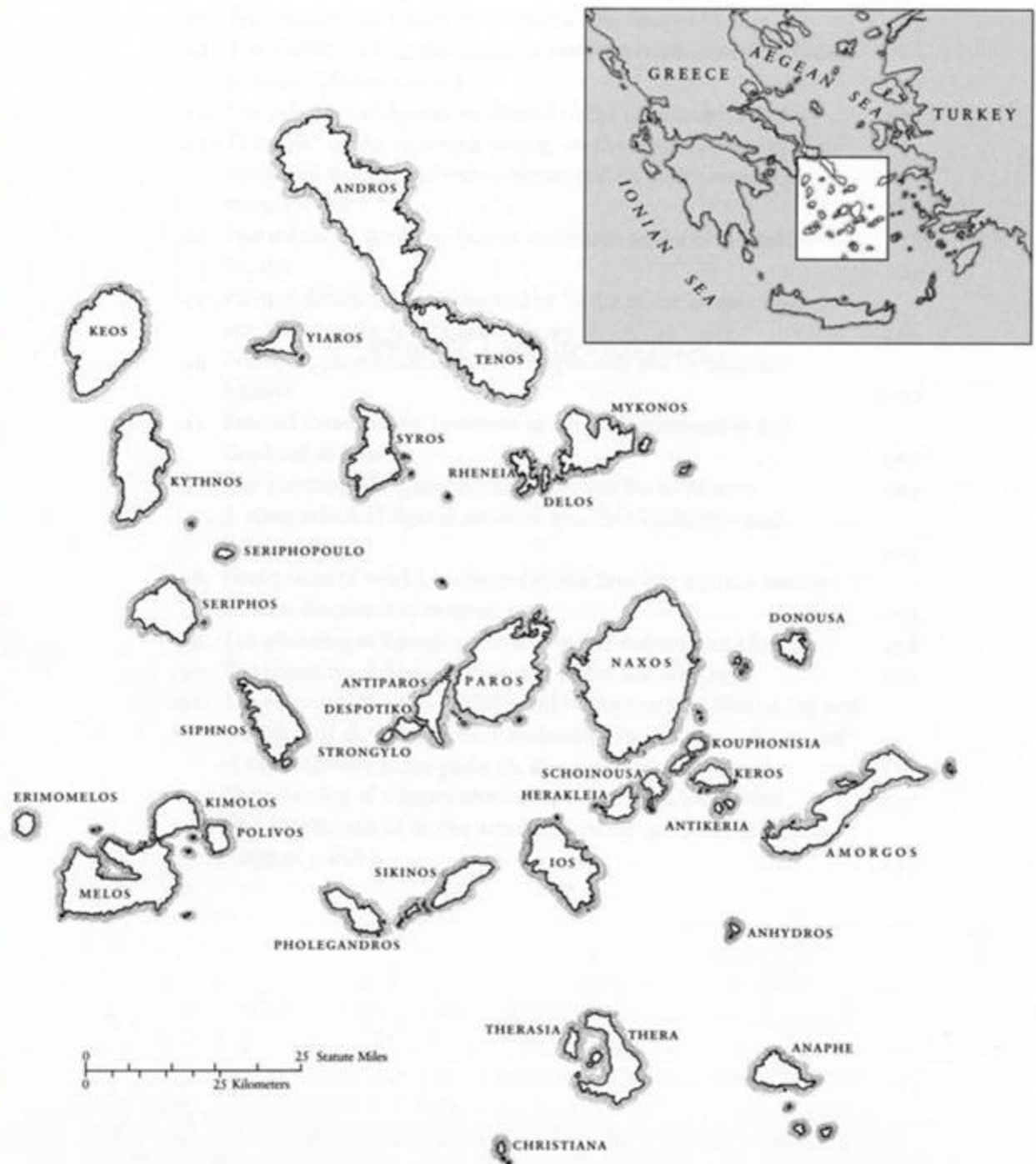
The "House of Tiles"

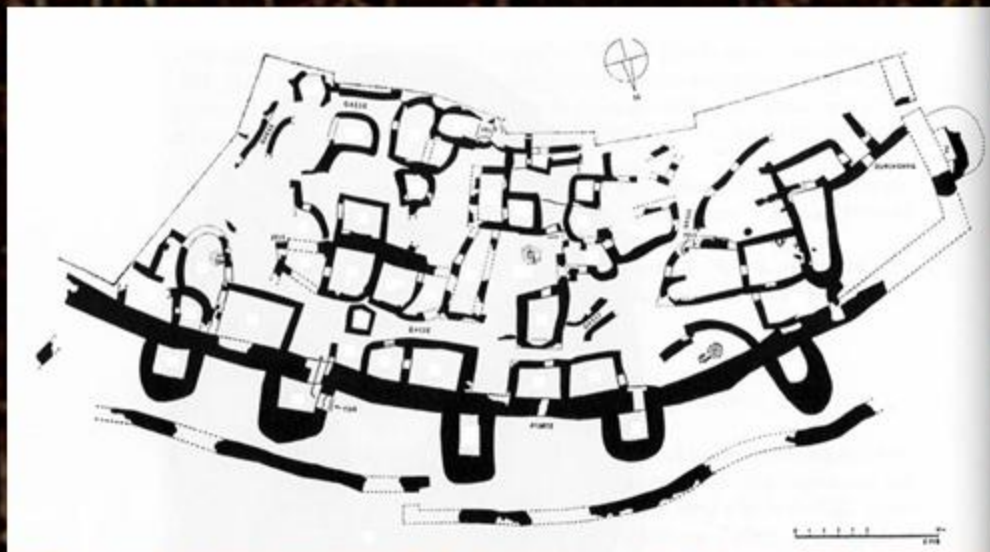
This Type of Building is known as the "Early Helladic Corridor House"



EBA Seal Impressions

Map of the Cycladic Islands





The Fortified EBA Settlement Kastrion on Syros



Stone Vessel in Shape of a Grain Silo from Melos, EC II



Pottery from Kolonna on Aegina Depicting Longboats with Armed Warriors



Male Figurines Carrying Daggers and a Baldric Slung over the Shoulder



Subdivision of the Bronze Age on Crete



Sir Arthur John Evans (1851-1941)

Early Minoan (= EBA)

Middle Minoan (= MBA)

Late Minoan (= LBA)

Sub-Minoan

First Phase of Cretan Palaces (Proto-Palatial)

Middle Minoan I B

2000/1950 – 1900/1850 BC

Middle Minoan II

1900/1850 – 1750/1720 BC

Second Phase of Cretan Palaces (Neo-Palatial)

Middle Minoan III

1750/1720 – 1700/1675 BC

Late Minoan I A

c. 1675 – 1600 BC

Late Minoan I B

c. 1600 – 1500 BC

Destruction of all centres except Knossos

Late Minoan II-III A (early)

c. 1490/1470 – 1385/1375 BC?

Final Destruction of Knossos – Start of Post-Palatial Period

Late Minoan III A-C

c. 1385/1375 – 1075/1050

Melos

Astypalaia

Thera

Crete

in the Proto- and Neopalatial Period
Main Sites

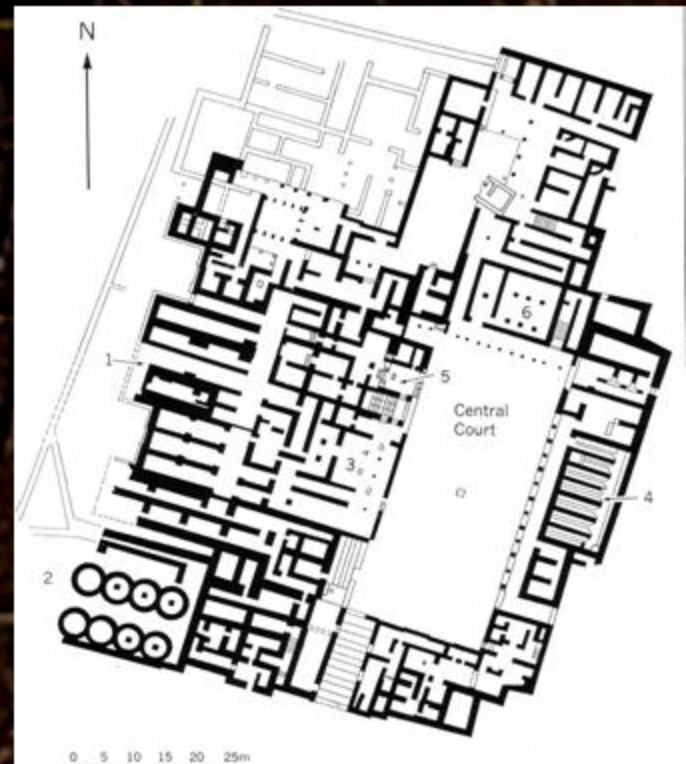




Phaistos

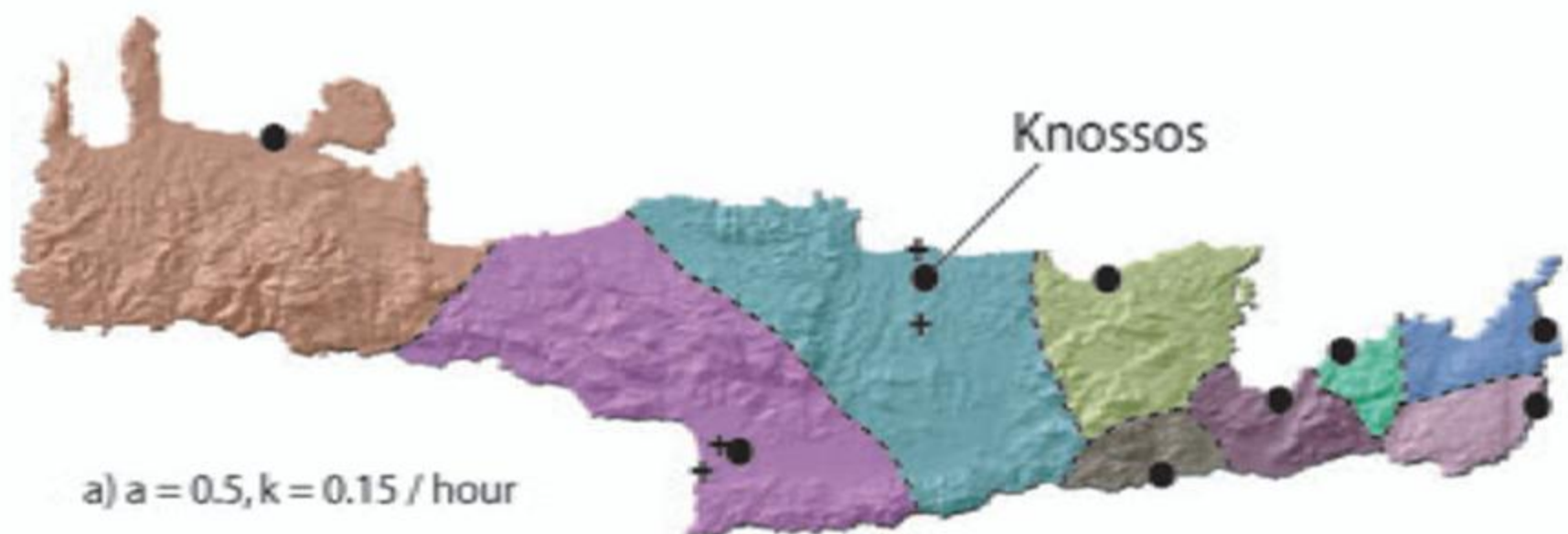


Knossos



Zakros

Malia



50 km

A horizontal scale bar with a white background and a black border, labeled '50 km' at its right end.



Minoan "Villa" at Myrthos-Pyrgos – The Villa is a New Feature in Neopalatial Times!

The Knossos Palace

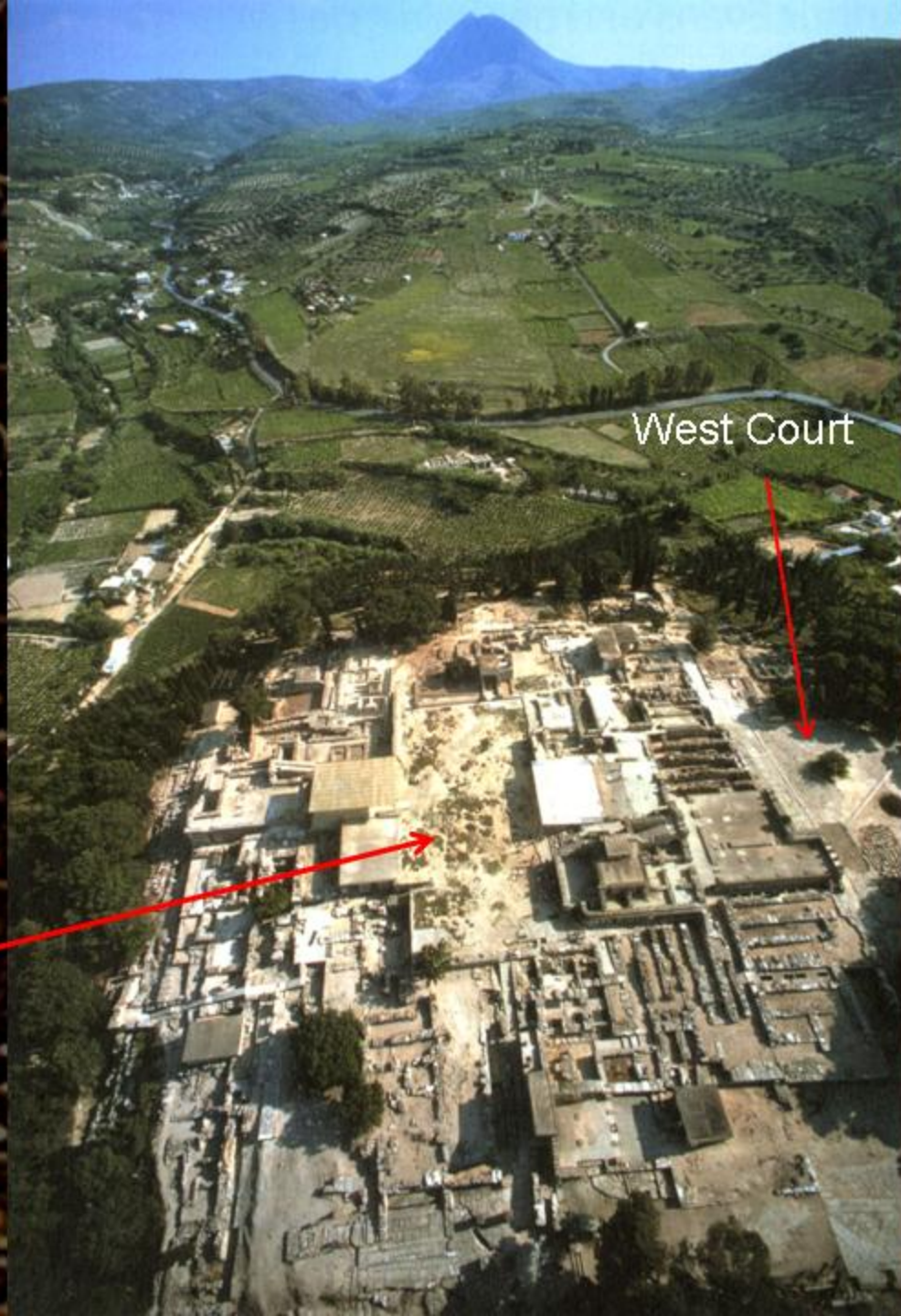


The Palace of Knossos

with Mount Jouktas in the
Background

Note the Alignment between
Palace and the Mountain (with
its Peak Sanctuary on Top)

