

THE NEAR WEST: MYCENAEAN GREECE AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF KINGS,
1600-1100

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By

Timothy Jordan Cabe

Director: Dr. Vicki Szabo
Associate Professor of History
History Department

Committee Members: Dr. Alexander Macaulay, History
Dr. Jacob Butera, UNCA, Ancient Mediterranean Studies

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ABSTRACT

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Mycenaean Greece was a powerful Late Bronze Age society in the eastern Mediterranean, as is evidenced by its close dealings with West Asia and its temporary place as one of the great powers. Mycenae was an important trade partner with West Asia and produced luxury textiles, perfumes, and other materials to export, taking over the routes of the Minoans who came before them. In West Asia, empires in Babylon, Egypt, and Mitanni that had already existed as major political powers whose kings viewed themselves as part of a club of great powers, one which did not always include Mycenae. This thesis aims to describe Mycenae in the context of West Asia as a maritime neighbor to the older and more formidable powers in the Brotherhood of Kings. To construct a historical analysis of Mycenaean Greece in relation to West Asia, this thesis analyzes Mycenae through the lens of its being a West Asian kingdom that was influenced by Asiatic concepts of gender and power, before being expelled in the early days of the Bronze Age Collapse.

INTRODUCTION

Now, the King of Assuwa was on good terms with the King of Ahhiyawa so that my great grandfather Kagamuna...and had previously married his daughter. Tudhaliya, your great grandfather, defeated the King of Assuwa and made him a subject. The islands? *previously belonged to the King of Ahhiyawa.*¹

–“From the King of Ahhiyawa to the Hittite King”²

The middle ground is the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages. It is a place where many of the North American subjects and allies of empires lived. It is the area between historical foreground of European invasion and occupation and the background of Indian defeat and retreat.

Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*³

During the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, the first recorded interactions took place between the Great King of Hatti and a mysterious Attarissiya, the “ruler of Ahhiya,” with whom there was a series of conflicts over a fugitive who had fled from Ahhiya into Hatti and the protection of the Hittite King.⁴ This was likely not the first interaction between the Hittites and the Ahhiyawa but it is the earliest recorded interaction between the two. Today the Ahhiyawa are generally accepted to be the Mycenaean Greeks, though the location and scope of Ahhiyawa is as controversial as any other poorly documented group of the Bronze Age.⁵ At the western frontier of the older powers of Hatti, Amurru, and Egypt, the Mycenaean Greeks actively sought to interact with West Asia

¹ Harry A. Hoffner Jr. *Writings from the Ancient World: Letters from the Hittite Kingdom* ed. Gary M. Beckman (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 292.

² Though not labeled as such, this letter is generally accepted as being addressed to Muwattalli II who features prominently in Chapter 3.

³ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxvi

⁴ Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts: Second Edition* (Atlanta, Scholar’s Press, 1999), 154.

⁵ One must address the lingering controversy over whether or not Ahhiyawa and Mycenaean Greece/a Mycenaean kingdom should be conflated. This study believes Ahhiyawa to be equal to Achaea and to Mycenaean Greece or at least a Mycenaean kingdom. Trevor Bryce, as he put it in *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, puts it succinctly: “If the Ahhiyawa-Mycenaean equation is not valid, then we must accept that there are two discrete Late Bronze Age civilizations with remarkably similar names, making their presence felt in the same region, and in the same period. One of them... is attested by documentary evidence, but has left no identifiable trace in the archaeological record; the other, the Mycenaean civilization, has left abundant archaeological evidence but no identifiable trace in the documentary record. It is difficult to write this off as mere coincidence.” (53)

and to become part of the familial alliance traditionally referred to as the Brotherhood of Kings.⁶ This research aims to analyze Mycenaean Greece as oriented towards West Asia and to understand how West Asian connections shaped the Mycenaean identity and its understandings and depictions of power. Partially due to an eternal curiosity in the Trojan War, comparisons between the Hittites and the Mycenaeans on matters of war and trade are far from new and, in recent years, the influence of West Asia on Mycenaean and Minoan cultures has been questioned more thoroughly.⁷ What this research aims to do is firmly orient Mycenaean Greece not as a part of the European Bronze Age but, much as has been done with Minoan Crete, to reorient Mycenaean Greece in the context of the older West Asian powers that heavily influenced Mycenaean Greece's development, particularly those members of the sprawling international alliance of the Brotherhood of Kings.⁸ This study covers roughly five hundred years from 1600-1100 BCE, beginning with the ascendancy of the Mycenaean civilization during Minoan decline and concluding with the Bronze Age collapse in c. 1200-1100 BCE.

When discussing Mycenaean Greece, a consistent controversy is inescapable as it ties into the very label of the civilization as a whole. On one hand, Mycenae is the name of a single citadel in the Peloponnese, and is affixed to one of the largest administrative centers in the Greek Bronze Age. On the other hand, Mycenaean Greece/Mycenaean refers to the whole of Greece in the Late Bronze Age and is often applied to cover the entirety of, at the very least, the Late

⁶ Amanda H. Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11.

⁷ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess*, 193. Ian Rutherford, *Hittite Texts and Greek Religion: Contact, Interaction, and Comparison* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 98. Thomas F. Tartan, *Maritime Networks in the Mycenaean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 201.

⁸ In this context, the terminology "West Asia" rather than the "Near East" has been adopted throughout this thesis as a descriptor of the region between the Indus River and the eastern shores of the Aegean and the Mediterranean Sea. Despite the usage of "Near East" in the majority of secondary sources, it is neither descriptive nor accurate to orient these ancient cultures and regions in geographical relation to the "West." This is especially true considering that the very goal of this thesis, like much contemporary scholarship, is to argue such ideologies and orientations were never so defined and that Mycenaean Greece is more akin to West Asian neighbors than those of contemporary Europe.

Helladic.⁹ This would not be an issue if the exact reach of Mycenae were not a massive debate, with scholars proposing a High King in Mycenae over all of Hellas, if this High King was restricted to the Argolid, or if each of the palatial centers were their own independent political entity, as observed in Classical Greece.¹⁰ As a result, Mycenaean can, in general, be frustratingly problematic as an official term for the civilization as a whole and for a specific citadel of controversial influence. For this paper, utilizing Achaea/Achaean was considered. It aligns with the Hittite Ahiya/Ahhiyawa etymology as well as potential correlaries in Egypt and Ugarit, however, Achaea/Achaean came to be associated not only with Homer but also with the later Achaean League. As a result, Mycenaean is still used, however, “Mycenae” is not used to refer to the civilization as a whole, and “Mycenaean Greeks” and “Mycenaean” as an adjective can be assumed to reflect the civilization rather than the citadel throughout this thesis unless otherwise specified. This usage of Mycenae/Mycenaean is also in line with current terminology when used in the mainland context. When referring to the specific kingdom that is the focus of chapters 2 and 3, this thesis uses the more accurate term of “Ahhiyawa.”

The Mycenaean civilization, in an archaeological sense, refers to the noticeably martial population living in mainland Greece roughly from ca. 1600-1100 BCE with clear artistic and architectural influences from Minoan Crete.¹¹ Mycenaean Greece is archaeologically discernable

⁹ Cynthia W. Shelmerdine, “Background, Sources, and Methods,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5.

¹⁰ Willemijn J. I. Waal, “‘My brother, a Great King, my peer’: Evidence for a Mycenaean Kingdom from Hittite Texts.” In *From ‘Lugal.Gal’ to ‘Wanax’: Kingship and Political Organisation in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. Jorrit Kelder and Willemijn J.I. (Waal. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 9-10.

¹¹ Bryan Feuer, “Being Mycenaean: A View from the Periphery,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 115, no. 4 (2011), 509. When discussing the Bronze Age, describing a people as martial is about as helpful as describing them as “agrarian,” but the amount of nude or semi-nude fighters in their art compared to their contemporaries outside of monuments to great events justifies the label here.

Table 1. Timeline¹²

Chronology	Crete (M)	Greece (H)	Egypt (E)	Hittite (Hi)
3100	Early Minoan I	Early Helladic I	1st-2nd Dynasty (3100-2700)	
3000				
2900				
2800				
2700	Early Minoan IIA	Early Helladic IIA Early helladic II A, etc..	Old Kingdom (2700-2136)	
2600				
2500				
2400	Early Minoan IIB	Early Helladic IIB		
2300				
2200	Early Minoan III	Early Helladic III		
2100				
			1st Intermediary Period (2136-2023)	
2000	Middle Minoan IA	Middle Helladic I	Middle Kingdom (2116-1795)	
1900	Middle Minoan IB	Middle Helladic II		
1800	Middle Minoan II			
1700	Middle Minoan III	Middle Helladic III	2nd Intermediary Period (1795-1540)	
1600	Late Minoan IA	Late Helladic I		
1500	Late Minoan IB	Late Helladic IIA	New Kingdom (1540-1070)	Old Kingdom (1650-1400)
1400	Late Minoan II, Late Minoan IIIA1, Late Minoan IIIA2	Late Helladic IIB, Late Helladic IIIAI, Late Helladic IIIA2		New Kingdom (1400-1207)
1300	Late Minoan IIIB	Late Helladic IIIB		
1200	Late Minoan IIIC	Late Helladic IIIC		
1100				
1050	Subminoan	Submycenaean		

¹² Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, xv. Schelmerdine, “Background, Sources, and Methods” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, 4-5. This timeline conflates the timelines displayed in both sources as neither included chronologies that included by Hittites and Mycenaeans.

in roughly the end of the 17th century BCE, Late Helladic I (LHI). In orienting this study’s understanding of Mycenaean Greece to West Asia and depicting Mycenaean Greece as a West Asian power, one can gain a better understanding of Mycenaean Greece’s relationships and perceptions of itself as part of a wider and much older world oriented around Hatti, Egypt, and Babylonia. While there were peoples and civilizations west of Mycenaean Greece, archaeology clearly indicates a Mycenaean focus on West Asia, Egyptian wares and a clear presence in Anatolia.¹³ Furthermore, seeing as the Mycenaean themselves focused more heavily on holdings in Anatolia and trade relations with West Asian powers, in focusing on Mycenae’s connection to

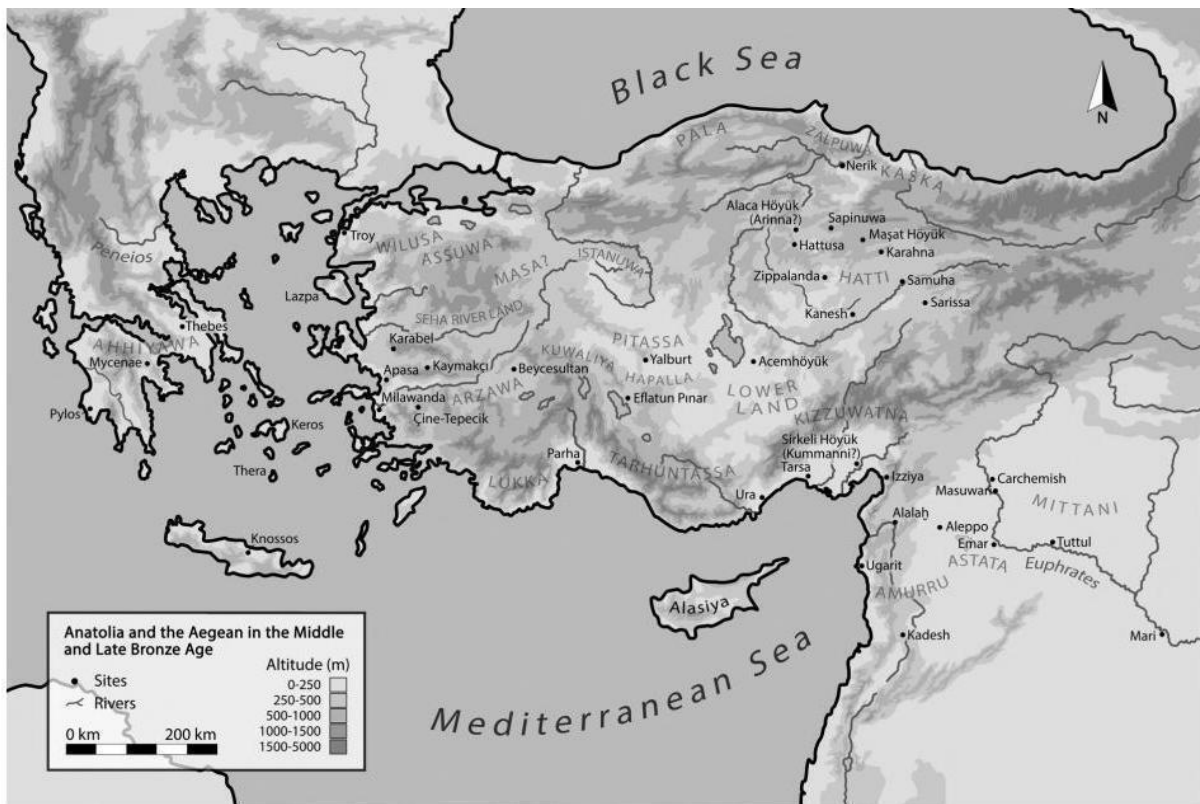


Figure 1. *The Aegean and East Mediterranean Sea, including Greece, Crete, and Anatolia from Ian Rutherford’s Hittite Texts and Greek Religion, page xvi.*

¹³ Sara A. Immerwahr, “Mycenaean Trade and Colonization.” in *Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (1960), 6..

West Asian power systems, this study hopes to depict the Mycenaeans with more agency than is traditionally present in Mycenaean narratives. In fixating on Mycenaean Greeks' West Asian status and utilizing Hittite accounts of Mycenaean involvement, the amount of available sources increases dramatically and gives a better understanding of Mycenaean interactions and intentions with West Asian powers.

West Asia is inescapable as an influence first on the Minoans and then the Mycenaeans, both as a cultural hegemon and a colossal crossroads of different ethnic groups, kingdoms, and trade routes, especially in the Late Bronze Age. By the time Mycenaean Greece began to take on its recognizable forms in the 16th century, West Asia was already ancient. Egypt, though not yet the West Asian power it would become under the Thutmosid dynasty, had its roots in the First Dynasty of 3100 BCE and Babylon appears to have been founded sometime before the reign of Shar Kalli-Shari of Akkad (2217–2193).¹⁴ By the time the citadel of Mycenae arose, New Kingdom Egypt was ascendent, Babylon in a state of slow but steady decline, and Hatti was quickly on its way to becoming foremost of the Great Kings of West Asia. When discussing West Asia, the “Brotherhood of Kings” is a critical concept and is important to understanding West Asia and Mycenae’s ambitions in West Asia.¹⁵ Marc Van de Mieroop refers to this as a “Club of Great Powers,” which he explains as:

A number of large territorial states interacted with one another as equals and rivals. Located between them, specifically in the Syro-Palestinian area, were smaller states that owed allegiance to their more powerful neighbors, and which were often used as proxies in their competition...Over [1500-1200] the major states involved changed in some places, but there was a remarkable consistency in the division of power over the entire area.¹⁶

¹⁴ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *A History of Babylon, 2200 BC - AD 75* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 50; Podany, *Brotherhood*, xx.

¹⁵ Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3,000-323* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 137.

¹⁶ Van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East*, 137.