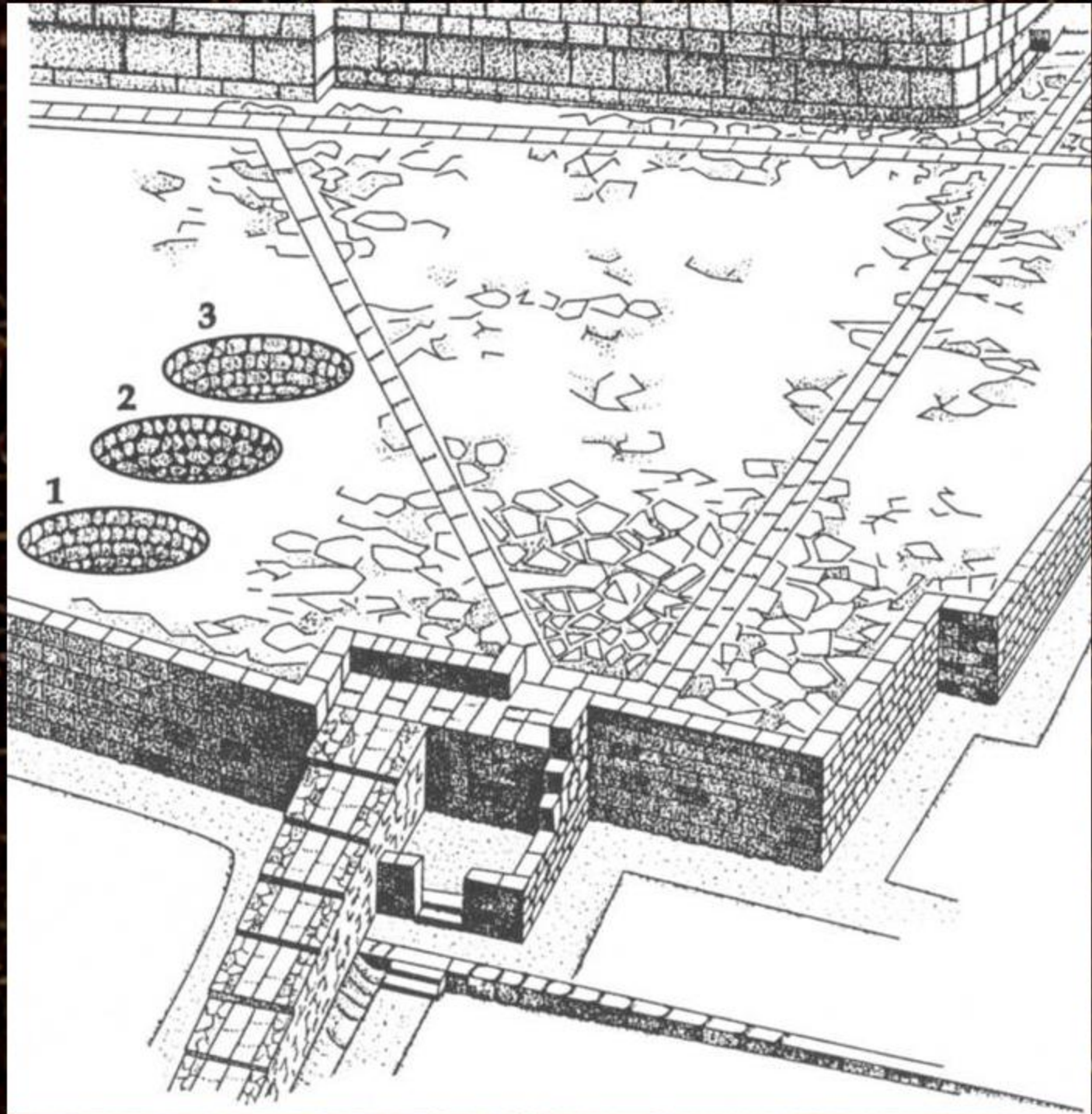
Central Court



West Court

**West Court of
the First Palace
at Knossos**

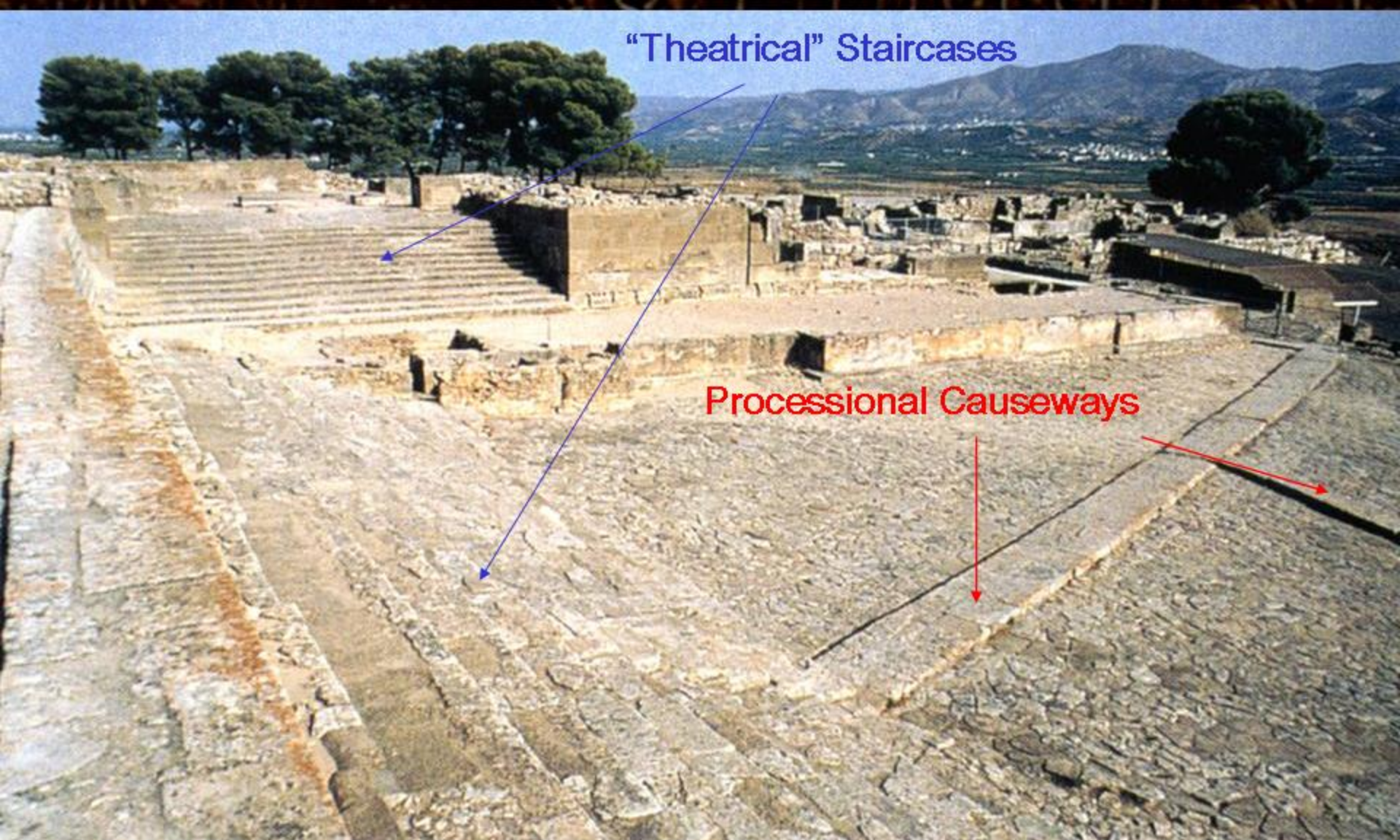
**Note the Raised
Causeways and the
Koulouras
(= Large Circular
Structures, Probably
Grain Silos)
in the Court**



“Theatrical” Staircases

Processional Causeways

**Features of Public Ceremonies / Festivals at the West Court
of the First Palace at Phaistos**



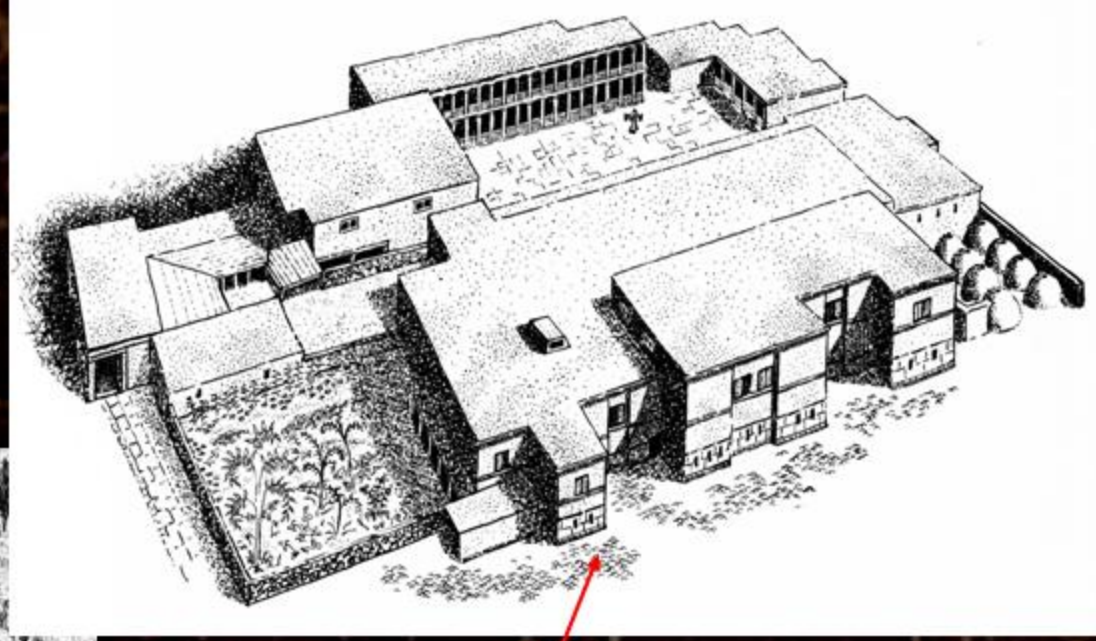
**Extensive Storage Facilities in the West and East
Wings of the
Palace at Knossos**



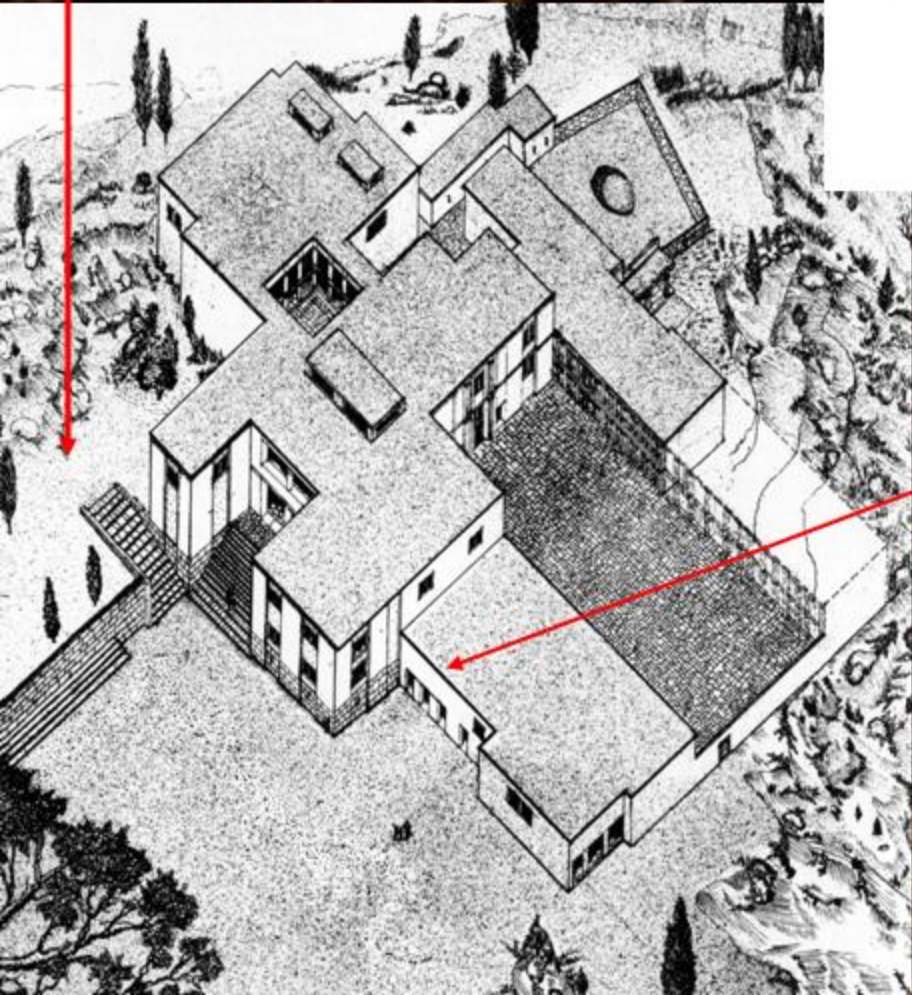
Minoan Crete – Palatial Features

- A rectangular Central Court in a roughly North-South orientation
- A large West Court with a monumental façade, constructed in ashlar masonry
- Architectural elaboration including light wells, columns and multiple doors
- Extensive storage areas for agricultural product
- The presence of production areas (workshops)
- Archive rooms for the storage of written records.

Mallia



Theatrical Staircase

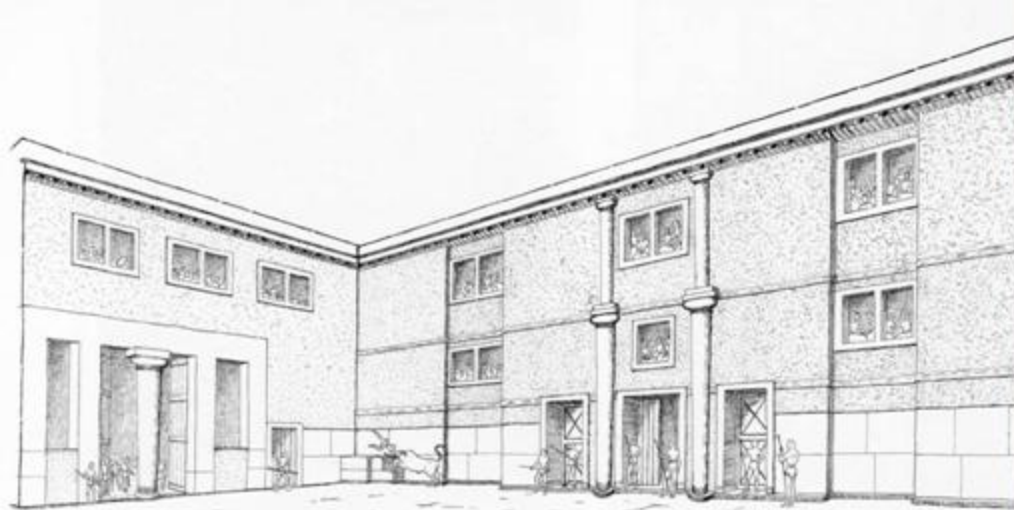


Façade of West Court

Phaistos



Fresco from the Palace at Knossos: Scene with a group of female dancers on a Palace Court with Raised Causeways. Note the heads of male and female spectators in the background!



50. Restoration of north end of Central Court, Phaistos, from southeast



The Central Court Scene of Bull Games?



51. Central Court and range of Ida from south, Phaistos



52. Northwest corner of Central Court, Phaistos

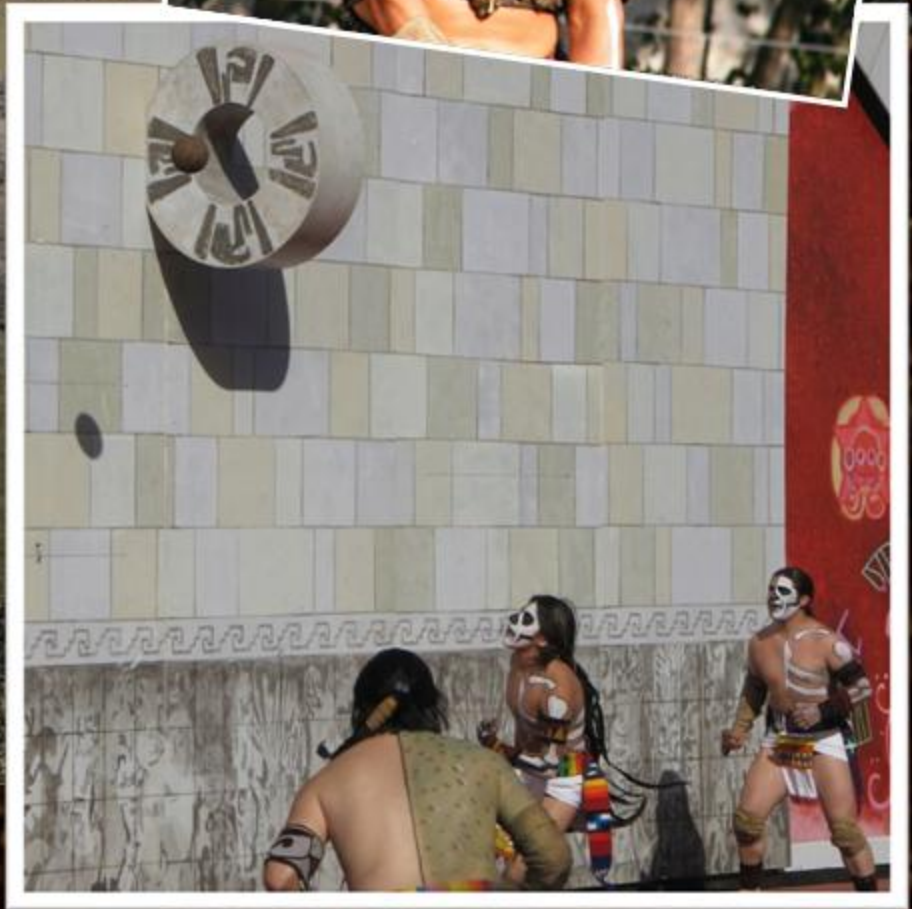
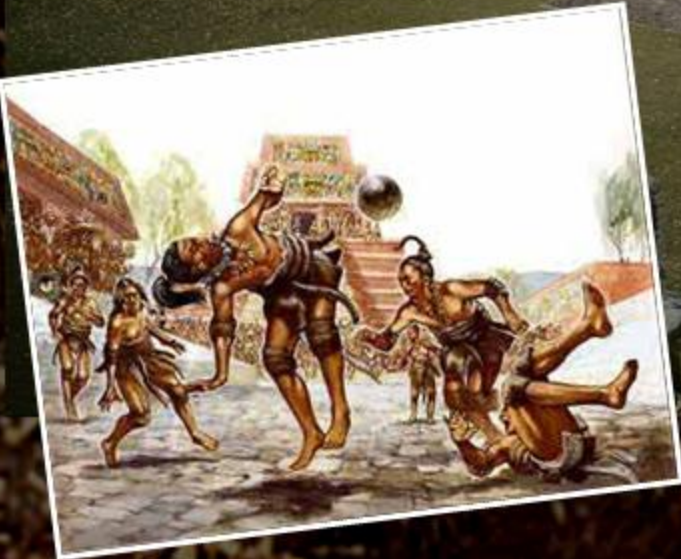


54. Minoan gem with scene from bull games



53. Niche and half-column west of Corridor 41, Phaistos





What Were the Cretan Palaces?

- Living quarters for ruling elite/family?
- Storage centres for accumulated wealth?
- Base of the manufacturing process?
- Centre of administrative control?
- Ritual Centres?

Schoep, Ilse 2004

Assessing the role of architecture in conspicuous consumption in the Middle Minoan I–II Periods.
Oxford Journal of Archaeology 23, 243–269.



Seal Impression from Knossos: the "Mistress of Animals"

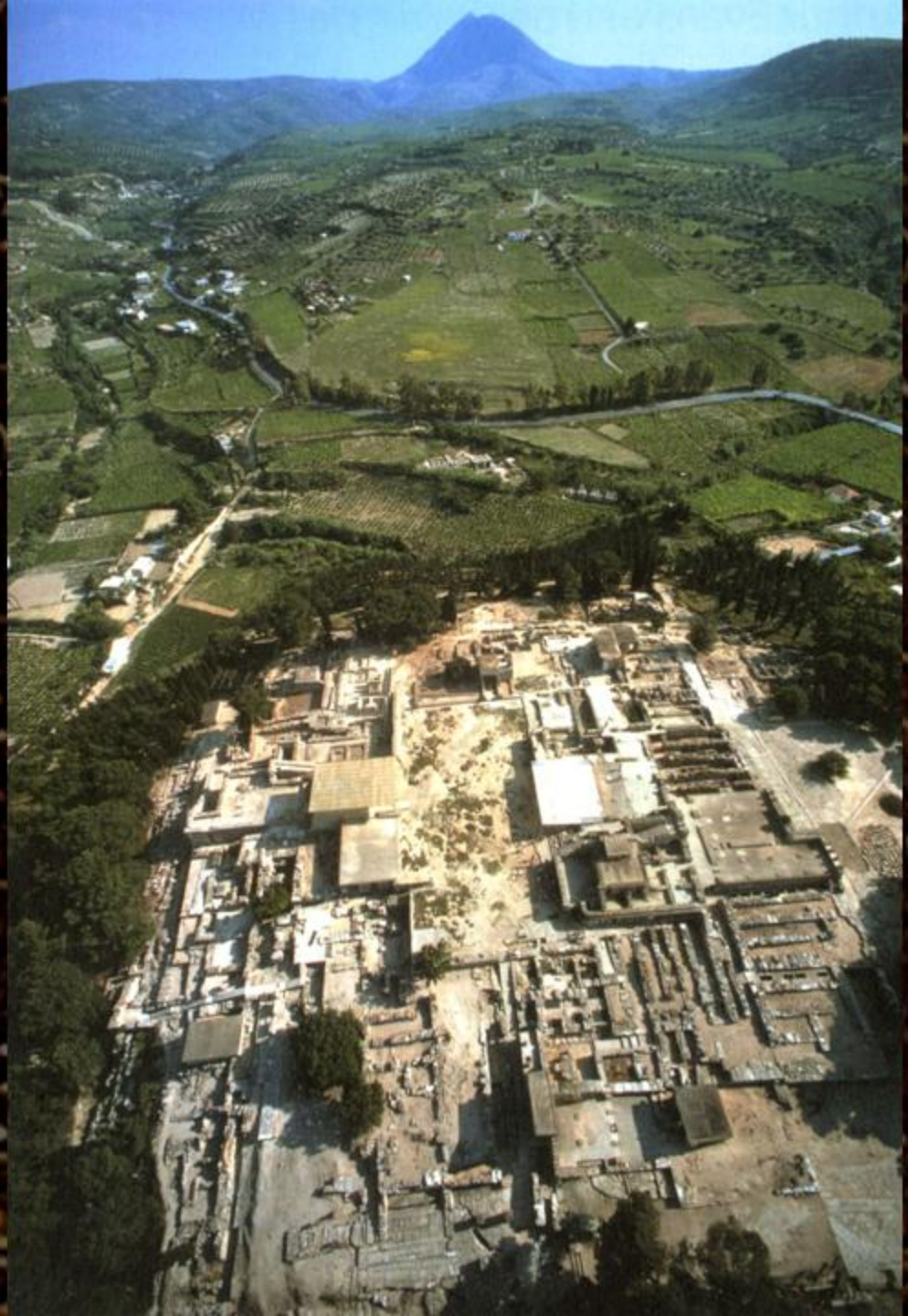


The "Master Impression" from Chania

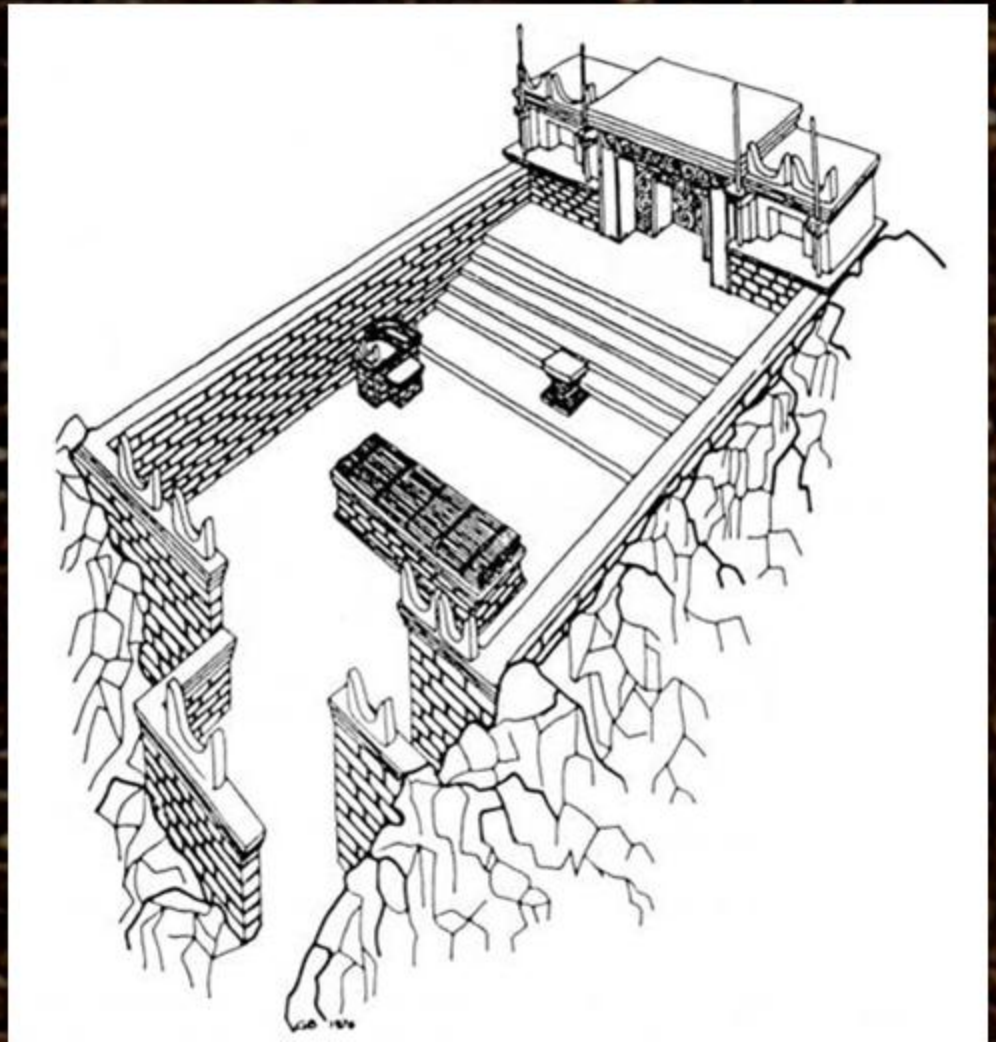
Representations of Supernatural Beings in a Position of Command

**The Palace of Knossos with
Mount Jouktas in the
Background**

**Note the Alignment between
Palace and the Mountain (with
its Peak Sanctuary on Top)**



**Stone Rhyton from Zakros with Depiction
of a Peak Sanctuary (LM I)
Reconstruction of the Illustrated Shrine by
J. Shaw (1978)**



Two Examples of Linear A Tablets Containing Lists



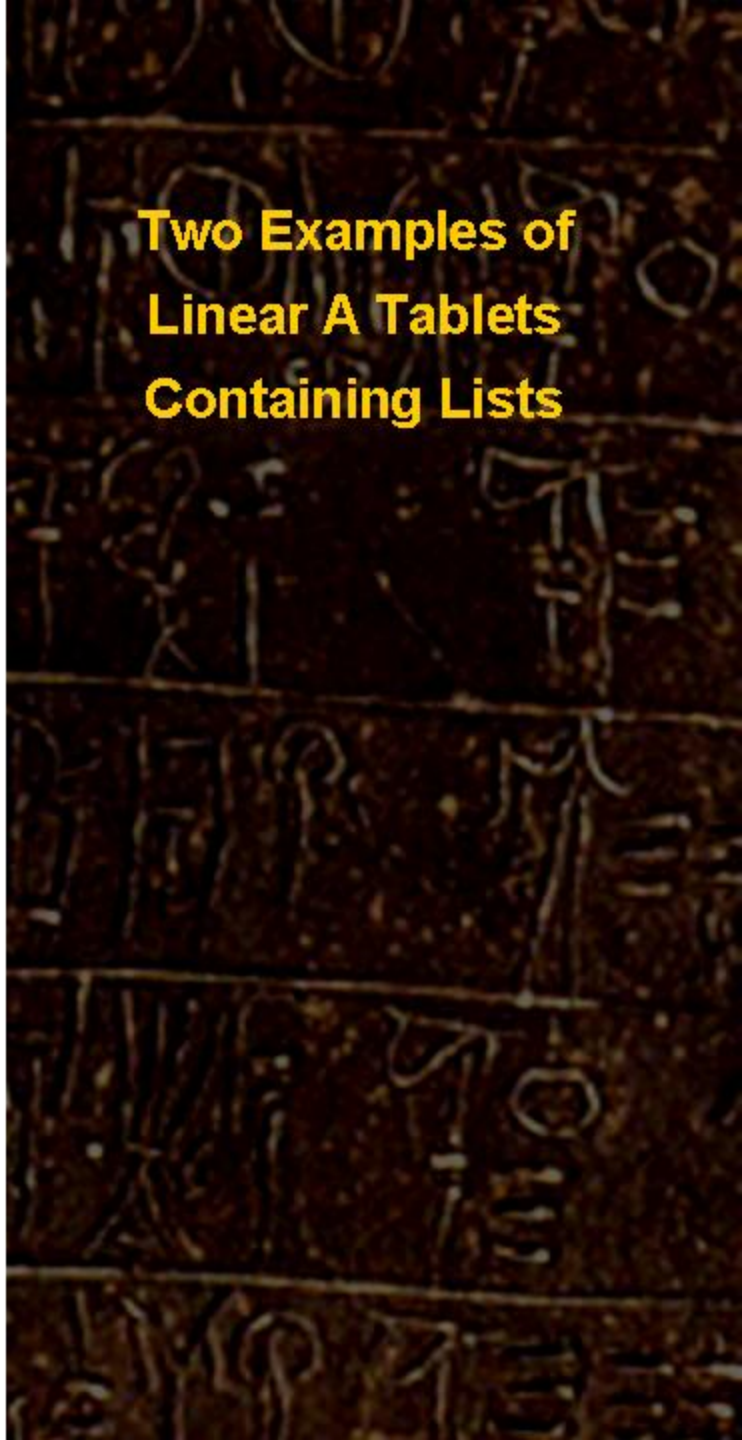
1-2	Δ ⊕ Z 𐀀 · 𐀁 + · 𐀂 𐀃 𐀄	
2	𐀅 𐀆	1
2	𐀇 𐀈	1
2-3	𐀉 𐀊 𐀋	1
3	𐀌 𐀍	1
3	𐀎 𐀏 𐀐	1
3-4	𐀑 𐀒 𐀓	1
4	𐀔 𐀕 𐀖	1
4-5	𐀗 𐀘 𐀙 𐀚 𐀛	1
5	𐀜 𐀝 𐀞 𐀟	1
5	𐀠 𐀡 𐀢	1
6	𐀣 +	10