Though Van de Mieroop sets the “Club” in a course of three hundred years, from roughly 1500-1200 BCE, Amanda Podany’s *Brotherhood of Kings* posits it as having much older roots in the kingdoms of Ebla, Mari, and Akkad in the late third millennium BCE. While the period of peace for which this system was remarkable came much later, it was in a constant state of development

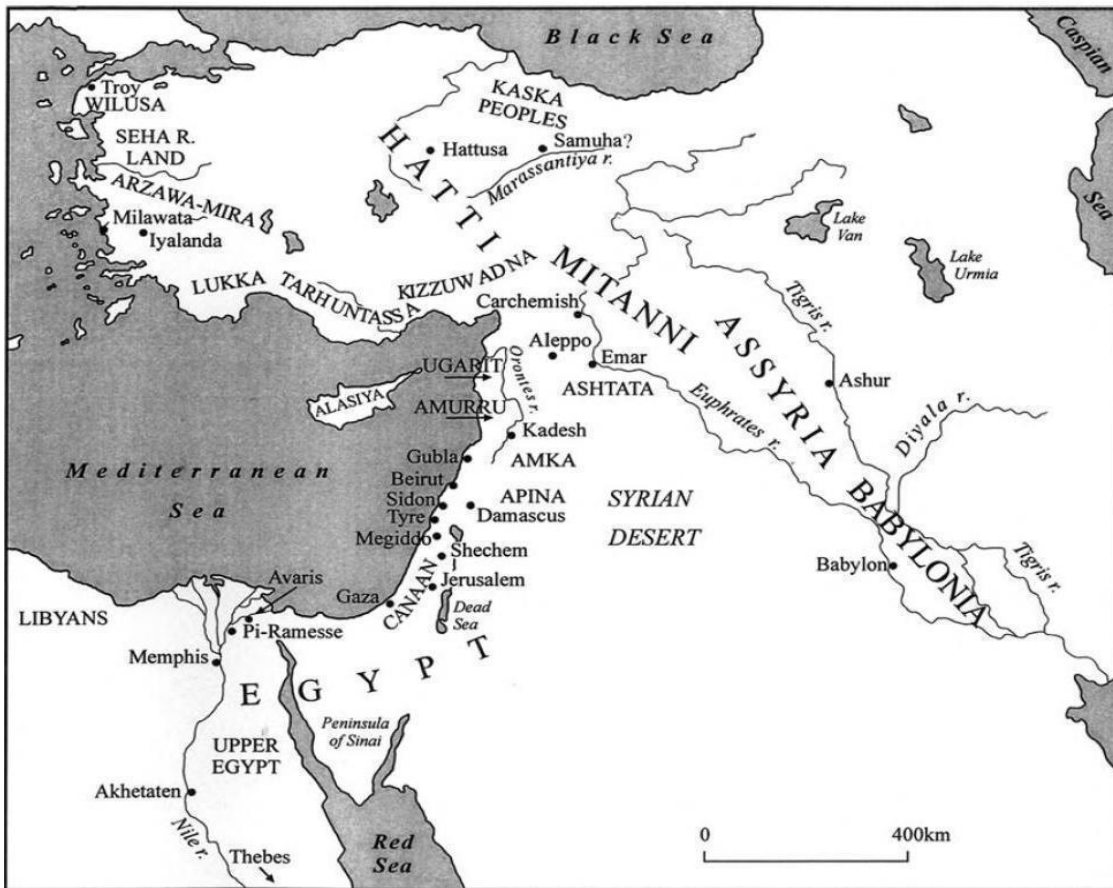


Figure 2. West Asia from the eastern Aegean to the western edge of the Caspian Sea and the Arabian Gulf from Trevor Bryce’s *Kingdom of the Hittites*, pg. 53.

prior to 1500.¹⁷ This analysis uses the terminology the Brotherhood of Kings rather than the Club of Great Powers for its representative nature regarding the familial structures set up among the

¹⁷ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 27, 90, 167.

kings of West Asia. The labels of brotherhood were often not merely used to represent those sharing strata of power but also represented blood-based family structures as a result of routine intermarriage.¹⁸ These alliances were not just military alliances, though such military arrangements were made in the Late Bronze Age due to Assyria's aggressive expansionism. They were also broad-scale trade agreements that protected merchants and allowed for a sprawling, international gift economy centered on luxury goods.¹⁹

Most of this thesis revolves around the western edge of Anatolia, where Mycenaean Ahhiyawa and the Hittites vied for influence and power in a sprawling conglomeration of peoples that ran from Wilusa down to Milawanda. Because primary sources from the Mycenaeans are limited to a small number of palaces, periods, and topics, this study experiments on a limited scale with comparisons to modern borderland histories, drawing upon *Comanche Empire* and other borderlands studies to help refine ideas about the circumstances and motivations of the Mycenaean Greeks as an ambitious power at the edge of West Asia. In doing so, this thesis attempts to tell the story of the rise and fall of Mycenaean Greece's standing in relation to the international, political, and familial alliances that made up the Brotherhood of Kings in the Late Bronze Age. Borderlands history is, at its core, best defined by Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett against imperial frontier narratives:

They are ambiguous and often-unstable realms where boundaries are also crossroads, peripheries are also central places, homelands are also passing through places, and the end points of empire are also forks in the road. If frontiers are spaces of narrative closure, then borderlands are places where stories take unpredictable turns and rarely end as expected²⁰

¹⁸ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 217.

¹⁹ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 15.

²⁰ Pekka Hämäläinen and Samuel Truett, "On Borderlands." *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (2011), 388.

Borderlands history, in particular, is ideally suited to provide comparative supplements to a history of Bronze Age Greece however, as mentioned above, the lack of sources makes it impossible to apply to Mycenaean Greece fully. While the Mycenaeans did employ their writing system, Linear B, extensively, these records likely only pertain to the final years of the Bronze Age and are almost entirely tax records.²¹ As a result, most studies on Mycenaean Greece utilize archaeology, focus exclusively on the tablets, or link the Hittites and the Ahhiyawa. This research utilizes a transdisciplinary methodology and examines Mycenae in the context of a broader Bronze Age world in an attempt to shed light on a culture that lay on the border of both West Asia and of history.

In this context, this study focuses on power, languages of power manifesting in art and interpersonal communications, and how that language developed over time due to a continuous trans-Aegean dialogue between the powers of West Asia and Mycenaean Greece. Gender serves as a prominent language of power and, as a result of its presence in art and language, a gendered analysis of West Asian, particularly Hittite and Egyptian, symbols of power are echoed in Mycenaean Greece. This draws, in part, on Nanno Marinatos' *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess: A Near Eastern Koine* in which Marinatos argues for the existence of a *koine*, or common language of power endemic to the Kings of the Late Bronze age: "Applying a Near Eastern lens to Minoan iconography has enabled a new reading of the Minoan syntax as regards the double ax and the symbols related to it...they represent a cosmological system closely linked to the institution of kingship, which traditionally has an investment in world dominion."²² While Marinatos' research revolves primarily around consistent symbolism between West Asia and

²¹ Cynthia W. Shelmerdine and John Bennet, "Mycenaean States," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 289.

²² Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess: A Near Eastern Koine* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 10.

Minoan Crete, she does make arguments that Mycenaean culture had been transplanted directly from Minoan Crete. While this study does not agree with this conclusion on Mycenae, it does find the structures she develops for comparison and the core components she describes of the *koine* to be applicable. In doing so, consistent themes of an idealized, hyper-masculine Great King emerge between the two. These kings, this thesis argues, were defined by their embodiment and excellent performance of ideals of piety, magnanimity, and martial prowess. While the Mycenaean kings or *wanaktes* do not appear in Mycenaean art, there are consistent images of divine masculine power between West Asia and Mycenaean Greece that a gendered analysis of Mycenaean art in relation to West Asian iconography makes clear.

This research draws primarily on three core sources to construct an image of Mycenaean Greece in relation to West Asia during the Late Bronze Age, the first of which is Linear B, the written administrative language of the Mycenaeans. Olsen highlights the limited nature of the tablets and categorizes these into three categories: “inventories of goods and property holdings; production goals and records; and records of outflow, such as rations and offerings. As such the Linear B tablets act....as mediated texts.”²³ Despite being mediated texts, i.e. heavily filtered through a palatial lens, the Linear B tablets depict the resources entering and leaving the palace in, approximately, a single given year from the Bronze Age Collapse with several thousand coming from Pylos and Knossos, and far fewer coming from Mycenae and Thebes. While this does create a skewed perspective, the tablets are recorded in the same style and reflect subtle differences in culture and society between mainland Mycenaean Greece and Mycenaean Crete.²⁴

²³ Barbara Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece: Women in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*, (Routledge: Routledge University Press, 2015), 7.

²⁴ Olsen, *Women*, 252-3.

While limited in number, when used in conjunction with the other two sets of sources, the tablets are illuminating.

The second source of data are the Hittite and Egyptian records recovered from libraries such as those at Hattusa, Amarna, and Egyptian Thebes. While the Mycenaeans or “Ahhiyawa” show up a great deal, no records have been found in which they recorded their own history. As a result, the Hittite and Egyptian records serve as guides on the political and gendered norms of power in the Late Bronze Age. The kings wrote to each other extensively, chastising, praising, aiding, and, in many cases, simply communicating and sending gifts, few of which survive into the archaeological record.²⁵ With the exception of perhaps two kings, no Ahhiyawan kings are named in these sources as the tops of the letters where they would have been mentioned as the intended recipients are damaged. Which kings these sources are attributed to, as a result, relies on the most up to date consensus by Hittitologists. In this context, Hatti is often used for the Kingdom of the Hittites and Hittite as the adjective or name of its people.

The final critical source of data is archaeology. The grave circles at Mycenae and the more recently discovered tomb of the Griffin Warrior both help to represent a Mycenaean elite defined and further stratified by the possession of and accessibility to foreign objects, particularly those from Egypt or even as far as the Indus River Valley.²⁶ Archaeology also provides the boundaries for the different periods in the Late Bronze Age, allowing for a better understanding of shifts in trans-Aegean styles of material culture as evidence of trade connections than the historical record allows. Finally, archaeology supplements the written texts with the symbolism necessary to demonstrate the Late Bronze Age languages of power and, most

²⁵ *The Amarna Letters*, trans. William L. Moran, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), xxxiii.

²⁶ Jack L. Davis and Sharon R. Stocker, “The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos,” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 85, no. 4 (2016), 637.

importantly, these images drive home the intrinsic connection that the kings of the Bronze Age had as intermediaries directly born of and related to their gods as divine kings with described priestly roles. Material culture is as integral to this research's gender analysis than the Hittite literature as Mycenaean art is more expressive of Mycenaean culture than Linear B.

Mycenae's connection to the broader world or how its identity and social strata were affected by access and exposure to West Asian powers is a thriving field of study. Bryan E. Burns' *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* (2010) does so via an economic lens which, in a period before coinage, means a fixation on trade, gift economy, and the status of foreign items: "In short, it is through acts of consumption that these artifacts are adapted or venerated, integrated into a new system, but sometimes remain strange things in a strange land."²⁷ Burns focuses heavily on foreign wares and materials such as carnelian, ivory, and lapis lazuli as found in the tombs of Mycenaean aristocrats such as those at the Mycenaean grave circles. In a similar vein, Nanno Marinatos' *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess* (2010) was no less integral to the framing of this thesis as she does something similar with the Minoans and West Asia, but via analysis of shared symbols in artifacts, reliefs, and frescoes.²⁸ While Marinatos focuses on the Middle to Late Bronze Age Minoans, she seeks to utilize West Asian sources to construct an understanding not only of the Minoans but of how they fit into the broader constructs of power in West Asia.²⁹ However, her framework Minoan-Mycenaean, defended as representative of "the ideological unity of Minoan and Mycenaean iconography on the level of royal ideology," has been contested by other scholars and does not

²⁷ Bryan E. Burns, *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 3.

²⁸ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 7.

²⁹ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 10.

fit with this study's understanding of Minoan or Mycenaean symbolism.³⁰ While Minoans and Mycenaeans shared nearly identical artistic and architectural styles, this does not mean the Minoans and Mycenaeans had become identical, as the foci of these depictions were drastically different and similarities could instead be attributed to shared influences from West Asia and Minoan Crete's massive cultural hegemony over the Aegean in the early Late Minoan period.³¹ Jack L. Davis' *A Greek State in Formation, the Origins of Civilization in Mycenaean Pylos*, counters that while Minoan and Mycenaean material culture was similar, the presence of shared symbols in the tomb of the Griffin Warrior suggests "concepts originating in Crete had been transplanted to Pylos already in the Early Mycenaean period, if not by Minoan missionaries, then by "converted" mainlanders."³² *A Greek State in Formation* (2022) focuses on the "formative stages" of 1600-1400 BCE, as observed in "sustained archaeological research over the past thirty years at the Palace of Nestor in the southwestern Peloponnese of Greece."³³ As a result, Davis includes the essential find of the Griffin Warrior, a Pylian elite from this earlier period, who, in turn, provides an integral stepping stone in developing Mycenaean identity. In many ways, Davis' research is evocative of contemporary borderlands methodology, in which the middle-ground of borderlands see ideas transplanted as part of constant systems of acceptance and rejection. Though this is not a borderlands history, these ideas, in turn, inform this analysis' conclusions.

Much of borderlands research has been conducted on indigenous populations in the Americas and their experiences and influences on the borders of expansionist Euro-American

³⁰ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 9.

³¹ Jack L. Davis, *A Greek State in Formation: The Origins of Civilization in Mycenaean Pylos*, (Oakland: University of California Press), 84.

³² Davis, *A Greek State*, 84.

³³ Davis, *A Greek State*, xiii.

empires. However, an increasing amount of borderlands research has been done on Europe and some has even been applied to the medieval period and Late Antiquity.³⁴ One of the preeminent works of borderlands history of the last twenty years is *The Comanche Empire* (2008) by Pekka Hämäläinen, in which he examines “the Comanche power complex as part of an emerging transatlantic web that had not yet consolidated into an encompassing world economy.”³⁵ Hämäläinen argues that the current definitions of empire should be altered and expanded, focusing, in particular, on the cultural hegemony of the Comanche and their rapid ability for cultural expansion and usurpation.³⁶ In this same way, and perhaps similar to Ahhiyawa on the borders of Hatti, “[the Comanche] forced the colonists to adjust to a world that was foreign, uncontrollable, and, increasingly, unlivable.”³⁷ This in many ways echoes the “Tawagalawa Letter” and the “Indictment of Madduwatta,” Hittite tablets in which it is clear the Great King of Hatti must accept the pressures applied onto him by the King of Ahhiyawa.³⁸ However, Hämäläinen also acknowledges that there was a prosperous middle ground despite a Comanche economy that revolved around raid-and-trade economics. This is applicable to the fluid regions around Milawanda, Classical Miletus, in Anatolia, which functioned as a major crossroad between Mycenaean and Anatolian powers in the Late Bronze Age.

The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815 analyzes the development of middle grounds for the facilitation of trade and regional

³⁴ Greg Fisher and Alexander Drost, “Structures of Power in Late Antique Borderlands” in *Globalizing Borderlands Studies in Europe and North America*, Edited by John W. I. Lee and Michael North (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 34.

³⁵ Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 5.

³⁶ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 16.

³⁷ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 16.

³⁸ Gary M. Beckman, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline, *Writings from the Ancient World: The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta: The Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 105, 115.

necessities.³⁹ White describes the middle ground, an intermediary space between border populations, as “the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages,” which is positioned “between historical foreground of European invasion and occupation and the background of Indian defeat and retreat.”⁴⁰ These middle grounds function as an integral component of the borderland as powerful political entities influence and are influenced by populations at the peripheries of their consciousness. White establishes the middle ground to construct a history for individuals standing at the periphery of empire. What makes White so useful to Bronze Age analysis is that, by his own definition, the middle ground revolves around personal, local levels of connection around singular cities or settlements.⁴¹ The Bronze Age is the epoch of the city-state and, as a result, White’s concept of the middle ground is more than viable in a Bronze Age analysis. The permeability of borderlands and the transient spaces that are their defining boundaries have been incredibly useful in Late Antiquity with the Roman Empire and other periods in European history, as demonstrated throughout the collected works that make up the compendium of *Globalizing Borderlands* (2016). Most relevant to this analysis are the “circles” of identity proposed by Fisher and Drost in their essay “Structures of Power in Late Antique Borderlands.” These “circles” of identity described therein serve to demonstrate the fluidity of identity and how that manifests in restrictions or integrations of systems of power.⁴² In particular, this concept of power and identic “circles” can be applied to constructs regarding Mycenaean Greeks and the proposed areas through which they communicated with West Asian powers, both through the Aegean islands

³⁹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 128, 413.

⁴⁰ White, *Middle Ground*, xxvi

⁴¹ White, *The Middle Ground*, 128, 413.

⁴² Fisher and Drost, “Structures of Power,” 68.

and through the Mycenaean settlement of Milawanda. This is especially important when considering the shared and different manifestations of masculine power represented in Bronze Age iconography as a means of comparison and a developed understanding of a shared language of power that appeared in Mycenaean Greece.

Gender as a language of power transcended geopolitical divides in the Late Bronze Age, crossing over middle grounds as a common tongue in West Asia and Mycenaean Greece. In 1986, Joan Scott presented “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” which first promoted utilizing gender as an alternative means of understanding and analyzing history. For Scott, gender revolves around power: “The core of the definition rests on an integral connection between two propositions: gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”⁴³ In this case, understanding how the Great Kings of West Asia embodied gender and gender ideals reinforces the close connections Scott and others have drawn between the languages of gender and power. Two books were integral comparative texts to the development of this study’s applications of gender: *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (1998) by Kristin L. Hoganson and Lynn Hunt’s *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (1992). Hoganson’s *Fighting for American Manhood* explores how anxieties about gender roles, their associated power structures, and gender as a coercive force served as generative forces of expansionist urges in the late 19th century United States before ultimately collapsing in on itself.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Hunt applies broader, gendered concepts revolving around concepts of a national and international

⁴³ Joan W. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.” *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1067, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376>.