114a

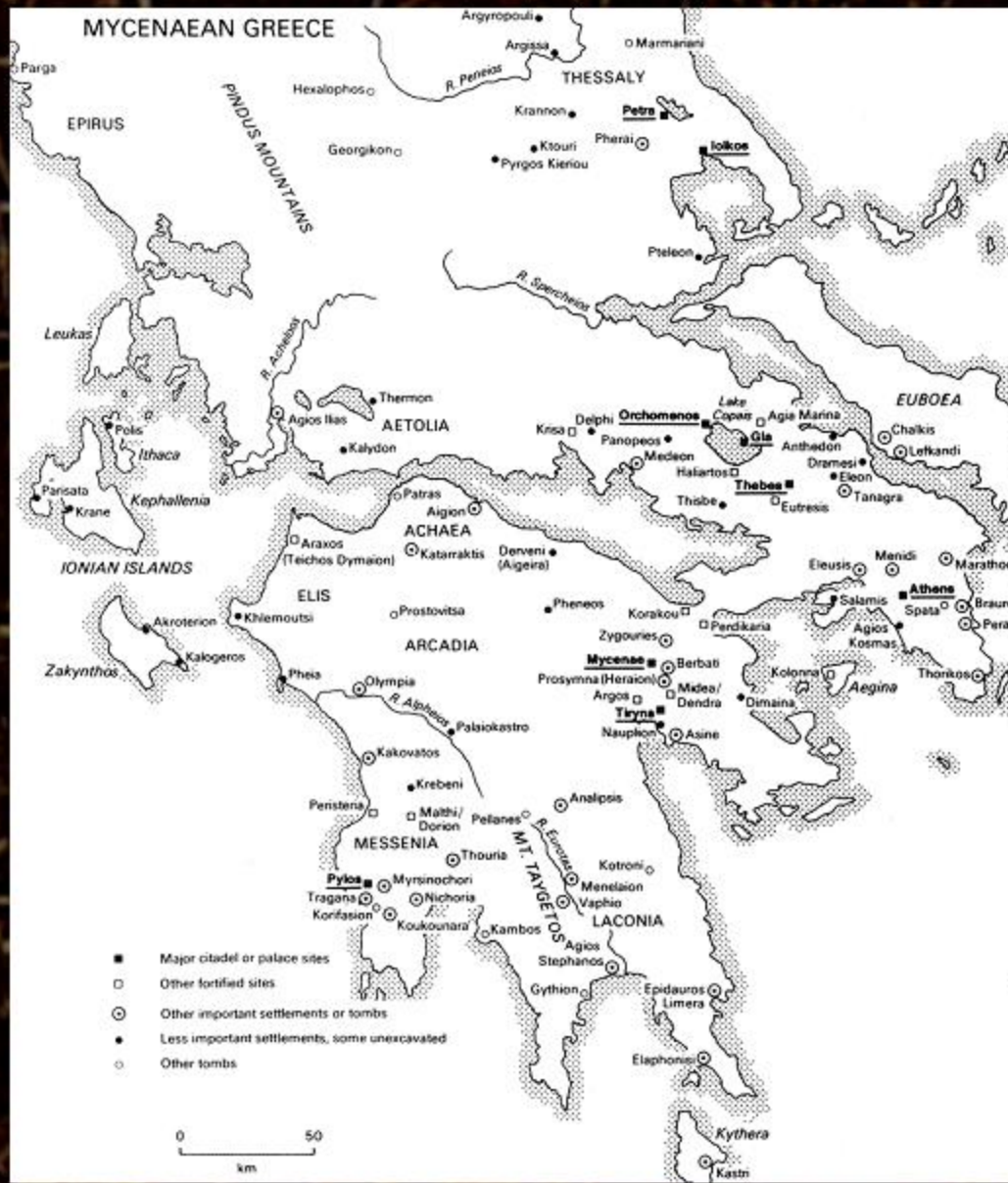


1-2	𐀁 𐀂 𐀃	𐀄 𐀅 𐀆 𐀇 𐀈 𐀉 + 1 𐀊
3-4	𐀋 𐀌	𐀍 𐀎 𐀏 𐀐 𐀑 𐀒 + 𐀓
4-5	𐀔 𐀕	𐀖 𐀗 𐀘 𐀙 𐀚 𐀛 + 𐀜 𐀝
6-7	𐀞 𐀟	𐀠 𐀡 𐀢 𐀣 𐀤 + 𐀥 𐀦
7-8	𐀧 +	𐀨 𐀩 𐀪 𐀫 𐀬 𐀭 + 𐀮

114b



- **Around 1500 BC All the Palatial Centres Are Destroyed**
 - **Only the Palace at Knossos Remains Intact and Appears to play a Leading Role on Crete**
- **At Knossos, the “Warrior Graves” Seem to Indicate the Presence of Mainlanders**

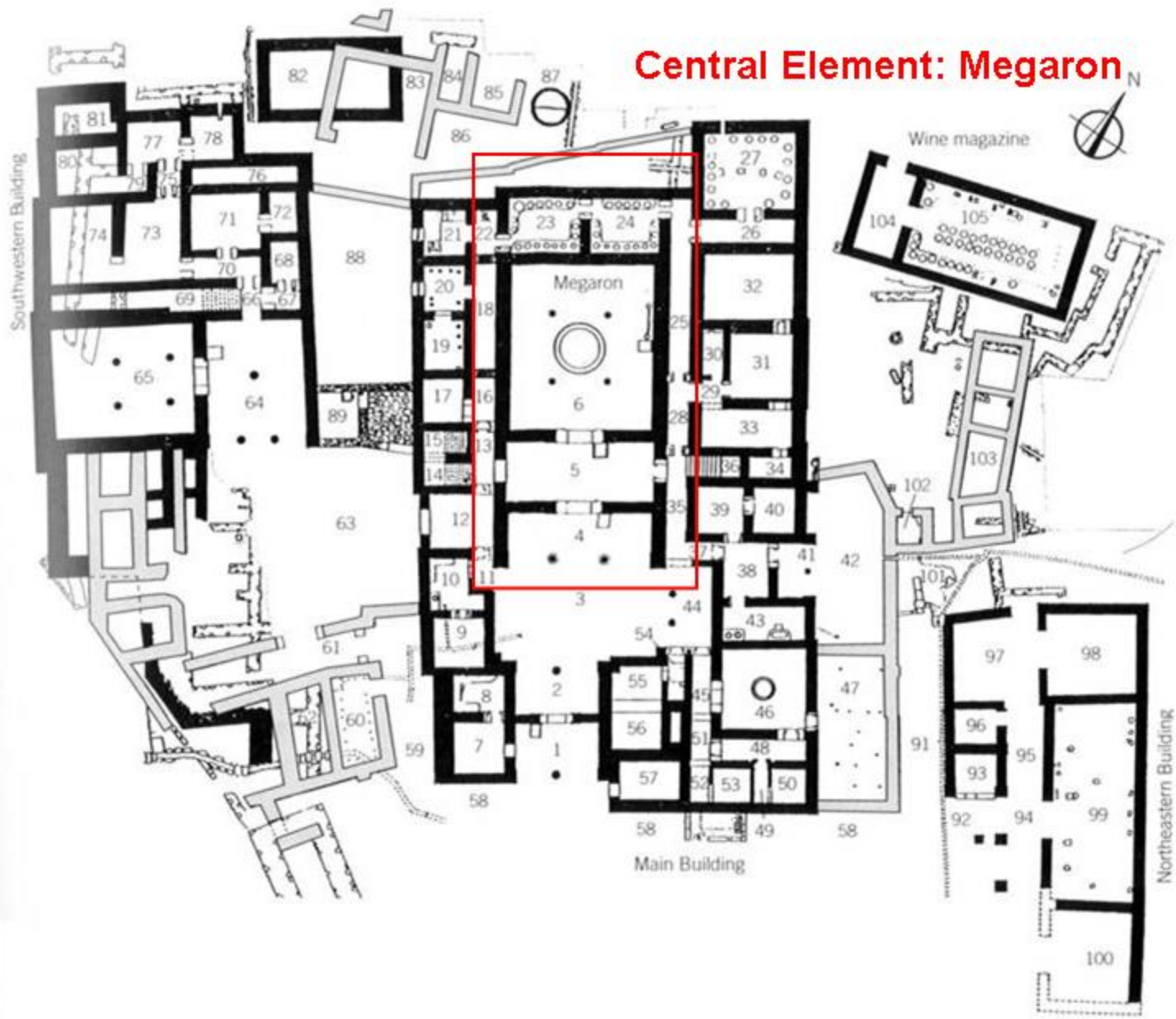


Grecce in the Second Millennium BC

Mainland Greece

Middle Helladic		2000-1600 BC
LH I-LH II A	Shaft Graves	1600-1450 BC
LH II B		1450-1400 BC
LH III A+B	Mycenaean Palaces	1400-1200 BC
LH III C	Sub-Mycenaean	1200-

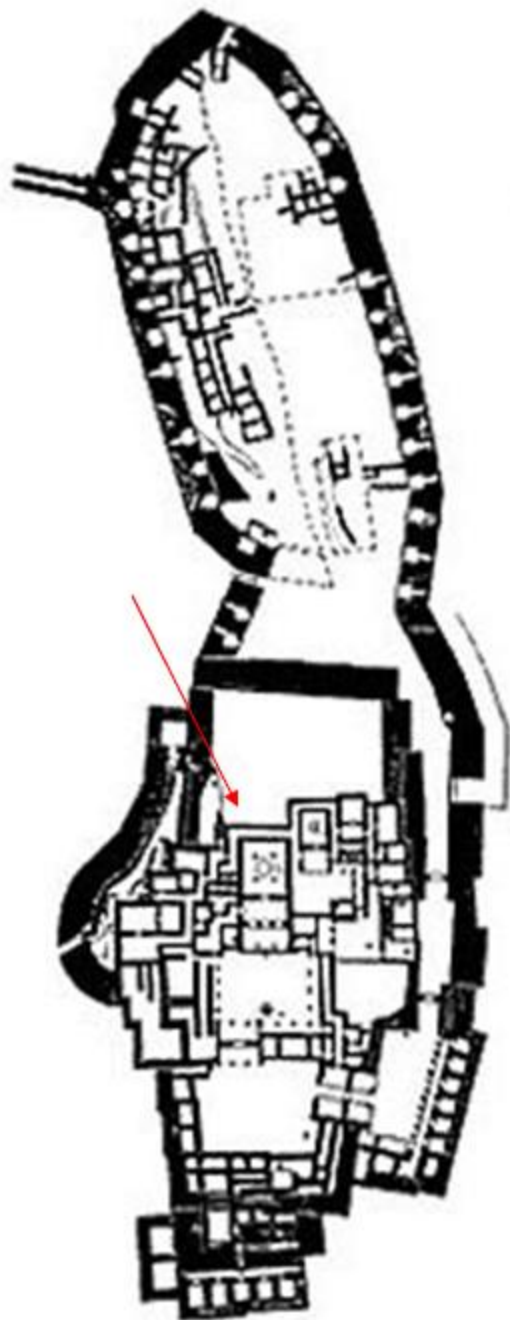
Central Element: Megaron



Pylos – “Palace of Nestor”



Pylos "Palace of Nestor" – Interior Reconstruction of Megaron



Ca. 1250 - 1200 v. Chr.

**The
Mycenaean
Palace at
Tiryns**



Tiryns – Palace Fortifications and Cyclopean Masonry



Titles and Offices from the Linear B Texts

- Wanax = “King”; senior office, administrative, economic and religious functions
- Lawagetas = Second office in state, “Leader of the People”
- Hequetai = Followers
- “Collectors”

- The Script used by the Mycenaeans is Linear B
- The Script is Developed from the Cretan Linear A
- The Language of the Tablets is an Ancient Form of Greek
- Deciphered by Michael Ventris in 1952



Mycenaean Palaces Were Centres of Production



- **A Wide Range of Crafts Was Executed, often associated with high-status goods (e.g. gold, ivory, lapis lazuli, glass).**



- **Olive Oil Production Important, Including Scented and/or Dyed Oils**

- **Major Engagement in the Production of Woollen Textiles**



- **Production for Export !**

Use of Resources

A part of the palatial resources was converted in “social capital”, and served thus the political economy

- **Staple goods: Palace-sponsored redistributive feasting.**
- **Production of Prestige Goods: circulation and consumption within Mycenaean elite**

Nakassis, Dimitri 2010

Reevaluating staple and wealth finance at Mycenaean Pylos, in: Daniel J. Pullen (ed.), *Political Economies of the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers from the Langford Conference, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22–24 February 2007* (Oxbow: Oxford and Oakville) 127–148.