⁴⁴ Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 156, 180, 200.

family with the king/father at the apex.⁴⁵ These two together demonstrate the complex gendered-familial relationship of kingdom and king and of an international family, both of which are easily applied to Bronze Age kings who, as this study will show, actively strode to depict themselves not only as a masculine ideal but also a familial and religious one as well. Hunt's *Family Romance* highlights the utilization of symbols and language to validate royal-masculine power, making connections between the concepts of the king as father and the king as father of the fatherland that did not survive the Enlightenment or the loss of his divine status.⁴⁶ This aligns with Hoganson in turn as, while centered on a more modern topic, and she in turn demonstrates applications of understanding gendered languages of power connecting to masculinity, expansion, self, and otherness which are no less present in the Late Bronze Age than today. For sources, this thesis follows Pollock's suit in "Women in a Men's World: Images of Sumerian Women" with "three forms of representations: written texts, burials, and the iconography of cylinder seals" or, in the case of this thesis, art in the form of frescoes, statues, and reliefs, from Mycenaean Greece and West Asia.⁴⁷ Though the gender analysis in Chapter 2 is primarily framed around masculinity, masculinity, and femininity in the royal language of power are inseparable from divinity and this leads to relationships of gender and royal power that are anything but clear-cut and binary, much like Mycenaean Greece's status in relation to West Asia.

'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organization in the Late Bronze Age Aegean (2019) is a compilation of essays edited by Willemijn Waal and Jorrit Kelder which argue about the state of Mycenaean Kingship, particularly in relation to West Asia, i.e. the

⁴⁵ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1992), xiii.

⁴⁶ Hunt, *The Family Romance*, xiii.

⁴⁷ Susan Pollock, "Women in a Men's World: Images of Sumerian Women," in *Engendering Archaeology: Women in Prehistory*, ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1991), 366.

wanax to the Hittite *lugal.gal*. These essays focus primarily on the state of the *wanax*, West Asian testaments to the “King of Ahhiyawa,” and what this indicates for Mycenaean influence across the Aegean.⁴⁸ The editors aimed to dispel the “iron curtain” between Mycenae and powers in West Asia as part of a “growing awareness that the Aegean was part of the same cultural continuum as the Near East.”⁴⁹ However, this mounting awareness can be found as early as Bryce’s *Kingdom of the Hittites* (2005) in which esteemed Hittitologist Trevor Bryce describes the history of Hatti and, as noted above, establishes Ahhiyawa as likely being west of Hatti.⁵⁰ For Bryce, Ahhiya is anything from a colony focused in Millawanda or even an independent Mycenaean holding, and, while Ahhiya is not the core focus of *Kingdom of the Hittites*, Bryce does demonstrate a trend that not only recognizes Ahhiya as Mycenaean but also as a kingdom relevant to West Asia. This trend is no less evident Mary R. Bacharova’s *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (2016), as it marks an understanding of cultural communion between Hatti and Mycenaean Greeks with Bacharova depicting Hatti as the vessel by which older Babylonian epics came to Greece and were the foundations of the Iliad.⁵¹ As a result, ‘*Lugal.Gal.*’ to ‘*Wanax*’ was very much a milestone in the development of academic understanding of Mycenae’s position in relation to West Asia, and several of its authors argue that at one point there was a High King in Mycenae hence validating the Hittite label of *lugal.gal*.⁵² In many ways it highlights the deeply problematic and controversial nature of

⁴⁸ *Wanax* (wa-na-ke) correlates to the later Greek *anax*, while it means “king” and is generally accepted as such, the exact state or roles of the Mycenaean *wanax* compared to other monarchs is unclear but will be discussed at the end of Chapter 2.

⁴⁹ Kelder and Waal, “Foreward,” 26-7.

⁵⁰ Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, 53.

⁵¹ Mary R. Bacharova, *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 325-6.

⁵² Willemijn Waal, “My Brother, A Great King, My Peer: Evidence for a Mycenaean Kingdom from Hittite Texts,” in *From ‘Lugal.Gal.’ to ‘Wanax’: Kingship and Political Organization in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. Jorrit M. Kelder and Willemijn J. I. Waal (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 25.

Mycenaean kingship especially considering the fact that the King of Ahhiyawa is often addressed as a Great King and is described as having been a “Brother” to the Kings of Hatti, Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia.⁵³

The previous historiography leaves room for an analysis of Mycenaean Greece and its relationship to West Asia and the sprawling international alliance that was the Brotherhood of Kings. On account of the broad and in-depth historiography that this research draws on, this thesis is structured around Mycenae’s expansion and steady decline over the course of the Late Helladic. This allows for a greater understanding of Mycenaean Greece’s ambitions in the Late Bronze Age as well as following up on a goal to not only recognize Mycenaean agency and put it at the forefront but also to flesh out the Mycenaean chronology. As a result, the three core chapters of this thesis are simultaneously structured around time periods in Mycenaean Greece that define its connections to West Asia and blended modes of historical analysis.

Chapter 1: The Far West covers the early Late Helladic from roughly 1645 BCE and the eruption of Thera to 1450 BCE. The Griffin Warrior is dated squarely in between the Mycenaean conquests of Crete but firmly in the middle of their expansion over the Aegean. This chapter focuses primarily on Mycenae and its relationship with Minoan Crete as an intermediary and vessel for West Asian goods and materials. Thus from 1645-1450 BCE, Mycenae functioned more as a “Far West,” still capable of supplying the luxury goods that were so valued by the West Asian kings but too far to be a member or referenced in literature or even myth. This chapter draws heavily on archaeology to represent Mycenaean Greece’s deep reliance on foreign wares not only as aspects of trade but as signifiers of status. The social implications of these items served not only to encourage Mycenaean trade through Minoan Crete but also pressured

⁵³ Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts: Second Edition* (Atlanta, Scholar’s Press, 1999), 106.

the Mycenaean *wanakes* to ultimately cross the Aegean occupy traditionally Minoan trade routes.

From there, Chapter 2: The Brotherhood of Kings describes Mycenaean Greece's interactions with the Brotherhood of Kings and how Mycenaean and Hittite literature and art reflect a constant form of cultural exchange between the two from the late 15th to early 13th century BCE. To understand these processes and how these influences manifest in Mycenaean Greece, a great deal of the chapter fixates on the gendered ideals and the representations of power present in West Asia as they were dictated and socially enforced by the Brotherhood of Kings. The chapter centers on an analysis of West Asian norms as represented in Mycenaean art, literature, and in the Hittite accounts of the Ahhiyawa. Chapter 2 concludes acknowledging that, in at least a majority of ways, the Ahhiyawa were able to solidify themselves as a kingdom presided over by a Great King whose position was cemented by his kingly masculinity and the core components of divinity, martial prowess, and access to valuable luxury items as a king in or at least approximate to West Asia.

Finally, Chapter 3: Ousted from the Brotherhood relates the end of Mycenaean power and attempts to explain why Mycenaean Greece or, more specifically "Ahhiyawa" was booted from the peer list of the Brotherhood of Kings during the final full century of the Late Bronze Age, 1300-1200. Here, this thesis analyzes how Mycenaean Greece navigated its relationship with the other Great Powers of West Asia and how this contributed to Mycenaean Greek decline. Ahhiyawa is arguably the first of the Great Kings to fall as part of the Bronze Age Collapse and, as a result, this chapter looks at a combination of Hittite and Mycenaean sources to determine the role of Mycenaean Greece in that transition. This chapter's primary focus is on Mycenaean

Greece's role in the West Asian family of kingship and how the increasing imbalance of power within the Brotherhood contributed to Ahhiyawa's removal from the king list.

Over the course of these three chapters, this thesis will analyze Mycenaean Greece as defined by West Asian power during a period in which far older and more powerful kingdoms had constructed a sprawling international alliance older than Mycenae itself. Additionally, it seeks to understand why and how their exposure affected Mycenaean languages of power, and, ultimately, how Mycenaean Greece became estranged once again from the Great Kings of West Asia. In understanding Mycenaean Greece as a part of West Asia one is better able to understand a world that revolved heavily around that region and the Mycenaeans as a people were governed by an aristocracy that crossed the Aegean to improve their economic and societal standing not only in their homeland but on an international scale.

CHAPTER 1: MAKING OF THE NEAR WEST 1600-1450 BCE

“Shapsh,...carry my voice to Kothar-and-Hasis in Crete.”⁵⁴
–An Ugaritic prayer to Shapsh, the ferryman of the Sun

“Men of Hellas, I have brought you here because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes who, with such provisions for life as you see, came here to take away from us our possessions which are so pitiful.”⁵⁵

–Pausanias of Sparta, Herodotus *Histories* Book 9 Chapter 82

In 2015, Jack L. Davis and Sharon Stocker helmed a series of excavations that saw the discovery of one of the wealthiest and most intact Mycenaean tombs. Inside were the bones of a man in his 30s, powerfully built and buried with numerous items, many of which were of foreign make or material, including carnelian beads, Minoan-style signet rings, and numerous ritual and martial items.⁵⁶ This warrior, christened as the “Griffin Warrior” for the griffin signet rings in his tomb, was dated to somewhere between 1500 and 1450 BCE, to what archaeologists traditionally refer to as the middle of the Late Helladic or Late Helladic IIA (LHIIA).⁵⁷ While the Griffin Warrior is distinctive for the sheer wealth in his tomb, especially in the more remote area of Messenia, Greek archaeology is no stranger to wealthy burials. In the ruins of Mycenae, Grave Circles A and B contained small family units interred with richly engraved and inlaid swords with Egyptian designs, jewelry, ostrich egg rhyta, and with death masks of gold.⁵⁸ The Grave Circles were in use consistently throughout Late Helladic I, 1600-c. 1500 BCE. One should understand that Mycenae was not an isolated collective of palaces but a politically divided region connected via trade routes to the older powers of West Asia. When considered with the later Griffin

⁵⁴ Nick Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2002), 383.

⁵⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*, trans. A.D. Godley, accessed via Perseus (Cambridge; Oxford University Press, 1920), <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0016.tlg001.perseus-eng1:9.82.3>

⁵⁶ Jack L. Davis and Sharon R. Stocker, “The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos,” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 85, no. 4 (2016), 637-40.

⁵⁷ Davis and Stocker, “The Lord of the Gold Rings,” 615.

⁵⁸ Janice L. Crowley, “Mycenaean Art and Architecture” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 259

Warrior, one notes that the Mycenaean grave circle families' wealth marked a still-growing trade network that would only continue to grow into the 15th century BCE.

Table 2. Table of Unreconciled High and low Aegean chronologies, MB III–LBIIIA2, by Dan Davis, taken from the Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age⁵⁹

High Dating BCE	Crete	Greece	Low Dating BCE	Egypt
1750	MM III	MMHIII	1700	Hatshepsut/ Thutmoses III (1479-1425)
1700	LM IA	LHI	1600	
1600	LMIB	LHIIA	1500	
1490	LMII	LHIIB	1430	

The Mycenaeans of this period left no writing except for Linear B labels on broken pottery though this, in turn, says volumes about the origins of LHIII’s mass-produced wares. As a result, Chapter 1 relies most heavily on archaeology to understand Mycenaean Greece's development and as a society rising at the periphery of not only geographic but ideological borders of West Asia. This chapter will analyze the Aegean as it was in the 16th-15th centuries BCE. Thirdly, it will examine Mycenae as a burgeoning trade power in the west, and, finally, this will analyze how Mycenae, actively conceiving itself in relation to West Asia, seized the Minoan means of Asiatic access. In doing so, this chapter seeks to understand how Mycenae

⁵⁹ Cynthia W. Shelmerdine, “Background, Sources, and Methods,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5. This thesis uses the Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age made by Dan Davis that highlights many of the temporal inconsistencies and controversies of archaeology in the Late Bronze Age. This thesis uses the “High Dating” as it aligns better with Hittite chronology. Very few authors clarify which they are using and so it is important to keep in mind that, as with most things in the Late Bronze Age, “years” are a general term and, especially in the prehistory of the early Late Helladic (LH I and II and their subsets) it is probably most accurate to refer to the early, middle, and late centuries as that is at least (largely) agreed upon.

viewed itself in relation to West Asia, its means of doing so, and how its earlier connections with the Minoans paved the way for its interactions with the Great Kings of West Asia.

Borderlands frameworks and tools appear at different points throughout this thesis, relying upon comparative scholarly studies that supplement this research. As defined by Michael North and John W. I. Lee in *Globalizing Borderlands*, borderlands function “as spaces of interaction both physical and conceptual,” and borderlands are, functionally, the ideal means for processes of exchange “ranging from military conflict at the peripheries of states or empires to hierarchical dependency patterns to zones of overlapping religious belief or cultural practice to economic activity across modern nation-state political boundaries.”⁶⁰ Effectively, borderlands methodology is the analysis of life at the border of ethnic, national, and regional populations, often via the lens of their neighbors as a direct result of the limited amount of available sources and, in the case of ancient history, surviving documentation. This chapter, in particular, utilizes many of the tools and methods from Lee and North’s compilation *Globalizing Borderlands Studies in Europe and North America* and Pekka Hämäläinen’s *Comanche Empire*. *Globalizing Borderlands* provides a framework with some of the first premodern analyses of borderland populations in Medieval Europe and Late Antiquity.⁶¹ *Comanche Empire* provides an excellent framework as it is constructed primarily based on archaeology and Euro-American accounts to construct a viable history of Comancheria, as it is referred to by Hämäläinen, and thus both utilize tools of a similarly restricted nature to those available on Mycenaean Greece in the Late Bronze Age. These comparisons help develop the ideas presented here of Ahhiyawa as a

⁶⁰ John W. I. Lee and Michael North, “Introduction” in *Globalizing Borderlands Studies in Europe and North America*, Edited by John W. I. Lee and Michael North (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 2

⁶¹ Greg Fisher and Alexander Drost, “Structures of Power in Late Antique Borderlands” in *Globalizing Borderlands Studies in Europe and North America*, Edited by John W. I. Lee and Michael North (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 34.

complex neighbor of more powerful and well-documented neighbors with whom it engaged in raid-and-trade economics over a prolonged period of time.

Mycenae, especially during the early Late Helladic, is a label for the classification of artifacts traditionally associated with Mycenaean Greece, supplemented by the vague descriptions given by the Hittites and the Egyptians.⁶² Furthermore, most of the Mycenaean archaeological record heavily favors a top-down perspective as ethnicity was defined by the material goods made for “the ruling class of the early state that...evolved a set of beliefs, values, institutions, and material culture that functioned as ethnic markers establishing an ethnic boundary, which distinguished them from other contemporary peoples and societies.”⁶³ In turn, the Mycenaean Greeks defined this elite via the possession of foreign wares and, without a recorded emic, or self described, perspective, likely defined themselves linguistically against Minoans and those whom they counted as barbarians, recorded as *pa-pa-ro* in Linear B.⁶⁴ Based on archaeology, the Mycenaeans had an idea and an idealized form of themselves with a masculine warrior class going back to and before the 16th century BCE. They developed ideas of themselves that were heavily influenced by Minoan Crete and exposure to West Asia. This system of ethnocultural exposure and exchange falls in line with Barth’s descriptions of ethnic development and identity at the borders of different cultural groups::

In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact, and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained *despite* changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories.⁶⁵

⁶² Feuer, “Being Mycenaean,” 509.

⁶³ Feuer, “Being Mycenaean,” 529.

⁶⁴ Feuer, “Being Mycenaean,” 529.; Erik Jensen, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World*, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2018), 3.

⁶⁵ Frederick Barth, “Introduction” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social organization of Culture Difference* ed. Frederick Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 9-10.

Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete were both maritime powers. Minoan Crete controlled the transportation of West Asian ideas and materials to Mycenaean Greece; Ugarit, the only other West Asian maritime power, was the gateway. Minoan and Ugaritic influences manifest in Mycenaean Greece during this period in deeper and longer-lasting ways than individual trade goods from far off Egypt or India. While the arrival of these goods promoted status, the Mycenaean processes of exclusion and incorporation saw a distinctive warrior culture develop on the Western side of the Aegean as early as the 17th century but one which would not begin to threaten Minoan maritime hegemony until the late 16th century.

The influence of Minoan Crete on Mycenaean Greece during the latter's formative years cannot be understated before the tumultuous year of 1625 BCE,⁶⁶ Minoan Crete flourished at the West Asian world's western edge and was understood by the Ugaritic peoples as a near-mythic space where the Sun was said to rest.⁶⁷ Minoan Crete was already an established and prosperous trade hub when the Late Helladic began. Though it had endured a series of calamities, likely from earthquakes, in the 18th century, it remained relatively stable. During this period, Minoan Crete bolstered contact with Egypt, where it appears in their records as *Keftiu*, the Island at the Heart of the Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean).⁶⁸ Minoan Crete is generally accepted as having longstanding trade with Egypt, Ugarit, and others along the coast of Canaan, with obsidian, murex dyes, pottery, and olive oil having been extensive exports.⁶⁹ Massive, unfortified

⁶⁶ Scholars continue to debate the eruption date of Thera, dendrochronological evidence indicates the 1540s but the radiocarbon dating indicates 1625. This is the date used by this thesis, but the author acknowledges that these dates are controversial and there are alternative radiocarbon dates from throughout the 17th century.