Extensive Works of Infrastructure

▪ Works of Hydraulic Nature

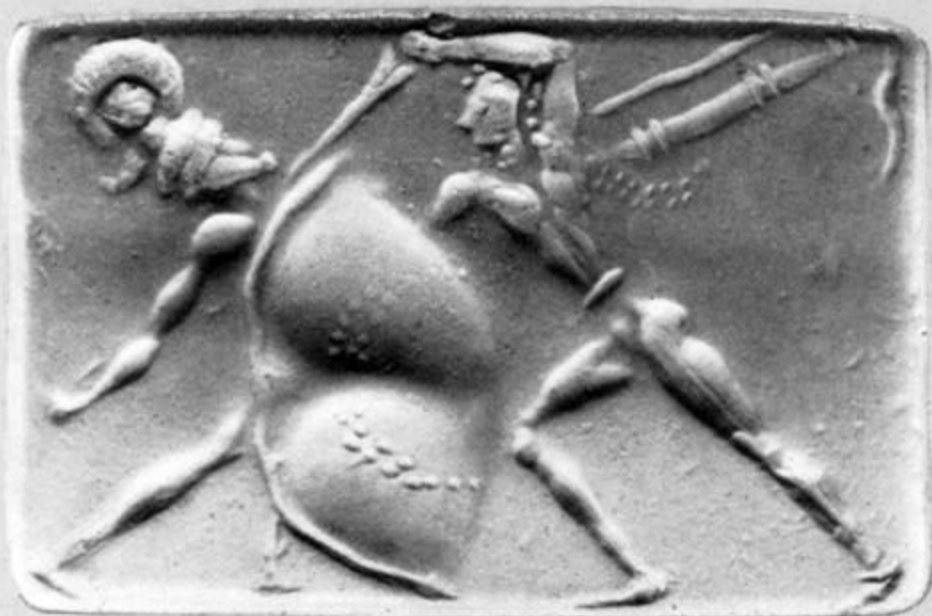
- Canals
- Dams
- Cisterns & Wells

▪ Works of Communication

- Roads
- Bridges

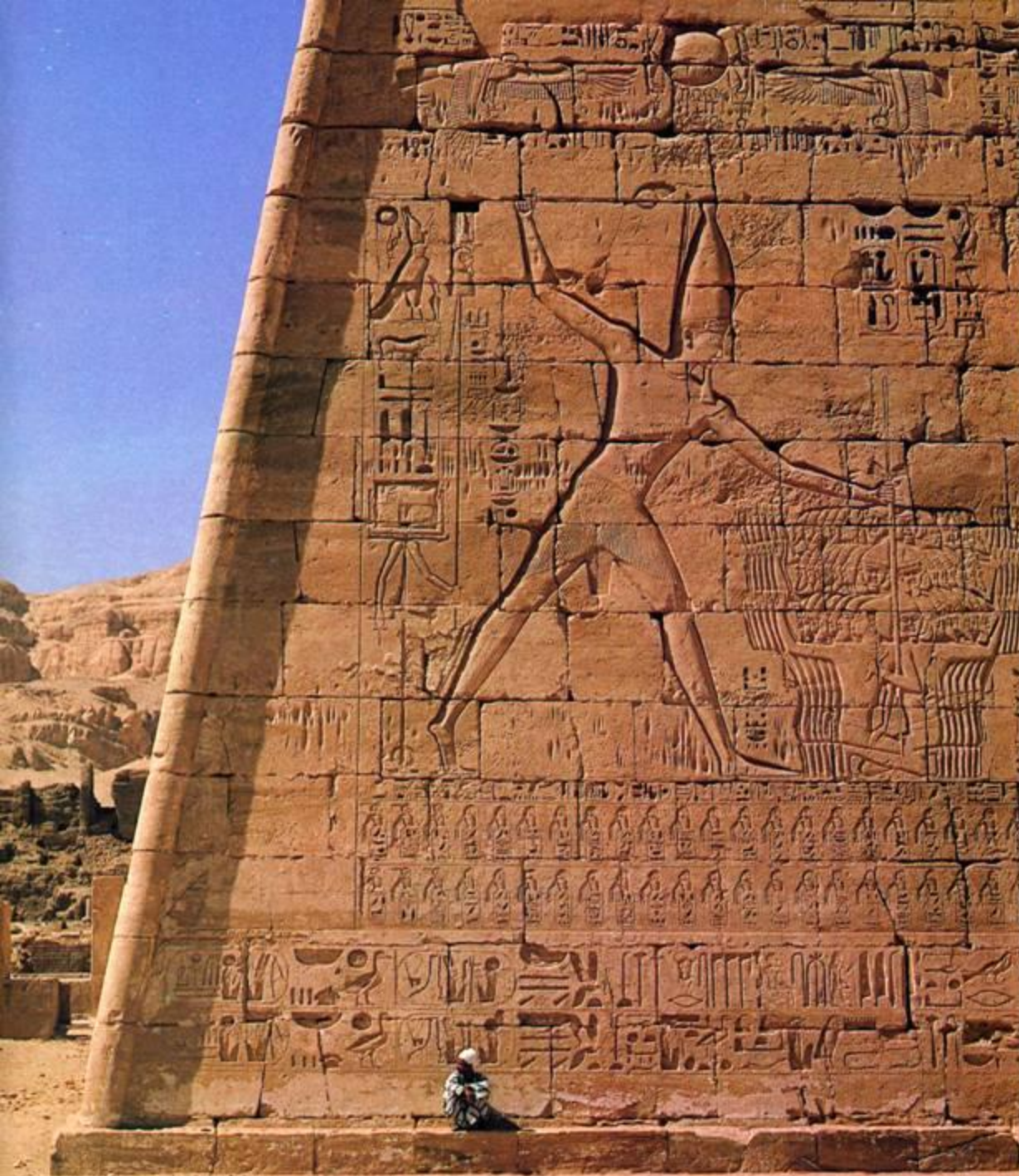


Mycenaean Bridge at Arkadiko on the Peloponnese



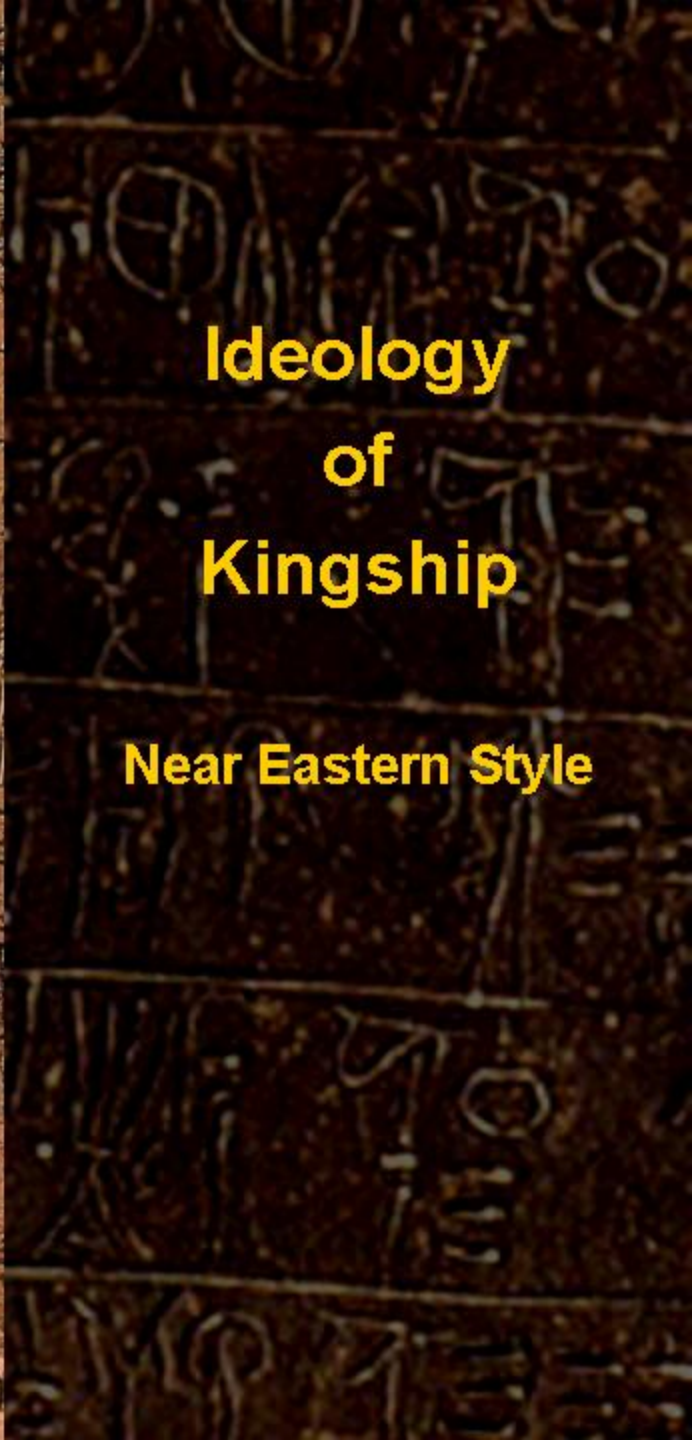
“Heroic Fighting”

**Ideology of the Warrior-
Aristocrat**



Ideology of Kingship

Near Eastern Style



Indications of State Organisation

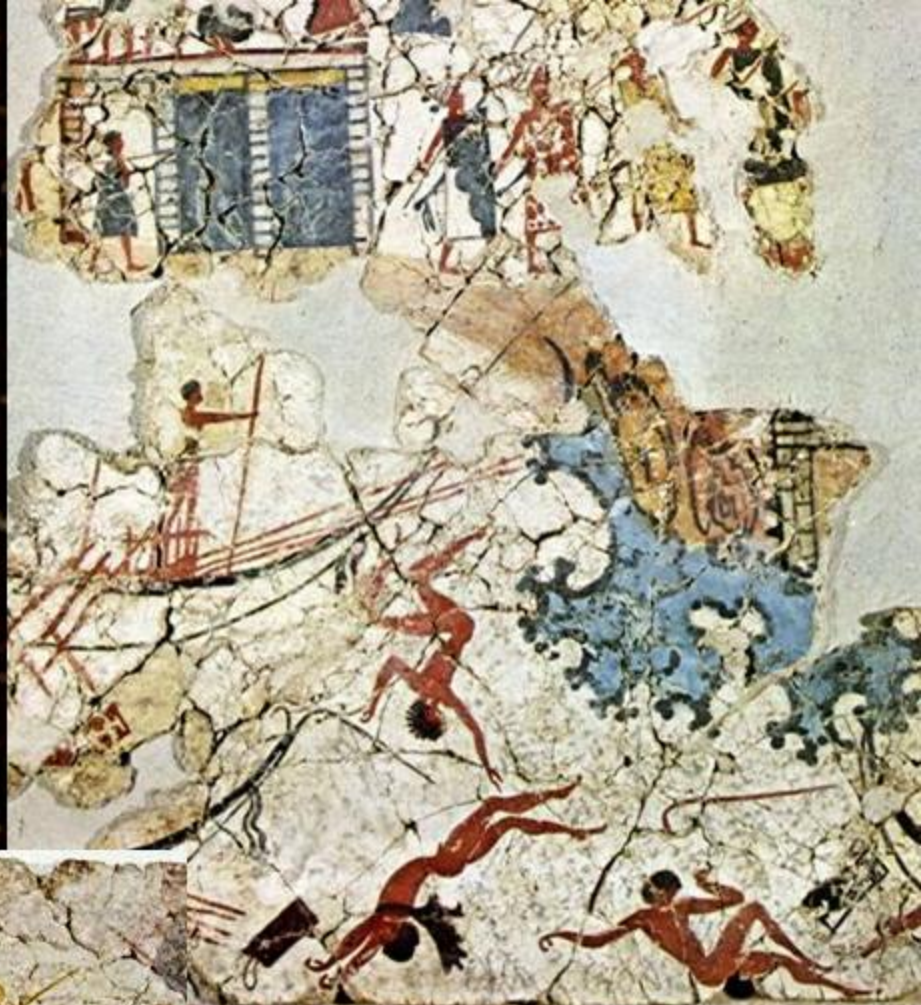
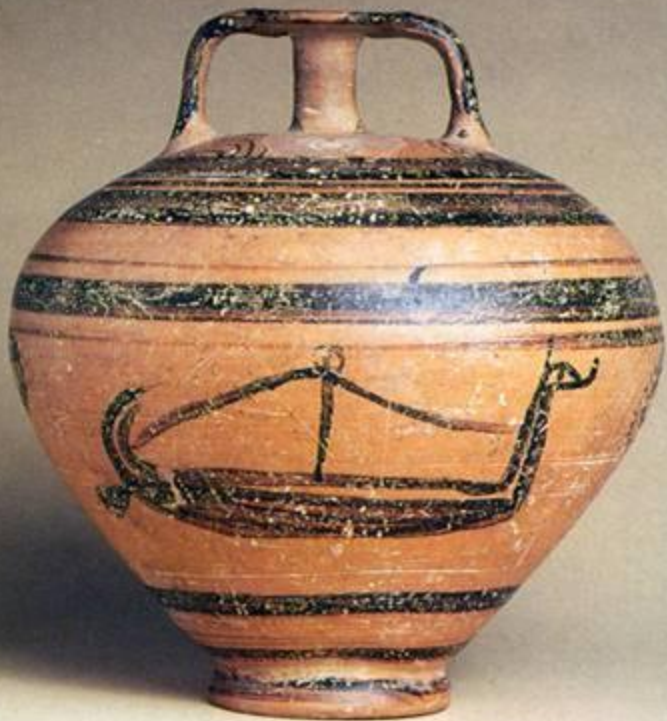
- **Palace as Seat of the Ruler**
- **Centralised Production**
- **Official Record Keeping**
- **Infrastructure Maintained by the State**

...

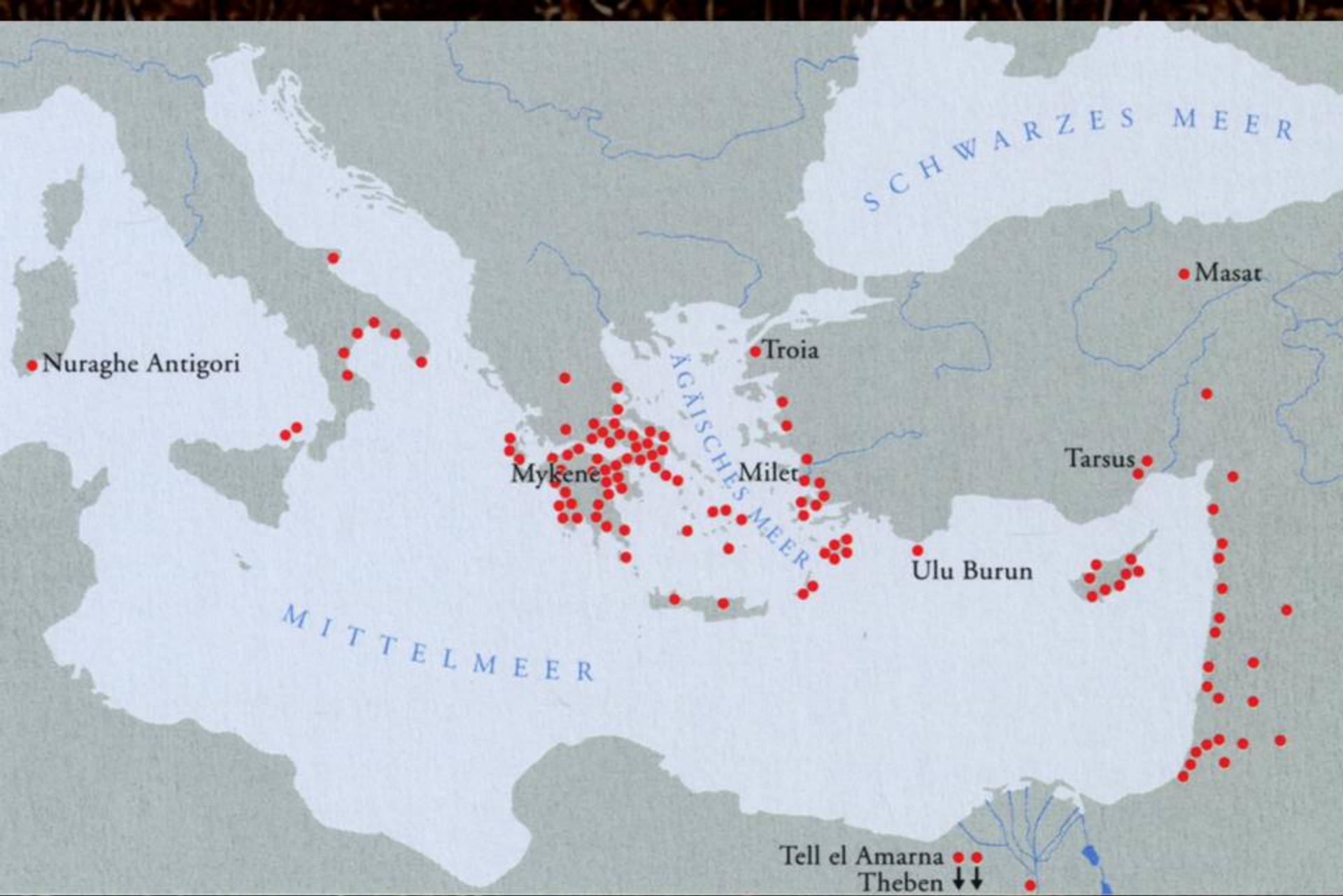
What is Missing ???