⁶⁷ Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 383.

⁶⁸ Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess: A Near Eastern Koine* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 2.

⁶⁹ Brendan Burke, *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010) 34; Peter G. Van Alfen, "The Linear B Inscribed Vases" in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World: Volume 1*, ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (Dudley: Peeters Louvaine La Neuve, 2008) 235.

palatial centers on Crete itself functioned as redistribution centers and trade hubs while subsidiary Minoan settlements on the Cyclades, such as at Melos, Thera, and the massive trade settlement at Ayia Photia likely served as extractionary colonies or as waypoints for Minoan ships.⁷⁰ These colonies bridged the physical gap between Crete and West Asia but also connected West Asia, indirectly, to the mainland of Mycenaean Greece. Even in the late 17th century, Mycenaean traders, though far fewer than their Minoan counterparts, appear to have been utilizing the same trade routes.

Minoan Crete's exact relationship with early Mycenaean Greece during the late Middle Helladic is unclear. Trade served to connect them, but anything more profound is unknown. More apparent is that they knew of each other in the 17th century based on the frescoes from Akrotiri. Columns of spear and shield-bearing warriors bearing boar-tusk helmets contrast with the more conventional Minoan depictions of naked, youthful fishermen.⁷¹ Boar tusks are exclusively associated with Mycenaean Greece and none have been found in pre Mycenaean-Cretan archaeological sites, nor are any depicted on Minoans in the Minoan frescoes. However, the boar-tusk helmet is a popular foreign signifier of the Mycenaean. Several have been found in Greece, including the possible remains of one in the tomb of the Griffin warrior.⁷² Thus, before 1625 BCE, Mycenaeans were already conceived as a separate ethnic and cultural group despite similar artistic and archaeological styles by the Minoans even before the development of the grave circles at Mycenae.

⁷⁰ Philip P. Betancourt, "Minoan Trade" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 210.

⁷¹ Jack L. Davis, *Minoan Crete and the Aegean Islands*, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 192.

⁷² Davis and Stocker, "Lord of the Gold Rings," 638.

As mentioned above, in the mythos and records of the West Asian and North African powers in Egypt and Ugarit, Crete was a Far West, occupied a nearly unreachable sphere more closely associated with gods than mortals.⁷³ However, this did not stop the Minoans from actively engaging in trade with the powers of West Asia and relaying those goods to Mycenaean Greece. To the powers of West Asia, Mycenaean Greece did not even exist even into the 16th century when it was first mentioned in the Hittite historical record.

How did the Mycenaeans perceive the Minoans in the 17th century? While their exact relationship is unclear, the fact that the Mycenaeans had already begun developing the *megaron*, the signature style of great hall that began with the Minoans, as emblematic of their elites and had adopted similar art styles and architecture indicates a closely perceived connection between Crete and power.⁷⁴ Why did the Mycenaeans foster such close connections with Crete? West Asia and North Africa are likely the answer. Elite burials, the best preserved of which are the shaft graves from the Grave Circles at Mycenae, likely served to kickstart Mycenaean palatial economies oriented around trade and the acquisition of foreign wares.⁷⁵ It is likely that Minoan Crete reciprocated to develop a mutually advantageous trade network that not only enriched Minoan Crete but would have enriched its markets in Asia, in this the two were similarly motivated. The two regions had similar agricultural practices, both were restricted by the mountainous nature of their regions, and both coveted West Asian materials, particularly those from Ugarit, Egypt as well as those indirectly imported from India. However, the Mycenaeans had access to larger means of production as, while Crete had older institutions for olive trees and older textile institutions, it was restricted by population size and even more so by land.

⁷³ Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 383.

⁷⁴ Bryan E. Burns, *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 19.

⁷⁵ Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 19.

A 2023 genetic study by Skourtanioti et al. found an alarmingly high rate of inter-cousin marriage on Crete incomparable with anywhere else in the ancient world. The authors ask whether that it was “to prevent the inherited farmland from being divided up more and more? In any case, it guaranteed a certain continuity of the family in one place, which is an important prerequisite for the cultivation of olives and wine.”⁷⁶ Considering the comparatively small size of Crete and the population it achieved in the mid-17th century and most of it is mountainous. This indicates increased concern for land and land distribution as well as restrictions that, while still mountainous, mainland Greece did not have. As a result, it is not unreasonable to assume that, in the 17th century, Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece entered a partnership of trade production, hence the larger facilities on the mainland:

...as a demand for significant quantities of embellished textiles and perfumed oil created an opportunity to draw more participants into organized crafting. Thus, the palaces coordinated the systems through which people’s labor added value to basic commodities, and those same acts of labor redefined the people within a more highly stratified society.⁷⁷

For the Minoans, the overall amount of goods would have dramatically increased, especially in textiles and olive oil, and the Mycenaeans gained improved access to West Asian materials. Minoan reliance on Mycenaean Greece would have similarly increased, accounting for the steady rise in foreign wares throughout the 16th century, as a result of the Thera eruption in ca 1625 BCE.

When the volcano of Thera erupted on the island of Santorini in ca. 1625 BCE, it took most of the island into the Aegean as the worst volcanic eruption of the last 10,000 years.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, "Marriage in Minoan Crete: New archaeogenetic data allow exciting insights into the social order of the Aegean Bronze Age," *ScienceDaily*. www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2023/01/230116112549.htm (accessed March 23, 2023).

⁷⁷ Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 19.

⁷⁸ Stephanie Martin, “Abandoning Akrotiri (Thera): A Comparative Model Approach to Relocation Strategies after Volcanic Eruptions.” *Cycladic Archaeology and Research: New Approaches and Discoveries*, ed. (Erica Angliker

Though the Minoan settlement of Akrotiri had been abandoned immediately prior to the eruption, likely due to the magnitude 7 earthquake that immediately preceded it, it was

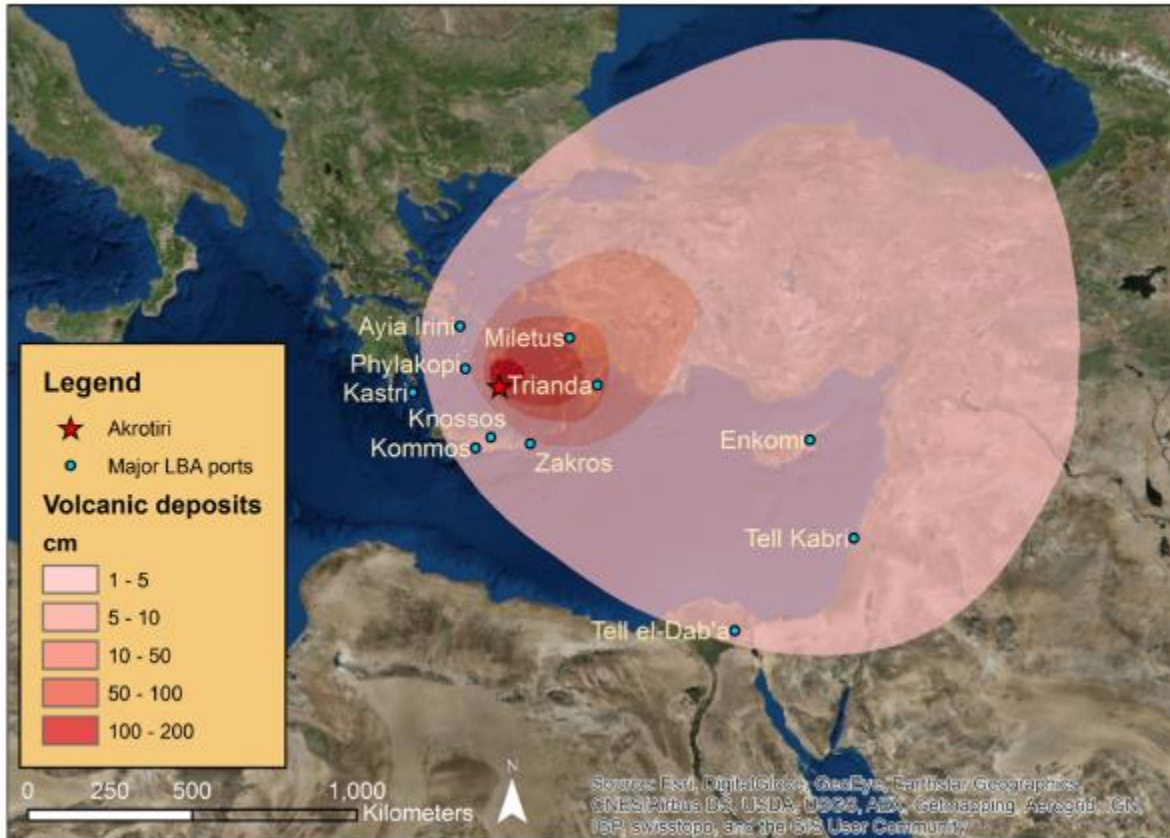


Figure 3. The projection of volcanic deposits from the Thera eruption with Avaris labeled under it’s modern name of Tell el-Dab’a. Taken from Martin’s “Abandoning Akrotiri.”⁷⁹

completely buried under tephra, as volcanic debris spread as far as eastern Anatolia and as far south as the Nile Delta (Fig. 3).⁸⁰ In the immediate aftermath, a tsunami would have swept southwest from Thera, decimating several islands and likely hitting the palatial settlements on

and John Tully) 27. For perspective, the earthquake that hit Turkey and Syria in early 2023 was a magnitude 7.8 and tremors were felt as far as China.

⁷⁹ Martin, “Abandoning Akrotiri,” 27.

⁸⁰ Martin, “Abandoning Akrotiri,” 27, 29.

the northern side of Crete.⁸¹ In a 2018 study, Stephanie Martin found that this combined disaster likely led to a dispersal of Minoans from Akrotiri throughout the Aegean islands, with the



Figure 4. A Bull-leaper fresco fragment from Avaris, one of several Minoan-style frescoes from the early Thutmosid court.⁸²

settlements of Phylakopi and Aya Irini reaching their largest historical population size.⁸³ While Minoan Crete would eventually flourish again, power on Crete became increasingly centralized at Knossos and Marinatos argues that this resulted in a more religious system and its associated Priest-King.⁸⁴ Minoan Crete, Marinatos argues, then reached out to the Egyptian kings, most likely those of the Hyksos at Avaris (Fig. 2). This is evidenced by the clearly Minoan frescoes at Tell el-Dab'a (Fig. 4), modern Avaris, that include Minoan figures in Minoan dress, scenes of

⁸¹ Martin, "Abandoning Akrotiri," 37.

⁸² Bender235, "Minoan Fresco Avaris 2", Wikipedia Commons, November 29th, 2006.

⁸³ Martin, "Abandoning Akrotiri," 38.

⁸⁴ Martin, "Abandoning Akrotiri," 39; Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 6. This study accepts this theory as it is in line with other studies on volcanic events that result in more pious trends amidst survivors.

bull-leaping, and natural landscapes, and this increased connection with West Asia is reinforced by similar sites in Tel Kabri, Miletos, and Alalakh in Israel, Anatolia, and Syria respectively.⁸⁵

Over the course of the 16th century, wares from Mycenaean Greece show up increasingly in West Asia, possibly as a direct result of the Thera disaster. How did Mycenaean Greece's position in relation to Minoan Crete and West Asia change in the wake of Thera? This ties not only into West Asia but also into concepts of Late Bronze Age political power, its fluidity, and their impact on identity. Mycenaean art consistently, despite replicating Minoan styles, depicted them as a people with different iconography from that of Minoans with boar-tusk helmets, arms, and chariots. Across the hundreds of islands in the Aegean and the clear Minoan presence on the mainland, the economic borders would have been fluid both culturally and physically. This is not to say that boundaries were nonexistent or irrelevant. Boundaries endure despite and because of population movement across them.⁸⁶ Furthermore, while it is easy to imagine Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete as isolated, both were maritime powers and, as a result, the equidistant space between the mainland and Crete and Crete and Egypt was much more easily traversed by the Mycenaean Greeks as they seized Minoan routes. This transition rendered the hundreds of islands of the Aegean a massive, fluid middle ground in which Minoan and Mycenaean, as identities and separate linguistic, ethnic groups would have mingled and bled together. The two had mass-produced similar items, and the noted lack of conflict in the 17th and 16th centuries indicated any contact between the two remained largely peaceful in order to facilitate long-distance maritime trade. Though their material cultures were noticeably similar, it is highly unlikely that the Minoans and Mycenaean counted themselves as part of the same ethnic group

⁸⁵ John G. Younger and Paul Rehak, "The Material Culture of Neopalatial Crete," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* ed. Cynthia W. Shelmerdine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 157.

⁸⁶ Frederick Barth, "Introduction" in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social organization of Culture Difference* ed. Frederick Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 9.

but their identities would have been closely connected. Minoan and Mycenaean wares had traveled along the same lines to reach the same destinations, and the relative peace, despite the clearly more warlike depictions of the Mycenaeans, indicates that they kept on relatively agreeable terms. Of course, internal divisions on the mainland and the supreme maritime power that still was Crete may have discouraged Mycenaean ambitions, but they still held similar goals.

Both Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece were enriched by and valued materials imported from West Asia; furthermore, a shared material culture and representations of power represent a long-running and nearly familial connection between the two. During the 16th century, it is entirely possible that, much like the older powers of West Asia, such as Babylon, Mitanni, and Elam that a sort of brotherhood, discussed more in-depth in the next chapter, arose between the *wanaktes* of Mycenaean Greece and late Minoan Crete.⁸⁷ The existence of long-standing political alliances in West Asia for the long-distance facilitation of commerce had a centuries long precedent at this point and may have inspired one or both parties to foster similar relations to improve and strengthen bonds with West Asia.⁸⁸ How then did the Mycenaeans seek to develop these relations?

As noted by Ventris and Chadwick, olive oil appears to have been an exclusive luxury item based on its relative rarity in the tablets at Pylos.⁸⁹ There are routine tallies of massive numbers of olives by the Mycenaean palatial authorities especially at the older, but then-occupied palaces on Crete at Knossos, likely indicating orchards that predated Mycenaean occupation.⁹⁰ However, it appears raw olive oil may have been less valuable than that which was

⁸⁷ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 34.

⁸⁸ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 304.

⁸⁹ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 217, 218. One could argue that olive oil's status in the tablets may have been due to orchard destructions in Pylos, but the tablets consistently indicate a threat coming from the sea rather than by land.

⁹⁰ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 218, 221.

produced by the “unguent boilers,” who appear to have produced a boiled mixture of olive oil, honey, spices, and fruits to produce a latherable perfume as is observed in Tablet 103 from Pylos. While olive oil does not appear by name in the tablet, the amount of resources sent in the tablet below by one Axoatas to the unguent boiler indicates it was in ready supply for the production of high value wares:

“Thus A(r)xotas gave spices to Thuestas the unguent-boiler, for unguent which is to be boiled:

Coriander seed 720 l.

Cyperus seed 720 l.

...16 units.

Fruits 300 l.

Wine 720 l.

Honey 72 l.

Wool 6 kg.

Must 72 l.”⁹¹

From one landholder, this is a large amount of resources to contribute to the production of perfumes, indicating that Mycenaean unguents were highly valued, likely not only as aromatics but as a protective and aromatic layer against flies and other biting insects. In tablet 104, another unguent boiler Philailos is marked as an “unguent-boiler of the Mistress.”⁹² This conflation of productive and sacral roles tied into other lists recognizing numerous workers belonging to certain gods are still listed as tributaries of the palace, highlighting the need for locally developed luxury items for international exchange.

Foreign kings do not list gifts from any Mycenaean citadel; in fact, the lack thereof comes up in the following chapter in a kingly dispute. However, throughout the Aegean, on the Western coast of Anatolia, and then again in Egypt and Canaan, Mycenaean pottery was

⁹¹ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 224.

⁹² Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 225.

increasingly common along the western coast of Asia and North Africa.⁹³ The jars from Crete remained fairly consistent in style and shape throughout the Middle and Late Minoan periods, with many being ‘stirrup jars’ (named due to their handles) capable of a roughly 12-14 liter capacity likely for the usage of oil or unguents.⁹⁴ By contrast, Mycenaeans rarely made large stirrup jars though smaller variants are abundant throughout Mycenaean Greece, the islands, and ports in Anatolia and Canaan.⁹⁵ Because the Minoan style varies so little, it seems likely that Minoan Crete was exporting large amounts of perfume. This reinforces that, while Mycenaean Greece did produce large amounts of olive oil, Knossos had larger and older systems for trade. The abundance of small jars, likely for individual purchase and use, and their comparative absence from the store rooms of palaces in West Asia, likely indicates that the Mycenaean stirrup jars were intended for general consumption via merchants whereas the larger vases, produced both before and after Mycenaean occupation of Crete, were intended for direct exchange with larger administrative centers.

While olive oil production and its function as an essential component of unguents and perfumes, major exports based on the Linear B tablets and the archaeological record, it was mass produced textiles, rather than olive oil products that were the largest export for Mycenaean Greece. Loom weights appear regularly in the archaeological record and the Linear B tablets regularly cite processed wool and wool garments as part of the palatial records.⁹⁶ Textiles do not survive in the archaeological record and there are no described gifts exchanged between the

⁹³ Peter G. Van Alfen, “The Linear B Inscribed Vases” in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World: Volume 1*, ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (Dudley: Peeters Louvaine La Neuve, 2008) 235.

⁹⁴ Van Alfen, “The Linear B Inscribed Vases,” 235.

⁹⁵ Van Alfen, “The Linear B Inscribed Vases,” 235.

⁹⁶ Barbara Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece: Women in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*, (Routledge: Routledge University Press, 2015), 39.

Mycenaean *wanaktes* and the Kings of West Asia do not help. However, textiles are routinely exchanged between heads of state, as noted here in a later exchange between Puduhepa of Hatti and Queen Nefertiti of Egypt:

...One very colorful necklace of good gold made up of twelve strands. Its weight is 88 shekels.
One dyed cloak of byssus.
One dyed tunic of byssus.
Five dyed linen garments of good fine thread.
Five dyed linen tunics of good fine thread.
A grand total of twelve linen garments.⁹⁷

Dyed and undyed garments are produced en masse at Pylos and Knossos.⁹⁸ This may be survivor bias as of the thousands of tablets that likely existed at other citadels few survived at Mycenae and Tiryns and none survived at Athens. Considering the near ubiquitous nature of large numbers of loom weights it isn't likely that textile production was restricted only to two palatial states. Furthermore, while olive groves can take years to begin producing, goats and sheep thrive in Greece and, if the thousands of male and female laborers involved in textile production are any indication, mass produced textiles for foreign consumption likely had deep origins in Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete.⁹⁹ While the tablets come from a later Mycenaean period, they do reflect a deep interest in the mass production of textiles of varying qualities, including this tablet 209–Lc525:

From *Se-te-i-ja*
Forty *edged* cloths of royal type, 200+ measures of wool;
Three clothes of *tu-na-no* type, several hundred (?) measures of wool¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts: Second Edition* (Atlanta, Scholar's Press, 1999), 128. Byssus is also known as sea silk and made from the filaments secreted by mussels.

⁹⁸ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 319.

⁹⁹ Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece*, 31.

¹⁰⁰ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 315.

While the exact amount of a “measure” is unclear it is clear that, between this and the other tablets, wool and wool-based products were incredibly common. Among these were dyed cloths of different colors, as observed in tablet 217–L587+589+596:

Twenty-four cloths with coloured *o-nu-ke*, 372 with white *o-nu-ke*,
Fourteen *dyed* cloths, forty-two of the color of *pa-ra-ku*, one grey one.
So many cloths (in all?): 149.¹⁰¹

These are two tablets from what was likely a single year and while these tablets do come from a later period, the Mycenaean archaeological record is rife with an abundance of loom-weights thus indicating a massive focus on textile production.

When looking at a people primarily recorded as part of the archaeological record, especially prior to the recorded deeds of individuals and peoples by their neighbors, it is easy for them to become a component of a broader, shapeless “Mycenaean” concept. The Mycenaeans were defined heavily by a warrior aristocracy, influenced by Minoan administrative systems and architectural and artistic styles, and capable of mass-producing wares for international trade. In *Mycenaean Greece, Mediterranean Commerce, and the Formation of Identity*, Burns argues convincingly that foreign items and symbols, by their very nature were intimately related with people and places of power as the development “of long-distance exchange coincided with the emergence of a Mycenaean elite” as a means to legitimize status.¹⁰²

From the time of the shaft graves in the grave circles at Mycenae to the period of the Griffin Warrior in c. 1450, as indicated by the intricacy of the items therein, the Mycenaean desire for foreign goods had only increased and so too had the desire for exotic, high quality luxury items. Burke selects a single example that sticks out exceptionally well. In shaft grave 5

¹⁰¹ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 319.

¹⁰² Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 192.

an unadorned and uncarved tip of elephant tusk, signifies the prestigious nature of its ownership in the 16th century BCE. However, by the time of Tomb 55 at Mycenae, dated to some time in the palatial period of the Late Helladic, it was no longer enough for ivory to be there. To signify true status, the ivory was now intricately carved: “Relief decoration covers the tusk, with goats flanking and separating a male figure from a volute tree and hovering falcon... The tree, with lotus tendrils blossoming around the stalk of a volute palmette, is typical of the Syrian elaboration of sacred trees in Mesopotamian cult scenes.”¹⁰³ Ivory appears to have become an increasingly important import as it came either directly or indirectly from Egypt and had come to signify elite status but clearly possession of worked ivory became a means of driving home further stratification of Mycenaean elite status. Acknowledging that Mycenaean elites were competitive with one another is not surprising, but knowing it fleshes out a society that, when it looked east, saw not only a means of enrichment but also a means of surpassing their contemporaries and their fellow Mycenaean elites.

Whether or not the citadel of Mycenae founded colonies to acquire these items is unclear as during the time Mycenae was slowly taking over traditional Minoan routes, West Asia was in a state of disarray. In 1640 the Hyksos, foreign rulers, had wrested the Nile delta from the king in Egyptian Thebes. By the end of the 16th century, the Egyptians had ousted the Hyksos and were routinely rampaging or conquering through Mitanni and the Levant.¹⁰⁴ In 1595 the Hittite King Mursili I sacked Babylon and either killed or expelled the Babylonian King. Taking this instability into account, there is little surprise that the Ugarit or those living on the southwestern coast of Anatolia did not record a change in the ethnically and culturally similar seafarers

¹⁰³ Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 95, 173.

¹⁰⁴ Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites: New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 98-9; Marc Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt: Second Edition* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 2021), 122-131.; Podany, *Brotherhood*, 131.

coming from the West. This period of relative disruption in West Asia, combined with a lack of Mid to Late Bronze Age Luwian sources, explains why Mycenaean Greeks, or “Ahhiyawa” as the Hittites refer to them, do not appear until the 15th century in any records and why, when they do, they are a military force to be reckoned with and a valuable trade partner. Mycenaean Greece seems to have readily taken to this, with trade routes running all throughout the islands and along the western coast of Asia and, further still, having completely taken over the traditional routes of the Minoans. Though the Egyptians do not seem to have marked a transition from their old trade partners on Crete to the new, the process seems to have been a sudden conclusion to a series of events more than two hundred years in the making.

Mycenaean Greece traded as far west as Sicily but, if the amount of pottery along the coastline is any indication, Mycenaean eyes rarely wavered from the east and, based on the limited amount of inland wares, it seems unlikely they ever penetrated the coastline.¹⁰⁵ Mycenaean pottery appears increasingly regularly even as Minoan pottery becomes rarer in the archaeological record between 1600-1400.¹⁰⁶ In many ways, Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete were competitors for the same markets with the same wares even as they were economic allies in the 16th century. Crete, by the late 17th century had, in part as a result of Thera, struggled to keep up and, and despite a resurgence in the 16th century, became increasingly centralized in Knossos. In the early 15th century, Minoan Crete, was now almost completely economically and politically centralized in Knossos, slowly fell behind Mycenaean Greece in terms of hard exports and populations. In the early 15th century, the remaining palaces on the island were destroyed.¹⁰⁷ Then, somewhere between 1490 and 1430 BCE, a Mycenaean

¹⁰⁵Sara A. Immerwahr, “Mycenaean Trade and Colonization.” in *Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (1960), 6..

¹⁰⁶ Immerwahr, “Mycenaean Trade,” 7.

¹⁰⁷ Burke, *From Minos to Midas*, 63.

administration entered Knossos, the palatial language was changed to the Mycenaean administrative language of Linear B. The palace at Knossos was occupied and, it appears, other settlements were burned or destroyed, whether by Mycenaeans or earthquakes is unclear as it is believed a series of smaller quakes since Thera had already weakened Crete.¹⁰⁸ With this, Mycenae bridged the middle ground between the mainland and Egypt, Hatti, Ugarit, and the powers of West Asia.

Why did the Mycenaeans finally take power on Crete? It is likely that one or more *wanaktes* may have joined together to complete the conquest, or, if the Ahhiyawa-Mycenae equation is correct, it was the will of a single powerful *wanax*.¹⁰⁹ However, what prompted the occupation? While Crete had flourished in the early 16th century, its population was declining and several settlements in the Aegean islands showed signs of settlement by the Mycenaeans after their respective local palaces were burned.¹¹⁰ The Mycenaeans had a stronger proclivity for war than did the Minoans, and Knossos was the only palace to be resettled after the percussive earthquakes after 1625 both two factors contributed to Minoan decline. The proposed alliance that existed in the 16th century BCE, clearly did not survive the drastic weakening and hyper-centralization of the Minoans or the military and economic aspirations of the Mycenaeans. Crete is the largest island in the Aegean; if one or more Mycenaean powers desired to control trade through the Aegean, Crete is not only in an ideal location but is capable of sustaining a large inhabiting force, as observed in its pre-Thera population. Mycenae, on the other hand, had suffered minimal impact from Thera, with much of the resulting ash-fall going east into Anatolia

¹⁰⁸ Laura Preston, "Late Minoan II to IIIB Crete" in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World: Volume 1*, ed. Yves Duhoux and Anna Morpurgo Davies (Dudley: Peeters Louvaine La Neuve, 2008) 310.

¹⁰⁹ Waal, "My brother," 9.

¹¹⁰ Davis, *Minoan Crete*, 192-4.

or south over Egypt rather than over mainland Greece.¹¹¹ With West Asia destabilized, Crete decimated, and Mycenaean elites constantly looking for a new means of advancement via the possession of West Asian artifacts, a better question might be why *wouldn't* Mycenae have capitalized on this opportunity?

The tombs in the Mycenaean grave circles are rich in gold, carved and unmarked ivory, richly inlaid swords and daggers, and Egyptian-inspired or actual Egyptian items from across the Aegean. The Griffin Warrior is richer still with innumerable signet rings, a boar tusk helm, a richly inlaid sword, a mirror, and foreign-made necklaces with some of the precious stones in said rings being carnelian, imported from the Indus River Valley in western India.¹¹² Furthermore, where the families shared a communal grave the Griffin Warrior was interred alone, reflecting broader trends in the arc of Aegean prehistory. The Griffin Warrior's personal wealth represents not only a willingness to display the wealth of a single individual but also the willingness to discard these artifacts and give them supernatural relevance with internment. From the time of the shaft graves at Mycenae to the time of the Griffin Warrior, Mycenaean Greece, despite likely remaining still fairly disunified, had not only increased its personal hordes of foreign wares but also their significance and had expanded upon how they reflected one's social standing. Mycenaean Greece may have been beyond the western edge of the world for the people of Ugarit and Egypt, considered even more untouchable than distant Kaphor/Crete but, for the Mycenaeans, Ugarit, Hatti, and Egypt were accessible and viable sources of wealth, personal advancement, and prestige and they were stabilizing.

¹¹¹ Martin, "Abandoning Akrotiri," 29. There's actually a few convincing arguments that Thera is the origin of the Ten Plagues of Egypt and the Greek myths of Typhon and the Titanomachy, both of which were said to have scourged the earth, and Plato's Atlantis if he did indeed draw on older traditions and not his own moralizing philosophy.

¹¹² Davis and Stocker, "The Lord of the Gold Rings," 615.

When the Minoan aristocracy gave way to a new Mycenaean elite in the late 15th century the conflicts that had appeared in West Asia over the course of the previous century had mended. In the closing years of the 16th century and the vernal years of the Egyptian King Thutmose I, the pharaoh had burned most of the Levant and raided as far as the Euphrates River, setting up a stela to commemorate the extent of his crusade against the Asiatics.¹¹³ He also crushed the Nubians and the kingdom of Kush, thus leaving Egypt's southern border secure which freed Thutmose I and Thutmose III to go northeast on these campaigns.¹¹⁴ As of c. 1457 Egypt controlled the Levant and would do so without question until the later 13th century, thus providing a stable southern border for Amurru and Ugarit and viable northern ports for Mycenaean trade.¹¹⁵ In the north, Hatti, the Hittite Kingdom, was beset by a spree of poor, short-reigning kings, roughly six over the course of a hundred-year period until Tudhaliya I founded the New Kingdom in roughly 1400.¹¹⁶ It was during the reign of King Tudhaliya I/II¹¹⁷ that the Mycenaean, dubbed the Ahhiyawa, first appeared in the literary history of the Hittites and the first time that they are referred to directly in Bronze Age history.

Mycenaean Greece had been beyond the furthest West in the early to middle Late Bronze Age; the 16th-15th centuries saw Mycenaean Greece rise in power to match and eventually surpass the priest-kings of Knossos. Through a variety of factors, the Mycenaean sought to overcome the Aegean and gain proximity to the Kings of Hatti, Egypt, and Ugarit. As a region largely safe from major foreign invasions, protected by the Aegean, Mycenae sought increased

¹¹³ de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 115.. Others put Mycenaean occupation later in the century but the above date is the one used most in the sources the author has available.

¹¹⁴ de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 154.

¹¹⁵ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 144-5.

¹¹⁶ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, xvi.

¹¹⁷ There's debate on whether Tudhaliya I and II are the same person or different, when it is unclear I've noticed other historians such as Bryce use I/II.

proximity to the Kings of West Asia and to achieve direct access to the wares that their warrior elite had come to covet. By the middle of the 15th century, Mycenae achieved this goal by conquering Crete and thus absorbing their only Aegean rival and all of their assets. Mycenae, previously not even on the mythic maps of West Asia had succeeded in becoming a nearer west than Minoan Crete had ever been, one that the Hittite Kings would eventually find too close for comfort.

CHAPTER 2: THE BROTHERHOOD OF KINGS

My Majesty, [have taken you] Shaushga-muwa [by the hand], and have made [you my] brother-in-law. And you [shall not alter the words] of the treaty tablet which [I have made] for you...And the Kings who are my equals in rank are the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Assyria, ~~and the King of Ahhiyawa~~. If the King of Egypt is My Majesty's friend, he shall be your friend. But if he is my Majesty's enemy, he shall be your enemy. And if the King of Babylonia is My Majesty's friend, he shall be your friend. But he if he is my Majesty's enemy, he shall be your enemy. Your merchant shall not go to Assyria, and you shall not allow his merchant into your land. He shall not pass through your land. But if he comes into your land, seize him, and send him off to My Majesty.¹¹⁸

In the late 1200s BCE the King of Hatti, Tudhaliya IV ordered the above treaty to be drafted, binding the north Syrian kingdom of Amurru and its king, Shausma-guwa, to him to be his brother-in-law and, as a result of his inferior position, the son of the King of Hatti.¹¹⁹ Tudhaliya IV proudly lists the kings of West Asia who are his peers in might and his allies, including kings of Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria. The kings of these regions have been consistently described as a “Club of Great Powers” or, more succinctly and more recently, the “Brotherhood of Kings.”¹²⁰ These kings were defined by their masculinity, their ability to assert themselves over their neighbors, and held each other to strict codes of interpersonal conduct as not only divine and semi-divine kings, but also as representatives of an idealized manhood. These kings routinely blessed, encouraged, and even chastised each other for their conduct as men of power whose right to rule manifested in piety, martial exploits, and familial diplomacy.¹²¹ There was an official and deeply gendered ‘language of power’ between these men and their families, a consistent language referred to by Marinatos as a *koine* or common-tongue of power.¹²² To be a

¹¹⁸ Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts: Second Edition* (Atlanta, Scholar's Press, 1999), 106.

¹¹⁹ Amanda H. Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 11.

¹²⁰ Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess: A Near Eastern Koine* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 8., Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings*, 10-11.

¹²¹ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 140.

¹²² Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 8.

member of this complex, familial alliance was to at least partially accept and apply this language of power and to fulfill the ideals that set the Great Kings above their lesser contemporaries.