What is Missing ???

- Evidence of an Ideology of Kingship
- A Well Defined State Cult with
 - a Pantheon That Mirrors the Structure of Society
 - a Principal Deity at the Top
 - Temples or Places of Official Worship



**Representations of
Aegean Sea Craft of the
Second Millennium BC**



The Distribution of Mycenaean Finds in the Eastern Mediterranean

Šaušgamuwa Treaty

(Treaty between Tudhaliya IV of Hatti and Šaušgamuwa of Amurru)

Excerpt

[Thus says Tabarna, Tudhaliya], Great King, [King of] Hatti, hero, beloved of the Sun Goddess of Arinna, [sun of Hattušili, Great King, King of] Hatti, hero, [grandson of] Muršili, Great [King], King of Hatti, hero, [descendant of] Tudhaliya, [Great King, King of] Hatti, hero:

I, my Sun, [have taken you] Šaušgamuwa [by the hand], and have made you my brother-in-law. And you [shall not change the words] of this treaty tablet.

(...)

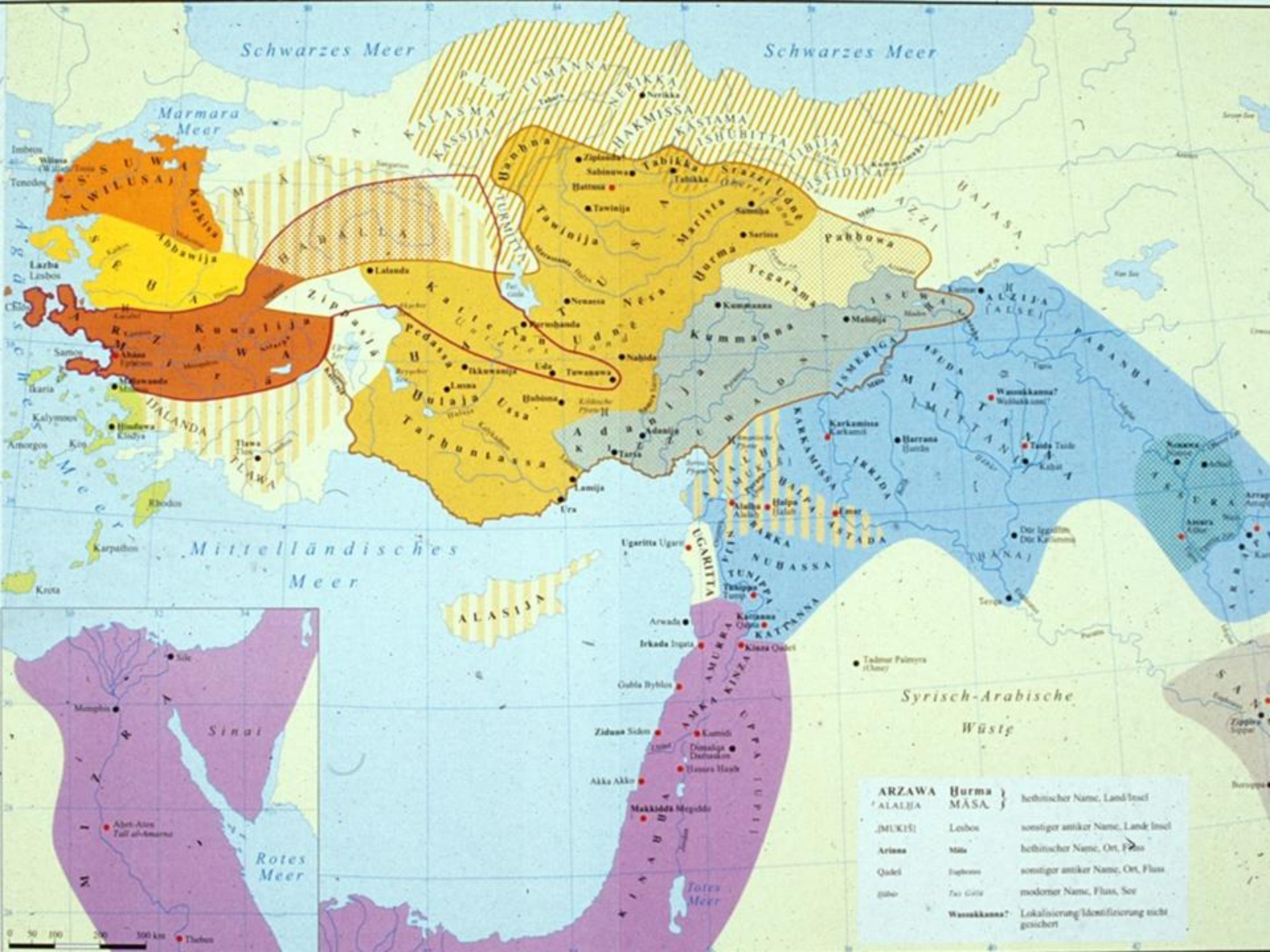
When [the king] of Egypt is my Sun's [friend], he will also be your friend. [But] when he is my Sun's enemy, he shall also be [your] enemy. And the kings who are equal to me in rank are the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Assyria, **and the King of Ahhiyawa**. When the King of Egypt is my Sun's friend, he shall also be your friend. But when he is my Sun's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. When the King of Babylonia is my Sun's friend, he shall also be your friend. But when he is my Sun's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. Since the King of Assyria is my Sun's enemy, he shall also be your enemy. Your merchant shall not go to Assyria, and you shall not let his merchant into your country. He shall not pass through your country. If he would enter your country, take him and send him to my Sun. This matter [is placed] under an oath for you.

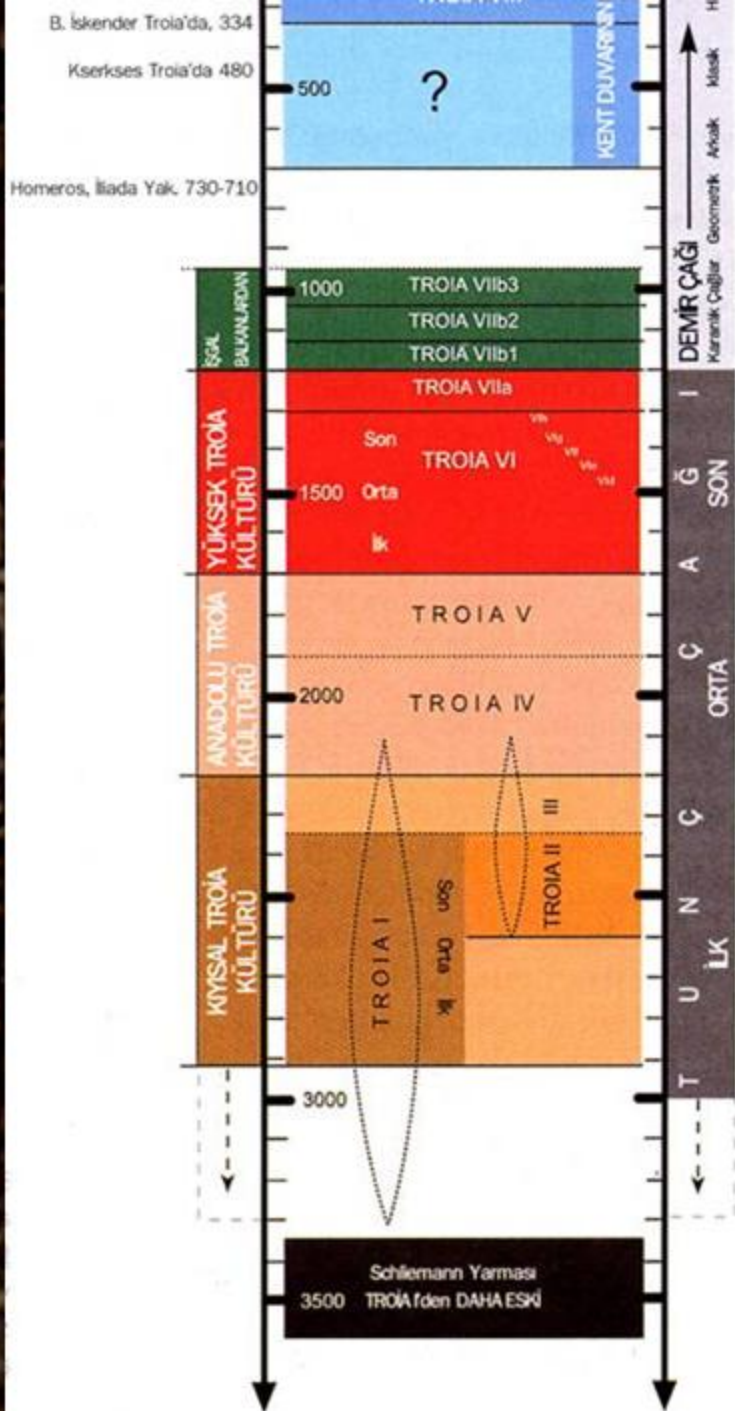
Since I, my Sun, am at war with the King of Assyria, gather together an army and a chariot unit, as my Sun has done. Just as it is for my Sun an issue of urgency and ..., it shall be for you an issue of urgency and ... Gather together an army and a chariotry unit. This matter is placed under an oath for you.

No ship of Ahhiyawa shall go to him (the King of Assyria).

Mycenaean Civilisation – Main Points

- Mycenaean palatial civilisation only after the demise of the Minoan palaces
- Mycenaean palace architecture differs from Minoan prototypes; defensive aspects are more pronounced
- Leadership is better defined than in the Minoan case, but its exact nature is still ambiguous
- There is no iconography of kingship
- No monumentalising religious architecture
- Iconography of violence; emphasises “heroic elements”
- Centralised palatial economy; administration (texts); large investments in infrastructure
- Strongly emphasised political elements: redistributive feasting, prestige goods
- Extensive trade with Eastern and Western Mediterranean
- Mycenaean physical presence much more pronounced
- Kingdom of Ahhiyawa part of the Brotherhood of Great Kings (but note conflicting evidence)

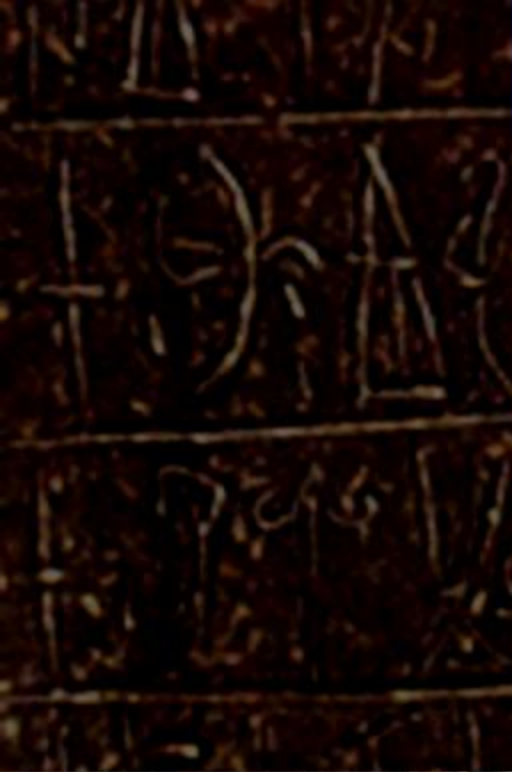




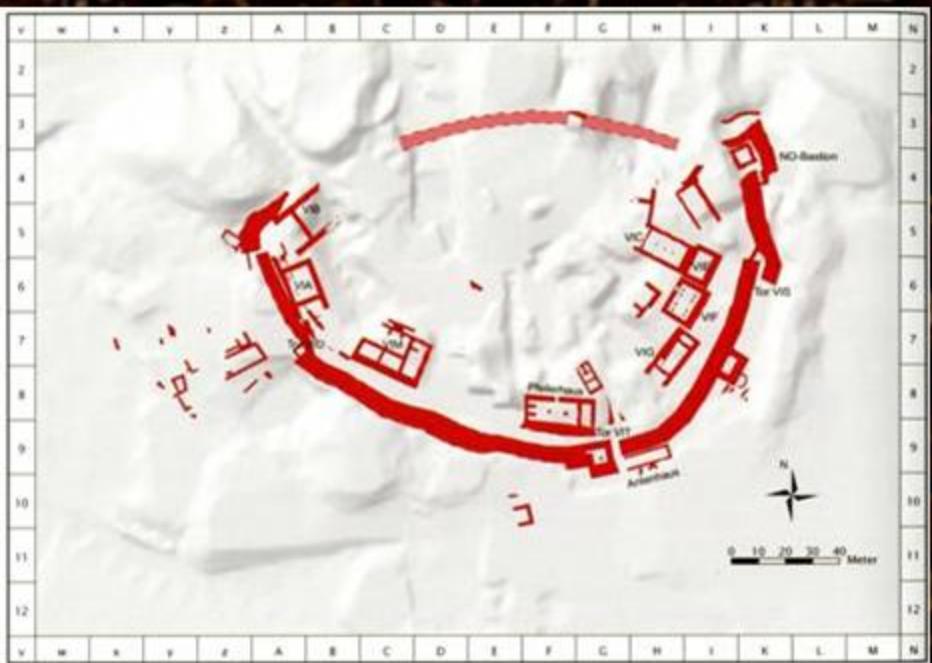
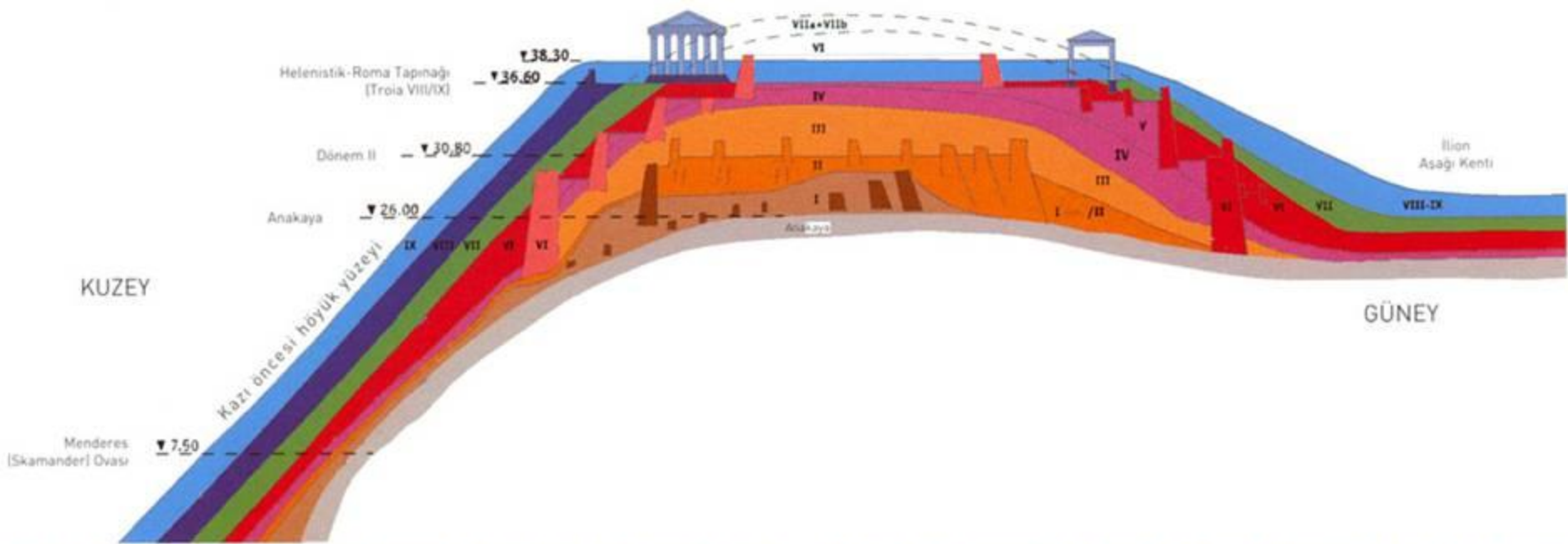
LBA Troy Chronological Scheme

Troy IV-VIIa c. 1700- 1200 BC (LBA)

Troy VIIb c. 1200-950 BC (EIA)



**Troy VI – Reconstruction Drawing
and Part of the Fortifications**

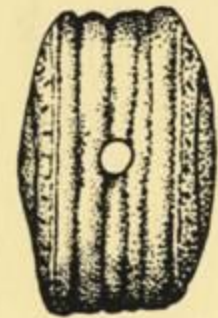


Troy VI

The Central Part of the Mound is Missing Because of Levelling Activities During the Later Construction of the Athena Temple



Urban Infrastructure at Troy VI – Drainage Channels Underneath Main Streets



**Troy VII B – Bronze Seal with Luwian Script
Indication for Literacy along the Aegean Coast ?**

Writing or No Writing in Western Anatolia ?

- No evidence for the practice of writing in W Anatolia during the LBA
- Explanation sometimes proposed: No objects found yet because writing on organic material (e.g. wood)
- No evidence for the use of personal or official seals
- Seals often carry script/writing themselves
- Seal impressions on clay (bullae) should be found even if the medium of the document itself was organic material



Roman wall painting from Herculaneum

wooden writing board (diptych) from the Uluburun Shipwreck



- Writing may be known and sporadically used as a means of communication when dealing with a literate partner.
- This does not imply a need to adopt this praxis internally in a tradition which functions without script-based administration and administrative specialists (scribes, archivists, priests...)



Troy VI

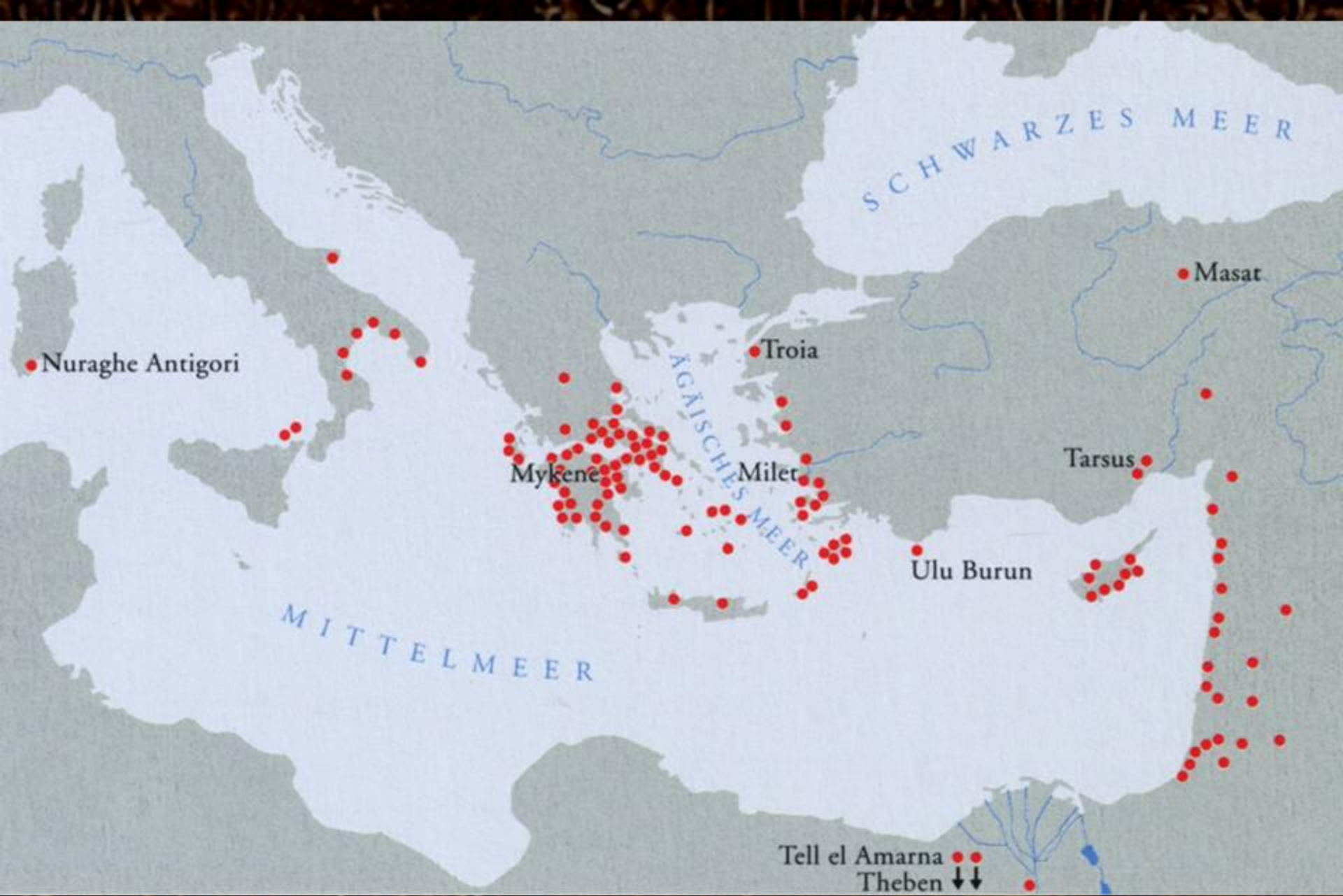
Local "Grey Minyan"
Ware and Mycenaean
Style Pottery (both
imitated and imported)



Export of Trojan Grey
Ware to Cyprus and into
the Levant

Mommsen, Hans & Peter Pavúk
2007

Provenance of the Grey and Tan
Wares from Troia, Cyprus and the
Levant, *Studia Troica* 17, 25-41.



The Distribution of Mycenaean Finds in the Eastern Mediterranean

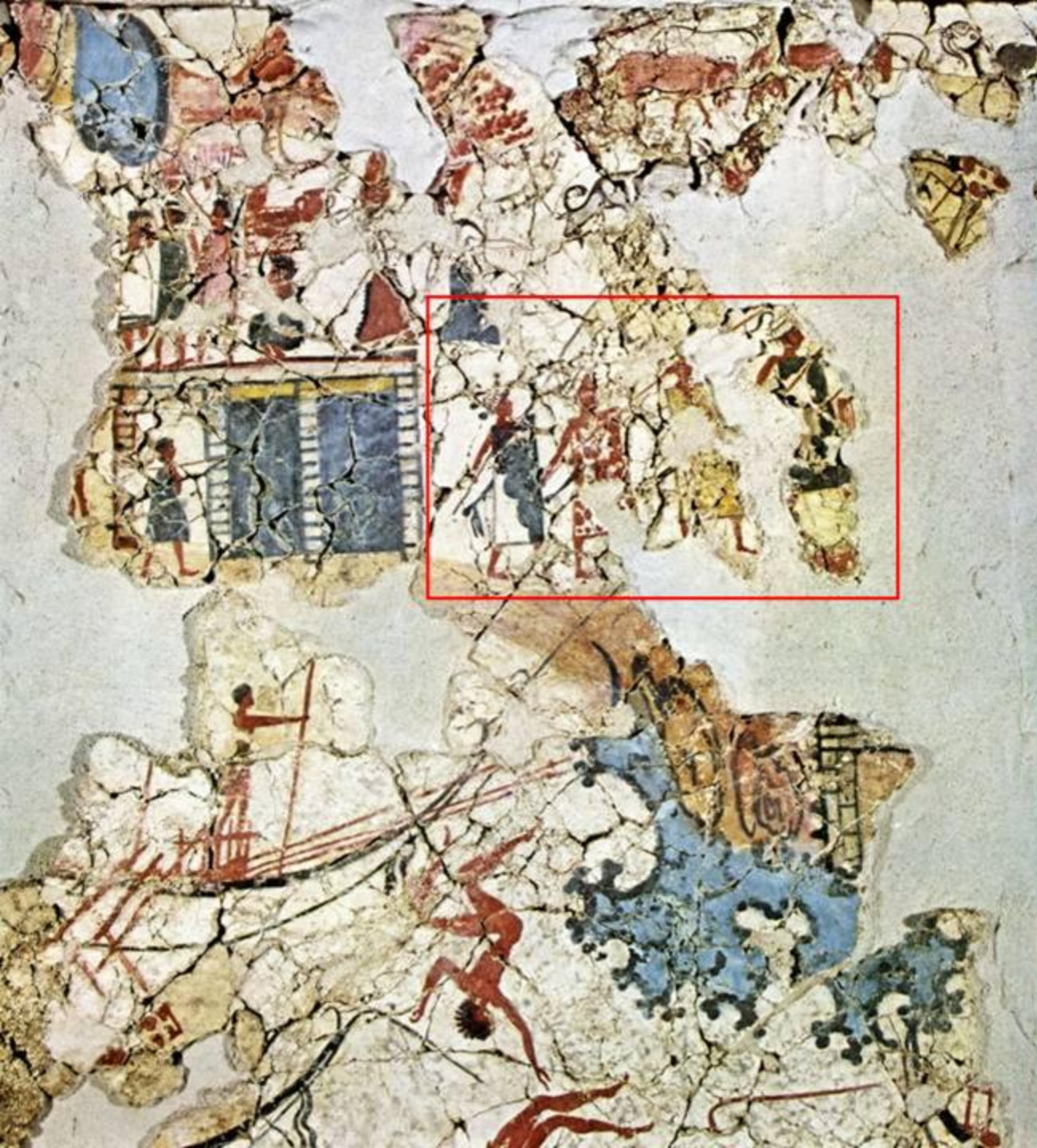


Das Hethitische Großreich und seine Nachbarn im 13. Jh. v. Chr.

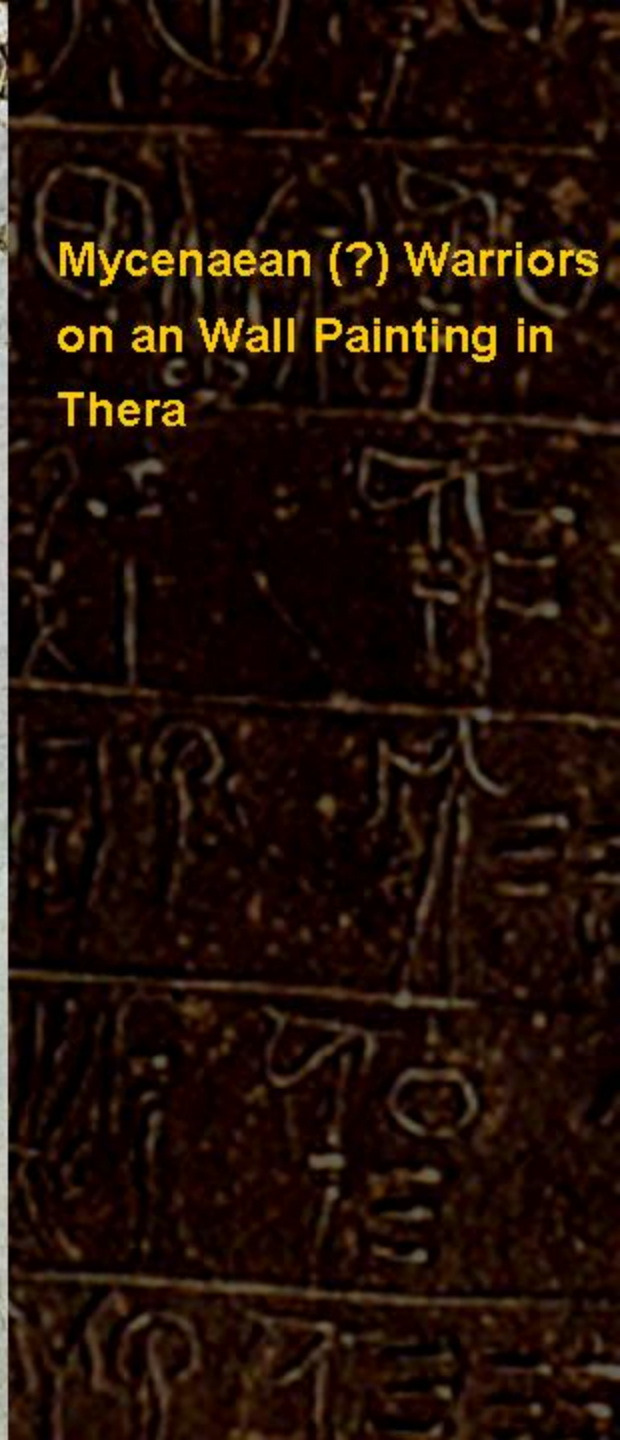
- Hethitisches Großreich (Hattusa)
- Hethitisches Einfluss- / Herrschaftsgebiet
- Anatolisches / nordhethitisches Staatsverband im Hethitischen Großreich
- Schwandagestirte Tarjantasa
- Kaukasus-Gebiet
- Gebiet der mykenischen Kultur, Territorium des Landes Ahhiyawa (vordominant Kreta?)
- Ägyptisches Neues Reich (Mara)
- Mittelbabylonisches Kassitenreich (Sudara)
- Mittelassyrisches Reich (Assur) am Anfang des 13. J.
- Mittelassyrisches Reich am Ende der Regierung Assur-uballit I. (1209 - 1186)
- Assyrische Eroberungen unter Salmanassar I. (1245 - 1234) und Tukulti-Ninurta I. (1233 - 1197)