Interestingly, one name on the list above is recorded but is crossed out, an ostracized member of the family. He is the King of Ahhiyawa, an ambiguous kingdom whose very geography, population, and status among the kings of West Asia has been a matter of debate for almost a century. Ahhiyawa is not the first kingdom to be a “peer” ruled by a “Great King” that would suffer a demotion. Mitanni, Mari, and Ebla had all been ‘peers’ at one point but Ahhiyawa stands out with vague references and unclear geography.¹²³ Mitanni has the clearest indications of lost status. Demotions in the Brotherhood, though rare, also marked a change in gendered status. Mitanni and Egypt’s alliance was one of the oldest alliances in the Brotherhood of Kings.¹²⁴ Yet, when the Mitanni were conquered by the Hittites in the 14th century the kingdom was effectively split into two, forming the kingdom of Hanigalbat in the west as a buffer against Assyria. Here the Kings of Mitanni were demoted from a Great Kingdom to a “son” of the Great King of Hatti, under his protection and indirect control.¹²⁵ Masculinity was integral as a core concept to the Brotherhood of Kings and the demotion from “brother” to “son” marks a clear loss of gendered and political status in the context of West Asian power. In becoming a “son” rather than a “brother” or “peer,” the King of Mitanni was lowered not only in the international family’s pecking order but also economically, diplomatically, and militarily with less room for gifts and less control over its status as the Great Kings around it grew stronger. In doing so, Mitanni lost its’ idealized hypermasculine status which, per Bennet’s applications in *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, highlight a usurpation in the international family as Hittite

¹²³ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 93, 160.

¹²⁴ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 121.

¹²⁵ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 121, Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 178-9.

power continued to grow, becoming the foremost of the “brothers” and “fathers” to secondary powers that made up the Brotherhood of Kings.¹²⁶

Traditionally when a king of West Asia was defeated, if his city was not destroyed outright, as was observed in Mitanni the “brother” would become a “son” of the Great King that defeated him. Yet neither fate appears to have befallen the King of Ahhiyawa.¹²⁷ All that is certain is that Ahhiyawa was west of Hatti, at the very fringes of West Asian geographical knowledge, that the Ahhiyawa and their agents frequently feuded with Hatti, and that these were more than likely the people of Bronze Age Greece now commonly referred to as the Mycenaeans.¹²⁸

In the previous chapter, Mycenaean Greece was analyzed as a developing maritime power that filled in the gap left by the Minoans at the edge of the Hittite and Egyptian worlds. Between the 14th and late 12th centuries Ahhiyawa went from a local rival, to a peer, to being demoted back into anonymity. As a complex system of alliances based on a power believed to manifest in martial and diplomatic excellence, it stands to reason a king could become a Great King or vice versa, but, unlike the kingdoms mentioned above, Ahhiyawa is not absorbed by one of the current great kings. Tudhaliya IV was Ahhiyawa’s closest neighbor and was too preoccupied with Assyria for the entirety of his reign and any conquest would have been marked

¹²⁶ Hunt, *The Family Romance*, xiii.

¹²⁷ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 129.

¹²⁸ Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites: New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 58. Some scholars are still skeptical of whether the Ahhiyawa are Mycenaeans but the current consensus seems to be in agreement that, even if not headquartered in Mycenae itself, they are of the same cultural group as the Mycenaean Greeks. Bryce states “If the Ahhiyawa-Mycenaean equation is *not* valid, then we must accept that there are two discrete Late Bronze Age civilizations with remarkably similar names, making their presence felt in the same region, and in the same period. One of them... is attested by documentary evidence, but has left no identifiable trace in the archaeological record; the other, the Mycenaean civilization, has left abundant archaeological evidence but no identifiable trace in the documentary record. It is difficult to write this off as mere coincidence.” (58).

with treaties of submission, such as the one described above.¹²⁹ So, why was the Great King of Ahhiyawa demoted? Why was he accepted as a Great King in the first place? What does the language of kingship, long established in West Asia, illuminate about the Mycenaean kings or *wanaktes*?

Scholars, such as Waal and Blakolmer, have attempted to pin down why Ahhiyawa was counted as a great kingdom. Other scholars, such as Podany and Marinatos, have written about the Brotherhood of Kings or the ‘Club of Great Powers.’¹³⁰ This chapter differs in that it seeks to better understand the Mycenaean kingdom of Ahhiyawa via an understanding of the gendered language of power that was integral to the Great Kings of West Asia and provided an interpersonal foundation for the familial connections that defined the brotherhood of kings. Gender rather than apolitical and symbolic history, serve as the clearest approach to explain the consistent languages of power between populations:

[G]ender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. Changes in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power, but the direction of change is not necessarily one way.¹³¹

This quotation offers one part of Scott’s original definition of gender, a language of power across time and space. A gendered study of the Brotherhood of Kings and how it manifested in Mycenaean Greece has not yet been offered. Furthermore, this chapter takes note from Judith Hunt’s *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* in which she applies Freudian concepts to conscious and subconscious societal conceptions of masculinity, kingship, and power.¹³² This

¹²⁹ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 150.

¹³⁰ Waal, “My Brother,” 10; Blakolmer, “No kings,” 49-50, Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 10.

¹³¹ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History: 30th Anniversary Edition*, (New York: Columbia University, 2018) 43.

¹³² Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, (London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 1992), xiii-xiv.

works well with Scott's argument that historians must pay attention "to the ways societies represent gender, use it to articulate the rules of social relationships, or construct the meaning of experience. Without meaning there is no experience, without process of signification, there is no meaning."¹³³ This chapter seeks the significance of gender to the languages of power utilized by the brotherhood of kings in their symbolic, religious, and gendered *koine* as systems which long predated not only Ahhiyawan arrival on Anatolia but the Mycenaean civilization as a whole. In doing so, this chapter seeks to answer the questions detailed above and shed more light on a population that is frustratingly vague on the borderlands of not only West Asia but of history.

By the time Mycenaean wares appeared in the archaeological record of Anatolia and Ahhiyawa was first mentioned in the literary accounts of the Great King of Hatti in the 14th century BCE, the idea of an innate brotherhood between Great Kings was almost a thousand years old.¹³⁴ This chapter will not go into that entire history, picking up during the 14th century during the Amarna period of the New Kingdoms of Egypt and Hatti. The period leading up to the Amarna is defined by a desire for expansion and trade, with brief, insincere declarations of 'brotherhood' standing in for brief alliances. The long-lasting nature of this alliance was in no small part because of the distance between the Great Kings, because the trade that peace allowed become more valuable, and because the labels of international familiarity had become increasingly sincere and validated by generational intermarriage by the Late Bronze Age.¹³⁵ This is not to say that the kings of Hatti and Egypt did not go to war, or that there was consistent peace. Assyria was a constant threat seeking to expand but, particularly in the 14th century, the kingdoms of West Asia were largely at peace and their masculine ideals came to be defined by

¹³³ Scott, *Gender*, 38.

¹³⁴ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 29.

¹³⁵ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 306.

honoring their familial obligations and exerting themselves in war by subduing lesser kings.¹³⁶ Three core concepts carried on into the later Bronze Age that defined not only the kingship but the masculinity of the great kings: physical prowess, diplomatic excellence, and an undeniable connection to godhood. In many ways the Great Kings walked a tightrope between depictions of martial excellence, religious perfection, and diplomatic finesse but as will be observed, it was the perceived perfection of these traits which not only marked them as the greatest of men but the greatest of kings. These traits defined the idyllic masculinity of the Great Kings and these kings actively enforced these ideals. Kings who acted in accordance with these values were lauded and kings who neglected them were condemned not only as political allies, but as bad family members and as neglectful men.¹³⁷

Masculinity beget kingship beget masculinity. A king by his nature was divine and masculine but for his masculinity to be questioned was also for his divinity and his kingly status to be questioned and vice versa. This is a core component of the Freudian ideas Hunt puts forward, marking that “Social organization supplemented any underlying, highly charged, male bonding.”¹³⁸ The brotherhood of kings is very much this kind of social organization. Many of them wrote to each other with genuine affection. The Amarna period (1400-1300) was a period of relative peace with frequent, personal correspondence between monarchs.¹³⁹

The Other is the anvil on which the Self is forged, and it is often in analyzing what one should not do or be that the masculine ideals of the brotherhood is best understood.¹⁴⁰ As a result, it is perhaps suitable to open with what this idyllic man was *not*, as one analyzes

¹³⁶ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 305. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 99.

¹³⁷ *The Amarna Letters*, trans. William L. Moran, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press), 19.

¹³⁸ Hunt, *Family Romance*, 7.

¹³⁹ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 191.

¹⁴⁰ Scott, *Gender*, 38.

depictions and descriptions poorly conducting kings demonstrate. Of the latter, Babylon is often an excellent example. Letters from Babylon in this period often accuse the King of Egypt of ignoring him and there are even letters of chastisement to Babylon from both Hatti and Egypt.¹⁴¹ Babylon was the oldest member of the brotherhood still functioning at a level of great power in the Late Bronze Age. Furthermore, Babylon had swallowed all of its neighbors one by one under Sargon the Great and his Akkadian successors.¹⁴² Akkadian Babylon still had a legacy of influence over the language of power in the most literal sense as Akkadian was the ‘common tongue’ of West Asian kingship.¹⁴³ Kings themselves did not know how to read or write, skills which were reserved exclusively for scribes and diplomatic messengers. Both roles were semi-religious and Akkadian was the divine language of this dialogue.¹⁴⁴ However, Babylon itself was not on par with the superpowers of Hatti and Egypt. The Great Kings of West Asia may have been brothers but, if their letters are any judge, they were not equals. In the following excerpt from a much longer text, Hattusili III of Hatti chides King Kadashman-Enlil of Babylon for his lack of correspondence:

...What is the King of Assyria who holds back your messenger [while my messengers] cross repeatedly? Does the King of Assyria hold back your messengers so that you, [my brother], cannot cross [to] my [land]? My brother, you are a Great King, and in a long life [may you be...]! Look, my brother, how I keep sending [my messengers] out of love for my brother, while my brother does not send his messenger. Does [my brother] not know [this]? Every word which my brother sent me I will retain. [Only if two kings] are hostile do their messengers not travel continually between them. Why, [my brother] have you cut off [your messengers]?¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 150., *The Amarna Letters*, 19.

¹⁴² Podany, *Brotherhood*, 49.

¹⁴³ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 186. This required the messengers to read their king’s letters allowed to them, a feature which explains both the guarded language and the long-standing social laws against harming messengers, particularly over harsher letters. Messengers to Hammurabi from Zimri-Lin are recorded begging him to “not be so hard on us” as they did not dictate the letters.

¹⁴⁵ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 140.

Hattusili III's language reveals the trend of the later Bronze Age where peace rather than war was the ideal. Unlike other Great Kings, such those in Amarna and Hatti, Babylon as a capital was not out of reach, having been sacked by the Hittites before their alliance in 1595 BCE¹⁴⁶ The sack of Babylon ended the dynasty of Hammurabi, the 'illustrious era' of Babylon's prestige, and any illusion that Babylon was outside of the reach of the other Great Kings.¹⁴⁷ Egypt and Hatti might have warred, and would war again, in and over Canaan but Egyptian troops never reached Hattusa and even Suppiliuma never reached the Nile (Fig. 2).

Despite the fact that Babylon was in reach, however, Hattusili III did not threaten him militarily but warned that Kadashman-Enlil was behaving aggressively in not sending messengers as “[Only if two kings] are hostile do their messengers not travel between them?” and to send messengers is a symbol “of love.”¹⁴⁸ By engaging in sloppy diplomacy, as accused by Hattusili III, Kadashman-Enlil is not only being a bad Great King, hence Hattusili III's need to remind him, but also a bad brother whose, in demonstrating poor interfamilial behavior, inconducive to the inter-kingly ‘love’ described above, ideal masculinity has become questionable. Furthermore, according to Hattusili, Kadashman-Enlil behaved aggressively in not sending messengers, an act which undermined his kingly and masculine duty to affirm his place in the international family of kings.

Diplomacy was core to the Great Kings, and their wives appear to have often engaged with each other and with identical language to their male counterparts, hailing each other as Great Queens, sisters, and wishing each other not only health but sending gifts and arranging the

¹⁴⁶ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 121.

¹⁴⁷ Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites: New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 98.

¹⁴⁸ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 140.

marriages that made the claims of brotherhood physically legitimate.¹⁴⁹ Puduhepa, wife of Hattusili III, writes two letters of particular note, one to Rameses II the Great and one to his wife, Naptera.¹⁵⁰ These letters are exceptional for two reasons: first, few letters remain composed, or at least identified as being composed, by queens. Second, the letter to Naptera is one of the only contemporary letters between queens that has survived but, based on the formulaic nature of the letter and its distinctive style, this letter was likely not the only one.

Naptera's letter to Puduhepa wishes her wealth and that the "Sun-god and the Storm-god will exalt you and the Sun-god will cause peace to thrive and will provide good brotherhood forever between the Great King, the King of Egypt, and the Great King, the King of Hatti, his brother."¹⁵¹ No response to Naptera survives but, seeing as Naptera's letter does not instigate any dialogue beyond prayer and gifts for continued peace and plenty, it highlights the queenly role of fostering and supporting the kings' diplomatic endeavors with likely independently instigated overtures.

Puduhepa's letter to Rameses II and his response directly to her, not her husband, is telling: while the opening is lost, Puduhepa refers to an earlier exchange in which she offered Rameses II one of her daughters and then "withheld her" and act which appears to have offended the King of Egypt.¹⁵² Puduhepa defends herself saying "the storehouse (?) of Hatti do I not [know that it is] a burned out structure? And Urhi-Teshshup gave what remained to the Great God."¹⁵³ Having wished Rameses II well, she responded sarcastically to his demands:

¹⁴⁹ Podany, *Brotherhood*, 121.

¹⁵⁰ Naptera is the Hittite form of Nerfertiti, Naptera is used here on account of the usage of Hittite sources.

¹⁵¹ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 129.

¹⁵² Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 132-3.

¹⁵³ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 132.

Does my brother not possess anything at all? Only if the Son of the Sun-god, the Son of the Storm-god, and the Sea have nothing do you (Rameses) have nothing! But, my brother, you would enrich yourself somewhat at my expense! That is worthy neither of renown nor of lordliness!¹⁵⁴

Puduhepa berates Rameses II for daring to ask of her when his messengers were delayed, for growing angry with her for withholding her daughter, and for not being clear about his expectations for the dowry since Puduhepa's own stores are diminished and his vagueness stopped her from sending an appropriate dowry in the form of animals and captives.¹⁵⁵ Again, a king is chastised for improper negotiation and poor conduct with his peers, a feature that is unworthy of greatness, lordliness, or his title of male kingship. Rameses II's response is polite and likely serves as indicative of two factors: firstly that it may further be "unworthy" of him to respond similarly to his brother's wife and, secondly, that great queens could not only address their kingly brothers as such but could chastise them similarly for improper behavior and arrange matches similarly to their husbands.¹⁵⁶

Divinity was inextricable from divine kingship and authority, and often extended to the entire family. For this reason, Queen Puduhepa's ability to verbally chastise Rameses II isn't surprising. As a priestess of Ishtar and the reigning the Queen-mother of the Hittites, her role was as much sacral as political.¹⁵⁷ A maternal, tutelary female divinity often appears in concert with kingly power in the Late Bronze Age, with examples from Egypt, the Minoans, and the early Mycenaean.¹⁵⁸ Puduhepa embodied this role to the fullest and stood out among the Hittite

¹⁵⁴ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 133.

¹⁵⁵ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 134-5.

¹⁵⁶ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 135-6.

¹⁵⁷ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 207.

¹⁵⁸ Isis, Hathor, the Sun-Goddess of Arinna, and the nameless Minoan goddesses present both on Crete and in the signet-ring iconography of the Griffin Warrior; see Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 81; Davis and Stocker, "The Lord of the Gold Rings," 615.

Queens as a peer of her husband, Hattusili III. Her power likely helped to legitimize Hattusili III's rule after his usurpation of his brother, Mursili II.¹⁵⁹ However, while Puduhepa's semi-masculine role as a peer of Hattusili III stands out, her blurring of gendered lines is not unique within the Brotherhood of Kings. Hatshepsut of Egypt (ca. 1507-1458) ascended to the position of regent after the death of her husband but eventually came to be referred to universally as a king, much in the same vein as her other female Egyptian pharaohs such as Sobekneferu and Merneith.¹⁶⁰ These women were kings in every sense of the word and bore the regalia of kingship, including the royal beard. In this way, a woman of the royal house too could be a Great King, with all of the gendered implications and complications that carries. This quasi-masculine status is reinforced in grave goods, as some [culture here] women's burials include weapons, etc. As a result, though women interred with weapons and bearing them in palatial art still stand out, the correlation between the female divinities and their human proxies and royal kingship, and the blurred lines of gender and royal power, does not stand out quite as much in Mycenaean Greece when compared with their contemporaries in the Brotherhood of Kings.