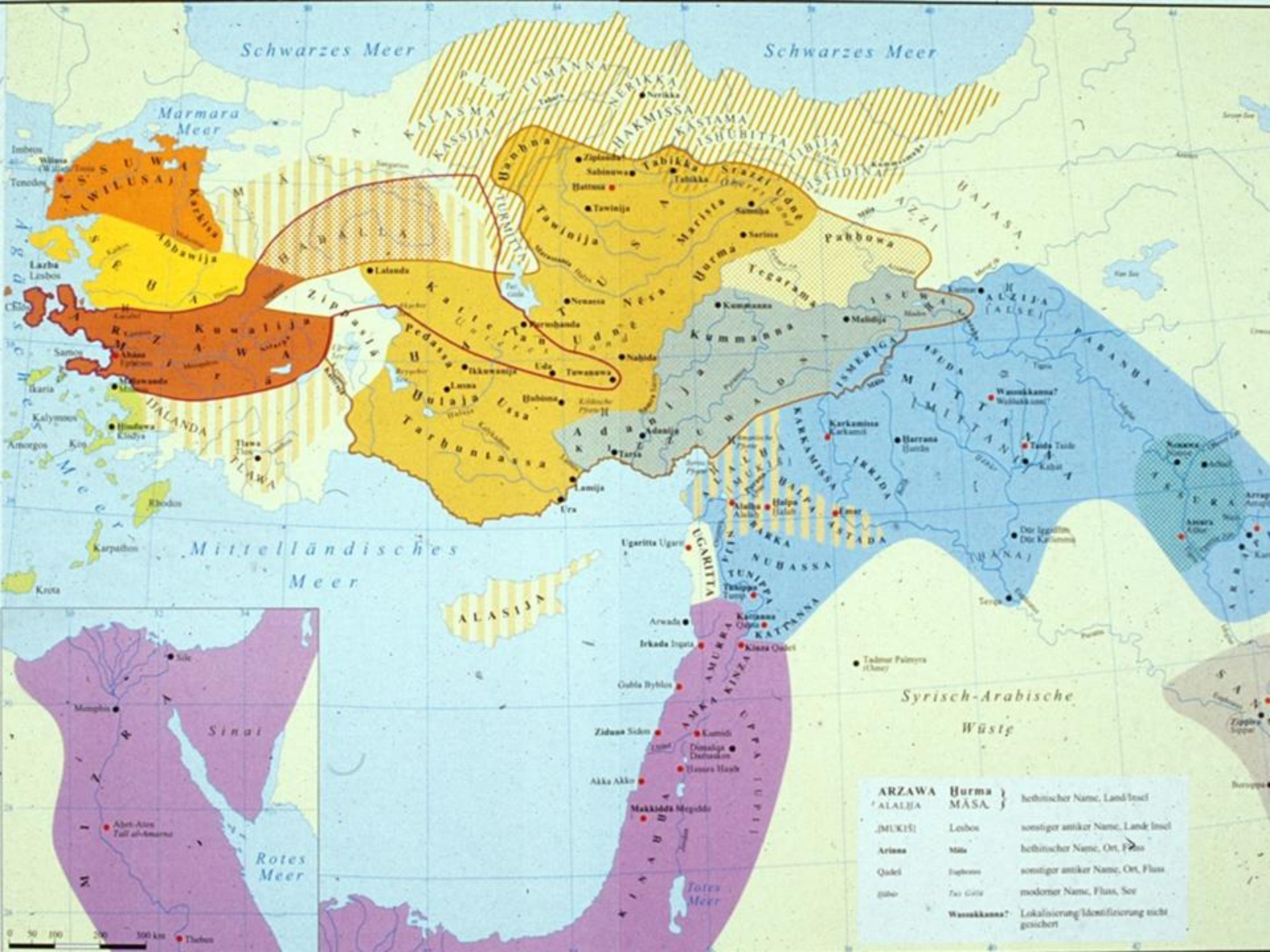
- W a l m a** Inneres Land
 - W I L U S A** Außerirdiges Land (Götterland)
 - U J A L P A** Schwandagestirte
 - M E S S U** sonstiges Land
- Hauptstadt
 - sonstiger Ort
 - wichtiger hethitischer Kultort
 - mykenischer Palast
 - H Fluss
 - ↓ wichtiger Hafen

WILUSA	Walma	MESU	heth. Land
[U]pi	Kreta		westl. Land
Kiwa	mita		heth. Ost.
Qah	rupana		sonstige Ost.
Tchai	Kybera		großes 2. (in Ost.)
Ragarkly	unbek.	Fu. G. 10	westl. Ost.
	Nija?		Lok. Ost.



**Mycenaean (?) Warriors
on an Wall Painting in
Thera**





Schwarzes Meer

Schwarzes Meer

Marmara Meer

Mittelländisches Meer

Sinai

Rotes Meer

Syrisch-Arabische Wüste

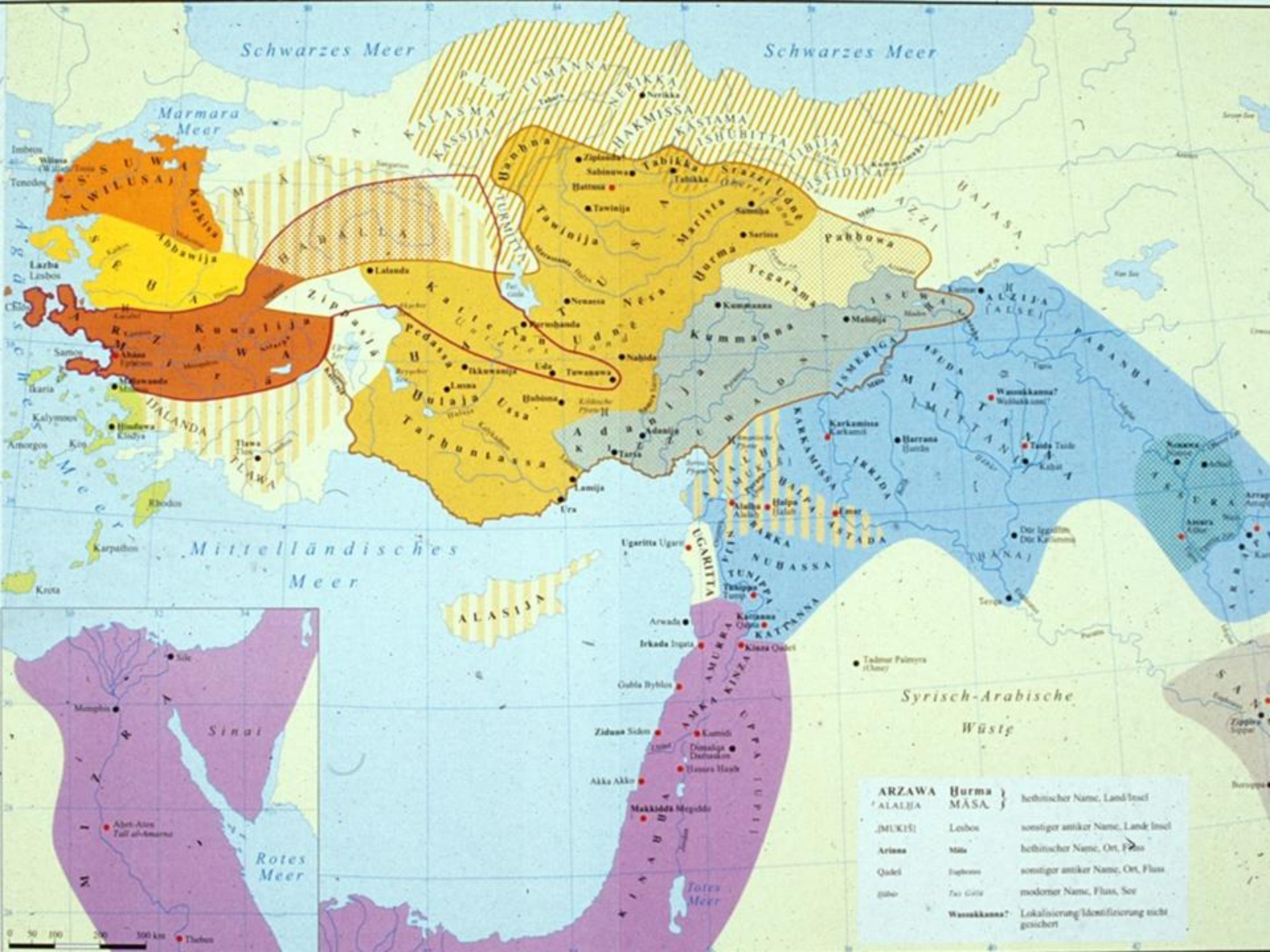
ARZAWA	Urma	} hebräischer Name, Land/Insel
ALALJA	MÄSA	
(MUKIŠ)	Lebon	sonstiger antiker Name, Land/Insel
Arinna	Mina	hebräischer Name, Ort, Fluss
Qaṣṣi	Euphrat	sonstiger antiker Name, Ort, Fluss
gubur	Taurus/Gabur	moderner Name, Fluss, See
Wasukkanna?		Lokalisierung/Identifizierung nicht gesichert

0 50 100 200 300 km

The First Mentioning of “Ahhiy(aw)a” in the Hittite Sources: The Madduwatta Indictment

“Subsequently, Attarsiya, the Man from Ahhiya, came and sought to kill you, Madduwatta. But when the father of My Sun heard this, he dispatched Kisnapili, troops, and chariots to do battle against Attarsiya. And you, Madduwatta, offered no resistance to Attarsiya, and fled before him.”

Letter by the Hittite Great King Arnuwanda I, relating to events shortly before 1400 BC



Schwarzes Meer

Schwarzes Meer

Marmara Meer

Mittelländisches Meer

Sinai

Rotes Meer

Syrisch-Arabische Wüste

ARZAWA	Urma	} hebräischer Name, Land/Insel
ALALJA	MÄSA	
(MUKI)	Lebon	sonstiger antiker Name, Land/Insel
Ariona	Min	hebräischer Name, Ort, Fluss
Qadai	Euphrat	sonstiger antiker Name, Ort, Fluss
gubur	Taurus/Gabur	moderner Name, Fluss, See
Wasakkanna?		Lokalisierung/Identifizierung nicht gesichert

0 50 100 200 300 km

Annals of Muršili

“But when it was spring, because Uhhaziti joined the side of the King of Ahhiyawa, and the Land of Millawanda had gone over to the King of Ahhiyawa ... and I sent forth Gulla and Malaziti and troops and chariots; and they destroyed the Land of Millawanda.”

“Then ... I went across to the Land of Arzawa ... And Uhhaziti offered me no resistance. He fled before me and went across the sea to the islands. And therein he stayed.”



Das Hethitische Großreich und seine Nachbarn im 13. Jh. v. Chr.

- Hethitisches Großreich (Hattusa)
- Hethitisches Einfluss- / Herrschaftsgebiet
- Atrawischer / nordhitischer Staatenverbund im Hethitisches Großreich
- Schwandgerichte Tarhantasa
- Kaukasus-Gebiet
- Gebiet der mykenischen Kultur, Territorium des Landes Abthijasa (einschl. hethitisch Kreta*)
- Ägyptisches Neues Reich (Mara)
- Mittelbabylonisches Kaiserreich (Sardara)
- Mittelassyrisches Reich (Assur) am Anfang des 13. J.
- Mittelassyrisches Reich am Ende der Regierung Assur-nirari I. (1295 - 1284)
- Assyrische Eroberungen unter Salmanassar I. (1247 - 1234) und Tukulti-Ninurta I. (1233 - 1197)

- W a l m a** Inneres Land
 - W I L U S A** Auswärtiges Land (Gladhuat)
 - U J A L P A** Schwandgerichte
 - M i s s u** sonstiges Land
-
- Hauptstadt
 - sonstiger Ort
 - wichtiger hethitischer Kultur
 - mykenischer Palast
 - H Pass
 - ⚓ wichtiger Hafen

WILUSA	Walma	Missa	hethit. Land
[Upi]	Kreta		westl. Land
Kiwa	mita		hethit. Ost.
Qahk	ruprasa		sonstige Ost.
Tichai	Kyberai		große Insel (Lydien) Ost.
Bagardkly	isara	Fu. d. G. G.	westl. Ost.
	Nija?		Lok. Ost.



**Emulation of an Ideology of
Kingship “Hittite Style”**

**The Ruler of Mira
on the Rock Relief from
Karabel**

**With an inscription in
Luwian Hieroglyphs**

Hawkins, J.D. 1998
Tarkasnawa King of Mira:
“Tarkondemos”, Boğazköy sealings and
Karabel, *Anatolian Studies* 48, 1–31.

From the “Madduwatta Indictment”

“Subsequently, Attarsiya, the Man from Ahhiya, came and sought to kill you, Madduwatta. But when the father of My Sun heard this, he dispatched Kisnapili, troops, and chariots to do battle against Attarsiya. And you, Madduwatta, offered no resistance to Attarsiya, and fled before him.”

Letter by the Hittite Great King Arnuwanda I, relating to events shortly before 1400 BC

Madduwatta to the Hittite King on his (Illegal) Conquest of Cyprus

“The Land of Alasiya is a Land of My Sun and brings him tribute. Why have you taken it?’ But Madduwatta spoke thus: ‘The Land of Alašiya was afflicted by Attarsiya and the Man of Piggaya. But the father of My Sun did not subsequently write to me, the father of My Sun never signified to me ‘The Land of Alašiya is mine. Leave it so!’ If now My Sun demands back the prisoners taken from Alašiya, I will give them back to him.”

Sequence of Madduwatta's Misdeeds

1. **Escape from Ahhiyawan Warlord Attarsiya after backfiring of conflict with Arzawa**
2. **Reinstalled by King Tuthaliya**
3. **New Aggression against Arzawa**
4. **Rescued by a Hittite relief force**
5. **Double-crosses the Hittite relief force**
6. **Alliance with Arzawa against Hittites**
7. **Letter to Tuthaliya: double play against Arzawa**
8. **Attacks Hittite allies in Western Anatolia**
9. **Alliance with Attarsiya to attack Cyprus**

Western Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium BC

What are the differences to the surrounding Eastern Mediterranean areas?

Where do they come from?

Missing Features of Statehood in Western Anatolia

Palaces

Temples

Imperial Ideology

Writing/Record Keeping

Rural Infrastructure

Recommended Readings (Crete)

- **Web Page “Prehistoric Archaeology of the Aegean”:**

http://projectsx.dartmouth.edu/classics/history/bronze_age/

- **Cullen, Tracey (ed.) 2001**

Aegean prehistory: a review (Boston) ch. 1-3.

- **Knapp, A. Bernhard 1993**

Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: making and breaking a myth, World Archaeology 24.3, 332–347.

- **Shelmerdine, Cynthia W. (ed.) 2008**

The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age (Cambridge & New York) chapters 5-9.

Recommended Reading (Mainland Greece)

Dickinson, Oliver 1992

The Aegean Bronze Age (Cambridge) esp. ch. 7

Cullen, Tracey (ed.) 2000

Aegean Prehistory: a review (Boston) ch. 6

Shelmerdine, Cynthia W. (ed.) 2008

**The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age
(Cambridge & New York) ch. 10-14.**

General (Western Anatolia)

Bryce, Trevor 1989

Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans – an Anatolian viewpoint, Oxford Journal of Archaeology 8, 297-310.

Bryce, Trevor 1999

The kingdom of the Hittites (Oxford) ch. 6

The Identification of Ahhiyawa and Wilusa: pro and contra

Niemeier, W.-D. 1999

Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor. In: R. Laffineur (ed.), POLEMOS. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'Âge du Bronze. Aegaeum 19 (Liège/Austin) 141–155.

Steiner, Gerd 2007

The Case of Wiluša and Ahhiyawa, Bibliotheca Orientalis 64.5–6, 590–611.

Archaeological aspects of W Anatolia in the 2nd millennium BC

Pavúk, Peter 2005

Aegeans and Anatolians. A Trojan perspective, in: Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco (ed.), EMPORIA. Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference/10e Rencontre égéenne internationale. Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004 (Liège & Austin) 269–277.

Mountjoy, Penelope A. 1998

The East Aegean – West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaeans and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa, Anatolian Studies 48, 33–67.