Puduhepa is still an outlier, but one indicative of broader understandings of the feminine divine and the complicated relationship that carried with masculine kingship. She and Hattusili III are often presented as peers and she wrote extensively arranging marriages to maintain and cement Hatti as the most powerful kingdom in West Asia.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, she followed in a long line of Hittite queen-mothers as a direct intermediary with the Sun-goddess of Arinna, referred to as the Tawannana, a position she would hold until her death, not her husband's.¹⁶² Puduhepa,

¹⁵⁹ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 207.

¹⁶⁰ de Mieroop, *Ancient Egypt*, 101, 145. The exact parameters of Hatshepsut are hard to pin down on account of the destruction or rededication of many of her monuments once her son, Thutmose III, rose to power.

¹⁶¹ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 251

¹⁶² Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 207.

while exceptional, is also representative in that she expanded rather than built the role of Queen of Hatti. That Rameses II is not surprised by and regularly engages her highlights that it is more survivor bias rather than Puduhepa's exceptionality that his brother's wife addressed him directly and over matters of state. Puduhepa began as a priestess of Istar before marrying Hattusili III and the latter claimed that Istar ordered him in a dream to marry her. In Hatti, she reinforced the



Figure 5 King Tudhaliya IV held by the Storm God, Sharruma,¹⁶³ **Figure 6** the Sun Goddess Arinna with a Divine Child or Monarch on her lap¹⁶⁴

position of the Sun-goddess of Arinna as not only the protector of the king but also the presider of kings in general.¹⁶⁵ Her 'soft power' as a priestess and queen clearly was bolstered by the

¹⁶³ Atilim Gunes Bayden, "Relief of the Hittite God Sharuma holding the King Tudhaliya IV," Wikipedia Commons, November 8th, 2004. [Wikipedia Tudhaliya IV](#)

¹⁶⁴ PHGCOM, "Hittite Goddess And Child, "sun goddess of Arinna", Anatolia 15th-13th Century BCE," Wikipedia Commons, January 1st, 2006. [Hittite Goddess and Child.](#)

¹⁶⁵ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 272.

heavy connection of the divine and the divine king and she served in many ways as a sort of vassal for the Sun-goddess of Arinna (Fig. 6). A powerful, protective, and tutelary goddess, the Hittites correlated the Sun-goddess of Arinna with Ra and the Egyptians did likewise, holding both to protect and preside over the Great Kings as a queen-mother and advisor. The only confirmed, surviving idol of the Sun-goddess of Arinna is evocative of depictions of Isis holding the seated Horus, representing the pharaoh. Gods, particularly powerful tutelary deities, held the kings in the palm of their hand (Fig. 5) and, in the case of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, she found a vassal in mortal feminine power.¹⁶⁶ It is important to note, the Sun-goddess of Arinna is not depicted with weapons and Pudehepa, as with other West Asian queens, is not depicted with them or functioning in any military capacity. The queens of the Late Bronze Age engage with one another and their “brothers” in a way that their earlier analogues don’t, or at least that the surviving texts do not present. This may well have been influenced by the increased diplomatic role of the Great Kings in which the development of kin-ties, a traditionally feminine sphere, and the development of religio-economic power became more diplomatic and divine rather than martial.

Divinity was a commonality to all West Asian kings, a feature that would carry on into the much later Hellenistic era when, much as in the Bronze Age, hyper-masculinity, piety, and divinity made a king.¹⁶⁷ This was especially true in Egypt where the king was not only a semi-divine ruler or priest-king but a god in flesh, chosen of Horus, and beloved of Ra.¹⁶⁸ In many ways as one of the two most powerful kingdoms in West Asia, alongside Hatti, Egypt held an

¹⁶⁶ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 208-9.

¹⁶⁷ Jim Roy, “The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King,” in *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power, and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, ed. Lin Foxhall and John Salmon, (London: Routledge: Taylor and Francis Group, 1998), 112.

¹⁶⁸ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 81.

elevated status. The kings' divinity, if not his courtesy, was often beyond question. This likely correlates as to why the Great Kings never directly question each others' divinity or their masculinity, even if they may come dangerously close by besmirching their "lordliness," their generosity, or their courtesy.¹⁶⁹ The godhood of the ideal masculine was meant to manifest as the unquestionable hunter, warrior, diplomat, god, and king who is easily paralleled in the heavens in the local "Storm-god," and is a pupil to the "Sun." Both of these deities are invoked together in the majority of the diplomatic letters between the Kings of Hatti and Egypt, leading some to believe they became symbolic of the brotherhood as a whole.¹⁷⁰ This was not merely for show, as the relatively low numbers of murdered Egyptian kings compared to those of Hatti may highlight the profound influence of a god-king presiding over a more or less stable society. Furthermore, this explains why the kings are so careful not to denounce each others' core claims to manhood and godhood even in times of war and conflict. On one hand, it would undermine or invite similar insult to them. Furthermore, it would be an insult tantamount to blasphemy that might irreparably damage international relations. One may be reminded that one is a Great King but one's core attributes of it, manhood and divinity, couldn't be question without undermining the Great King's hypermasculine status in direct relation to the offending party. In many ways this evokes Hunt's applications of the Freudian Romance which applies excellently to the Bronze Age international royal family as divine, national fathers.

These kings often performed diplomatic gymnastics and engaged in incredibly expensive, far reaching trade over the course of years, forming alliances that spanned generations in the name of peace and the continuation of trade. Of course, in part this was because Assyria,

¹⁶⁹ Marc Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt: Second Edition* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons Ltd, 2021), 198.

¹⁷⁰ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 177.

Babylon, Egypt, and especially Hatti were too powerful to risk a full war. One of the few large scale battles at Kadesh seems to have ended in a bloodbath in which Hattusili III and Rameses II both claimed victory and a bloodied Hatti seized Canaan but was unable to capitalize on it against Egypt.¹⁷¹ At the same time, trade brought them valuable luxury items, many of which they requested by name, including gold from Egypt, lapis lazuli from Meluhna via Babylon, garments, animals and, perhaps most importantly, copper and tin.

Copper and tin are not mined together but are the two metals required for the production of bronze. While arsenic can be used in substitute for tin, it is still arsenic, capable of causing long term health defects, and it produces an inferior metal. This made peace not only an ideal between the larger powers that controlled the trade routes but also a priority.

The Great Kings incorporated this protective role into their identities of divine kingship, manifesting their warrior king identities during times of peace as the protectors of the road and international trade.¹⁷² Diplomacy was integral to the image of the divine West Asian priest king and condemnation for unsatisfactory gifts and improper conduct was swift and, as observed above, verbally brutal. These systems were already well developed by the 14th century BCE in languages that required a reciprocation of diplomacy, a relative caution after validation in war, and a willingness to engage in long-term trade for luxury items that their fellows could not easily acquire themselves.

In many ways it makes sense why Ahhiyawa was admitted, as a western power across the Aegean would have been able to facilitate maritime trade. This was a skill that, as established in the previous chapter, had previously been left to Ugarit and Minoan Crete. Yet, Ahhiyawa does

¹⁷¹ Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings*, 303-4.

¹⁷² *The Amarna Letters*, 16.

not remain a “Great King,” and, what is more, there is only a single letter from the King of Ahhiyawa. This tablet is badly damaged and only drafts survive to him from the Kings of Hatti. Other ‘demoted’ kings are clear; Mitanni and Mari lose in war but Ahhiyawa is never described as being conquered and there are no recorded treaties of their defeat.¹⁷³ Ahhiyawa maintains relative textual anonymity compared to the other powers, but how do pre-existing West Asian gendered expectations tell about Ahhiyawa’s place? The answer is in the final core concept of West Asian kingly masculinity that was integral to the Great Kings, war, which the Mycenaeans depicted with enthusiasm as the final result of a failed peace.

The majority of West Asian kings had come to value peace as a direct result of the massively lucrative trade connections that the Brotherhood of Kings guaranteed. It meant secure roads, far-ranging trade connections, and the assurance that travelers would be protected. Failure to do so invited compensation from the disappointing brother.¹⁷⁴ One could almost argue that it required one to acquire power without seeming to seek it from one’s neighbors, especially if they were Great Kings or their constituents. Many of the Great Kings, as often occurred in Syria and the Levant, preferred to exert their will indirectly as ‘fathers’ of smaller kingdoms that often served as buffers between them and their neighbors. However, they were still expected to be proficient in war and, specifically, to be victorious in war. Masculinity, war, and kingship were inseparable, a fact that was no less relevant in the Late Bronze Age and appears to have carried over into Hellenistic West Asia. As noted in an analysis in the masculinity of the much later Hellenistic Kings “[t]hat kingship was not however simply an implicitly masculine exercise of political and military activities traditional to...males but was understood...as explicitly

¹⁷³ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 58.

¹⁷⁴ *The Amarna Letters*, 19.

masculine, [as] shown by the public image of kingship and in particular by royal iconography.”¹⁷⁵

The kings of Bronze Age West Asia often presented themselves in two overlapping states as the ideal aristocrat, robed and crowned, or as a kingly warrior, reflecting the non-exclusive symbolism of the two. In their own homelands, these symbols were interchangeable and often connected directly to the gods to further clarify their role. Some kingly depictions showed them as students learning from an enthroned god while others were warring, with the line between them and the divine thinned to strengthen their connection to the masculine warrior god.¹⁷⁶ The gods were often depicted advising or bestowing sovereignty upon a king, but, as demonstrated in *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma*, a text detailing the deeds of the Hittite king, when a king went to war, the gods were believed to go with him:

In the morning, my father drove down from Tiwanzana into the country (while) in the rear his charioteers and six teams of horses were supporting him. And as my father was driving he came upon (?) that whole enemy all at once, and my father engaged him in battle. Then the gods helped my father: the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Storm God of Hatti, the Storm God of the Army, and [Istar of the Battle]field, (so that) he...smote the enemy.¹⁷⁷

This was not unique to Suppiliuma. While Suppiliuma is described with chariot teams, none of them are described helping him once the battle begins. In their place are four primary deities representing kingship and the warrior gods of storms and Ishtar. The West Asian Great King king made war and the gods came to his side, further driving home the innate divinity of his kingship and his masculinity. The balance of kingship, between unrelenting in war and

¹⁷⁵ Roy, “The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King,” 113.

¹⁷⁶ Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship*, 82.

¹⁷⁷ Hans Gustav Gutterbock, “The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II (Continued),” in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10 no. 3 (1956): 75-98.

apparently benevolent in negotiation further manifests in the Hittite descriptions of the Storm-god:

...[T]he Storm-god of Hatti took the people of Kurushtama to Egyptian territory, and how the Storm-god of Hatti made a treaty concerning them with the Hittites. Furthermore, they were put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti...the Hittites and the Egyptians had been put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti.”

Mortals drafted the treaties and the Great Kings of Hatti and Egypt consented to them, but it was the Storm-god of Hatti who got the credit and with whom Supilliumia was paralleled with in the catalogs of his wartime victories. The line between god and king was thin in the Late Bronze Age, but the line was barely visible when it came to the Great Kings of West Asia and, while not unique to Hatti, its prevalence in Hatti must be understood before looking at neighboring Ahhiyawa.

Based on the above, the Kings of Hatti and their brothers throughout West Asia prided themselves as men who excelled at war and diplomacy and on their generosity to one another. It was during the rise of New Kingdom Hatti, during the reign of Tudhaliya II that the Ahhiyawa, believed to be the Hittite form of the Homeric “Achaean,” first entered the Hittite historical record.¹⁷⁸ King Arnuwanda (1390-1380 BCE) records that, during the reign of his father Tudhaliya I/II, a fugitive named Madduwatta, had fled from the vengeance of Attarissiya of Ahhiya to the protection of the Hittite King:

Attarissiya, the ruler of Ahhiya, chased [you] Madduwatta, out of your land. Then he harassed you and kept chasing you. And he continued to seek an [evil] death for you, Madduwatta. He [would] have killed you, but you, Madduwatta, fled to the father [of My Majesty], and the father of My Majesty saved you from death. He [got] rid of Attarissiya for you. Otherwise, Attarissiya would not have left you alone, but would have killed you.

¹⁷⁸ There’s a lot of debate about just how many “Tudhaliyas” there are with a fair number of scholars claiming Tudhaliya I and II are the same person. However, because it's unclear and because the current numbering of kings assumes that they are separate, for the sake of clarity. The possible difference of the father of Arnuwanda as Tudhaliya II and the roles of the (possibly separate or same kin) Tudhaliya I are not significant to this thesis.

...

But [later] Attarissiya, the ruler of Ahhiya, came and was plotting to kill *you*, Madduwatta. But when the father of My Majesty Heard, he dispatched Kisnapili, infantry, and chariotry in battle against Attarissiya. And you, Madduwatta, once again did not resist Attarissiya, but broke ranks before him.... Kisnapili went in battle against Attarissiya... of Attarissiya [drew up]. And they fought. One officer of Attarissiya was killed, and one officer of ours, Zidanza, was killed. Then Attarissiya [...] to Madduwatta, and he went off to his own land. And they installed Madduwatta in his place once more.¹⁷⁹

Madduwatta remains a wild figure throughout the remaining tablets of the indictment. He appears to betray Tudhaliya I/II repeatedly and eventually goes so far as to aid Attarissiya in his conquest of the island of Rhodes.¹⁸⁰ In response, Tudhaliya defends Hatti and Madduwatta in war, but is repeatedly drawn into conflicts with the Ahhiyawa who are regularly presented as a powerful and dangerous fighting force on the Hittite frontier. That Tudhaliya I/II did not return Madduwatta, despite the return of fugitives being customary between Great Kings, says that Tudhaliya I/II did not consider Ahhiyawa a peer and that the courtesies Great Kingship carried did not apply yet to Ahhiyawa. However, the series of conflicts implied by tablets from throughout the 14th and 13th centuries implies that Ahhiyawa was more than capable of disrupting Hittite operations in Western Anatolia that demanded the respect shown to Hatti's neighbors.

Attarissiya's presence on the mainland and on Rhodes has led some to suspect that "Ahhiyawa" may in fact refer to a near-forgotten Mycenaean kingdom in Milawanda, later Miletus or modern day Izmir.¹⁸¹ Attarissiya, though assumedly the governor or possibly even king of Ahhiya, is not a Great King, based on the lack of any labeling and the Hittite refusal to

¹⁷⁹ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 154, 156. The bolded ellipses here represent where segments were skipped for clarity and brevity rather than indicating damage on the tablet.

¹⁸⁰ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 156-9.

¹⁸¹ Willemijn Waal, "My Brother, A Great King, My Peer: Evidence for a Mycenaean Kingdom from Hittite Texts," in *From 'Lugal.Gal' to 'Wanax': Kingship and Political Organization in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. Jorrit M. Kelder and Willemijn J. I. Waal (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019), 25.

return Madduwatta. Trevor Bryce notes that it is possible that, given Tudhaliya's incessant tolerance, there is a convergence of two contributing factors. The first was that the Hittite kings likely openly condemned Madduwatta while secretly supporting him and, secondly, took pride in their merciful forbearance against rebellious vassals which permitted Madduwatta free reign throughout Arzawa, modern southwestern Anatolia.¹⁸² This mercy marks another aspect of kingship, one that corresponds to their magnanimous attitudes in trade and in diplomacy, and likely explains why Madduwatta was not sent back to Ahhiyawa. More telling is what this says about Attarissiya and Ahhiya. Attarissiya is clearly not a Great King, as indicated by contemporary treaties demanding the return of fugitives to the homelands of Great Kings.¹⁸³

What happens to or in Ahhiyawa over the course of the next late 15th to early 13th centuries BCE is unclear, but what is clear is Ahhiyawa became a peer of the Great Kings of West Asia. This was a direct result of victory in war or, as was the case at Kadesh, a severe enough display of force that Hatti was forced to acknowledge Ahhiyan power in Anatolia. Hattusili III II was later accosted by a raider, Piyamirandu (also spelled Piya-mirandu) who would flee into Ahhiyawa to escape justice in the 13th century BCE.¹⁸⁴ It is, notably, the first surviving text in which a King of Ahhiyawa is referred to as "brother" by a Great King. This letter is often called the "Tawagalawa Letter" though Tawagalawa was neither the author nor the recipient, though he is referred to as the biological brother of the King of Ahhiyawa who is the recipient of the letter:

O, my brother, write to [Piyamirandu] this one thing, if nothing (else): "Get up and go off to Hatti. Your lord has reconciled with you. If not, then come over to Ahhiyawa, and in whatever location I settle you, [...] Get up [and] resettle in [another] location. So long as

¹⁸² Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 137.

¹⁸³ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 99.

¹⁸⁴ Some scholars believe this is the linguistic origin of King Priam of Troy and contemporary treaties mention an Alaksandu or Alexandros in Wilusa.

you are hostile to the King of Hatti be hostile from another land! Do not be hostile from my land. If you (!) would rather be in Karkiya or Masa, go there. The King of Hatti has persuaded me about the matter of the land of Wilusa concerning which he and I were hostile to one another, and we have made peace. Now (?) hostility is not appropriate between us.” [Send that] to him.¹⁸⁵

The war between Hattusili III and the King of Ahhiyawa is referred to as having taken place in Hattusili III’s youth, but it is clear Muwatalli was wary of another engagement. Hattusili III’s reluctance was likely due to the distance of Hatti from border of Ahhiyawa, positioned on the southwestern coast of Anatolia near Milawanda. Despite the standard treaty demanding the return of fugitives, it is clear that the King of Ahhiyawa did not readily uphold his conventional role and it also appears that he neglected traditional norms of diplomacy. Hattusili III complains early on in the letter that the King of Ahhiyawa’s messenger, and the King of Ahhiyawa himself, have not shown him the due respect: “But when [the messenger of] my brother met me, he did not bring me [any greetings] or any gift. He just spoke [as follows]: “He has written to Atpa: ‘turn Piyama-radu over to the King of Hatti!’”¹⁸⁶ The King of Ahhiyawa was willing to fulfill his role at least nominally but was clearly unwilling to fulfill the King of Hatti’s demands or exchange gifts with him. This damaged his familial relationship and respect of the Hittite King by not sending gifts. However, that Hattusili III seems to have corresponded previously with the King of Ahhiyawa likely indicates that the Great King had sent gifts in the past but now, despite the insult of Piyamarandu, is unwilling or unable to.¹⁸⁷

Based on this letter, it is clear Ahhiyawa is a late comer to the longstanding systems of power and masculinity present in West Asia. Hattusili III’s frustration reads clearly in the letter

¹⁸⁵ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 115.

¹⁸⁶ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 105

¹⁸⁷ It is also possible that if Ahhiya was a broader Mycenaean state, the letter was sent to the *lawagetas*, Atpa, of Milawanda with the expectation that Atpa would provide the gift for the King of Hatti but failed to do so. Whether intentional or no, based on the norms described, both reflect poorly on the Ahhiyawan King.

however, the fact he does not question the quality of the King of Ahhiyawa's kingship or brotherly status indicates that The Ahhiyawan Great King had lived up to the expectations of the Brotherhood. The King of Ahhiyawa needed certain traits to be considered a Great King—victory in war, trade, divinity, and some measure of diplomatic competence. As no response from the Great King of Ahhiyawa has ever been recovered, it is entirely possible that, just like Rameses II carefully asking pardon from Pudehepa, the King of Ahhiyawa might have done the same. Without a foreign trove of letters having been found in Mycenaean Greece and without any drafts as there are of several Hittite letters, the King of Ahhiyawa's response and his political relationship with the King of Hatti remain vague. What is clear is that the King of Ahhiyawa was considered a man worthy enough, publicly at least, to be counted a peer in kingship, divinity, and might with the kings of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, and Hatti. Where the Hittite tablets fall short, the art, Linear B tablets, and grave goods of Mycenaean Greece may illuminate how the Mycenaeans depicted themselves in relation to West Asia and what originated there.

Where Minoan art primarily revolves around nature, the natural, and the apotheosis while warrior kings are rife in the art of Hatti and Egypt, the Mycenaeans depict hunting and war a great deal in mediums ranging from palatial frescoes to pottery to signet rings, such as those found in the tomb of the Griffin Warrior.¹⁸⁸ Swordsmen dueling, common soldiers marching, chariot drivers, and an abundance of hunting scenes are commonplace. Of the latter, the boar in particular stands out as defining the perceived virility of Mycenaean men. In the ruins of Tiryns, a badly damaged fresco was recovered, revealing a simple scene of a boar pursued by dogs and being pierced by a spear held by a now lost huntsman¹⁸⁹ The significance of the boar is made

¹⁸⁸ Jack L. Davis, *A Greek State in Formation: The Origins of Civilization in Mycenaean Pylos*, (Oakland: University of California Press), 84. The Minoan descriptions are vague on account of their controversial nature.

¹⁸⁹ Women with swords, spears, and helms appear regularly in Mycenaean art. These weapons were thought to reflect a purely ceremonial function, such as the gold and inlaid weapons at Mycenae however, in early 2022 Jack L.

evident by the boar-tusk helmet (Fig. 7), a form of artifact that has become synonymous with Mycenaean Greece.¹⁹⁰ Boar-tusk helmets have been found in Mycenaean sites as old as the 17th century and as late as the 10th century. The boar tusk helmet even makes an appearance in



Figure 7, A boar tusk helmet assembled from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 515.¹⁹¹

Homer's *Iliad*, it is described in pristine detail as a relic of a bygone era, having outlasted the Bronze Age itself.¹⁹² These helmets, which required dozens of boar to complete a single one, are abundant and seem to have actually been used in battle, though likely less protective than a metal

Davis published the find of a female archer from Pylos as the first display of a woman using weaponry in Mycenaean art.

¹⁹⁰ Tlokestis, "Wall painting fragments with a representation of a wild boar hunt. From the later Tiryns palace," photographed at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Wikipedia Commons, December 16th, 2007. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiryns#/media/File:Tiryns_fresco.JPG

¹⁹¹ Jebulon, "Boar's tusk helmet with cheek-guards and a double bone hook on top. Mycenae, chamber Tomb 515, 14th – 13th centuries BC." Wikipedia Commons, May 20th, 2015.

[Boar Tusk Helmet](#)

¹⁹² Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Caroline Alexander, (Ecco: New York, 2015), 205. 10.260-5.

helmet. They have been found with the Dendra panoply at Thebes meaning they were incorporated into heavier bronze armor. Thus the line between hunter and warrior is heavily obscured and man's domination of nature appears routinely with both being expressive of masculinity in much the same way that the protection of the roads was for West Asian Kings and this proclivity for war was no less evident in the Linear B tablets from Pylos.

The tablets that survive from Mycenaean Greece never directly depict the *wanax* in any clear capacity beyond an administrative role but, much like with his divine functions, his fulfillment of martial expectations is clear in the tablets. The palaces functioned as powerful administrative centers in which goods were collected and redistributed often to refinement facilities where raw materials could be produced into finer luxury items. From Pylos, bronze appears in several different tablets and was distributed to different smiths, both those working directly for the palace and those “*of the mistress*,” in reference to Potnia.¹⁹³ This bronze was then fashioned into arms and armor. The tablets note as many as fifty swords being produced at a time, more ornate swords with “bindings” being made, forty-two spears “with bronze points,” numerous arrows, and both the parts for and completed chariots.¹⁹⁴ These chariots, in turn, often reflected international connections, one tablet from Pylos describes a chariot richly adorned with foreign materials: “[Two] horse-(chariots without wheels) inlaid with ivory, (fully) assembled, painted crimson, equipped with bridles with leather *cheek-straps* (and) horn *bits*.”¹⁹⁵ Others are described without ivory but are inlaid with bronze, and others appear to have been damaged or otherwise incomplete.¹⁹⁶ As a result, one may conclude that the *wanax* controlled not only the

¹⁹³ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 353-357. The Italics here refer to the reconstructed word rather than emphasis.

¹⁹⁴ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 360-362.

¹⁹⁵ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 366.

¹⁹⁶ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 367.

creation but also the distribution of the tools of elite warfare, the chariot and the sword, the latter of which appears regularly in Mycenaean art both ceremonially and in usage.¹⁹⁷ Much like the Hittite Kings, the *wanax* was then not only a nexus of military iconography but also the primary origin of the tools of war that were then redistributed among his lieutenants and his warriors. Here he fulfills his role as a Great King and as a father to his constituents guarding the distribution of goods.

The arms and armor of the Griffin Warrior, Attarisiyas in the “Indictment of Madduwatta,” and the actions of contemporary kings imply that the Mycenaean *wanax* would have likely gone to war himself. In doing so, as the apex of the warrior elite of Mycenaean Greece, the *wanakes* would have likely striven to embody both the physical and conceptual ideal and would have likely been one of the few, if not the only, warrior to bear a panoply such as the one recovered from Dendra. Recovered in 1977, the panoply consisted of fifteen pieces of bronze.¹⁹⁸ The sheer amount of wealth required to make this indicates that it would have likely been worn either by the *wanax* or his *lawagetas*, or war-leader, who likely would have filled a similar role to the kinsmen of the Great Kings in Hatti and Egypt. Despite the artistic ideals of heroic nudity, reinforced by the boar-tusk helmet, it serves as a reminder that the martial prowess of the *wanax*, as a Great King, was likely far more than just performative, hence cementing his marital status in the Brotherhood. These same tablets also shed light on Mycenaean Greece’s ability to produce luxury items of their own for trade with foreign markets.

¹⁹⁷ Dan Howard, *Bronze Age Military Equipment*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd: 2011) 36-7.

¹⁹⁸ Howard, *Military Equipment*, 77. Howard’s research and that of modern re-enactors have found that the armor was neither too heavy nor too hot as was initially believed to have been worn into battle. There are a lot of arguments about what exactly his equipment was besides this, with the exception of the boar-tusk helmet and the daggers, and what exactly it was and what that says about whoever was in it.

While the King of Ahhiyawa and Muwatalli held some disagreement over the matter of gifts at one point in their lives, Mycenaean Greek tablets in Linear B from Knossos, Pylos, Mycenae, and Tiryns all indicate massive amounts of goods were produced for trade. Olsen's study of women's labor in Mycenaean Greece reveals that textiles were a massive industry heavily monitored by the palace, "2,000 low-status workers" working for the palace, she argues, were owned by the palace or, as on Knossos, served as corvee laborers.¹⁹⁹ This is a massive labor force considering the size of the palaces and that the majority of the tablets come from only two sites. A staggering amount of labor was committed to the production of dyed textiles, likely with the intent of international trade. Furthermore, the presence of ivory being recorded in the tablets reinforces connections to Egypt and Hatti for goods imported from further afield in Kush and/or Meluhna.²⁰⁰ Thus, the Kings of Ahhiyawa cannot have been as inept or hostile as Muwatalli's letter implies, at least on the long-term scale. This also validates the relatively long standing of Ahhiyawa has a great kingdom in the Late Bronze Age being able to commit so much to the production of trade goods. These goods in turn, as discussed in the previous chapter, helped validate local Mycenaean aristocracy and supported the development of elite Mycenaean individuals such as those at the Mycenaean grave circles and the Messenian Griffin Warrior.

Considering the importance of the semi-divine king to West Asian art, he should appear in Mycenaean Greece but his depiction in art is curiously absent. So, where is the king? In the Linear B tablets, the *wanax* fulfills a kingly role though the lack of detail has rendered the exact nature of the role unclear though he is generally accepted to have been a king. The Mycenaean *wanax* appears in the tablets with his landholdings being listed both as a title and bearing the

¹⁹⁹ Barbara Olsen, *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 42, 254, Corvee labor refers to labor which is given in place of tax.

²⁰⁰ Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), 333-4.

generally accepted name of Ekhelawon but he had no inscriptions and is not clearly depicted as a man.²⁰¹ Based the evidence presented it is clear the kings of Ahhiyawa adhered, whether intentionally or otherwise, to the common language of power in West Asia, as a result, where



Figure 8, The Lady of the Griffin from Mycenae²⁰²

one finds the gods, one will find the divine king of Mycenae. The gods, however, are similarly vague, except for one. One Mycenaean fresco from Orchomenos depicts a woman wearing a boar-tusk helmet, cradling a griffin (Fig. 8). Between her helmet, the supernatural beast in her arms, and similar, helmeted iconography to the later Pallas Athene she is generally accepted to

²⁰¹ Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, 120.

²⁰² “Fragment of a 13th century B.C. mural from Orchomenos depicting warrior goddess, in the Cult Centre of Mycenae in boar tusk helmet with a griffin,” Wikipedia Commons, February 14th, 2014.
[Goddess-Boar-Tusks-Helmet](#)

have been a goddess.²⁰³ Her helmet and beast makes her stand out amidst conventional West Asian aristocratic women and goddesses who often wear headdresses but never helmets. She has more in common with Mycenaean depictions of women of whom many are armed, and these goods are reflected in their mortuary items.²⁰⁴ The presence of her long unbraided hair may also indicate a warrior status as it echoes those of warriors in the frescoes. Based on this, Mycenaean warrior elites took great pride in their hair as evidence by the comb and mirror from the Griffin Warrior's grave.²⁰⁵ Based on the depictions here, Mycenaean understood gender and its relation in a similar vein to their West Asian counterparts. If the King of the Ahhiyawa was Mycenaean, as accepted, and a Great King, as accepted, then he must have displayed the core attributes generally expected of West Asian kings. Only divinity initially appears to be lacking but, when surveying Mycenaean art for the similar icons of divine kingly power, it becomes possible to find the Mycenaean Great King or *wanax*.

As mentioned, men in Mycenaean Greece are often depicted contending with animals and the lion appears to have held special significance for them. The lion-hunt dagger (Fig. 9) is one of the most famous Mycenaean relics, depicting a lion-hunt on one side in visceral detail indicating that the Eurasian lion was considered worthy of ornate craftsmanship.²⁰⁶ Lions appear elsewhere, as in the lion-gate at Mycenae, in palace frescos, and in the griffin, a fusion of the mundane and the sacral in the form of the eagle. Griffins often are depicted in both Minoan and

²⁰³ Louise Schofield, *The Mycenaean* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007), 155.

²⁰⁴ Louise Schofield, *The Mycenaean* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007), 155.

²⁰⁵ Argyro Nafplioti, "Mycenae Revisited Part 2. Exploring the Local Versus Non-Local Geographical Origin of the Individuals From Grave Circle A: Evidence From Strontium Isotope Ratio ($87\text{Sr}/86\text{Sr}$) Analysis," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 104 (2009): 287.; Davis, *A Greek State*, 66-7.

²⁰⁶ Nicholas G. Blackwell, "Making the Lion Gate Relief at Mycenae: Tool Marks and Foreign Influence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118, no. 3 (2014), 45.

Mycenaean palaces and on the signet ring of the eponymous Griffin Warrior.²⁰⁷ To say the griffin was associated with kingship should not be controversial. However, when this is cross



Figure 9. The Lion-hunt Dagger from Mycenae²⁰⁸

referenced with the posturing of gods and kings in relation to one another in West Asia, when present with a god, a king is always either standing to learn or held by the god. When taking this into account, the griffin's symbolism becomes more apparent. When one considers the role of tutelary gods in the protection of the Hittite king, Athene's later role as a tutelary deity, and considering her positioning with the griffin, the argument that Lady of the Griffin is actually holding the Mycenaean symbol of the divine king is more than justified. This is what a gendered analysis of the shared language of power between Mycenaean Greece and West Asia implies.

A gendered analysis of Mycenaean Greece in relation to West Asia and the international alliance of the Brotherhood of Kings elaborates on a collection of gendered standards of magnanimity and diplomatic excellence, martial prowess, and innate divinity that were the result of centuries of political evolution. In applying this language of power to Mycenaean Greece and the Mycenaean kingdom of Ahhiyawa, one expands on the process begun in the 16th-15th

²⁰⁷ Schofield, *The Mycenaean*, 94.

²⁰⁸ "Depiction of a hunting scene on a dagger blade, 16th century BC, probably Minoan, buried at Mycenae, Greece," Wikipedia Commons, January 1st, 2005.

centuries of a Mycenaean Greece actively reaching east and seeking to engage with West Asian powers for luxury items and to be received as a peer; a Mycenaean Greece that lives up to the standards of the Brotherhood of Kings. In doing so, this thesis has proposed a symbol of Mycenaean kingship in the sacral and mundane chimera of the griffin. In understanding the state of Mycenaean Greece during its contact with the Brotherhood of Kings one is able to then begin to ask how and why Mycenaean Greece was removed from the Brotherhood of Kings in the 13th century, shortly before the Bronze Age Collapse.

CHAPTER 3: OUSTED FROM THE BROTHERHOOD

“Concerning those owing a service obligation about whom you have appealed to My Majesty—on this occasion have I not sent Satalli to you? Now I have been told that the Ahhiyawan is tarrying in the land of Lukka, but there are no (copper) ingots for him. In this matter don’t tell me that there is no appropriate action. Give ships to Satalli, so that he may take the ingots to the Ahhiyawans. On a second occasion, My Majesty will not again send to you persons owing a service obligation.”

–King Suppiliuma II of Hatti to King Ammurapi of Ugarit²⁰⁹

“No ship [of] Ahhiyawa may go to him (the King of Assyria?)”
The treaty between Tudhaliya IV of Hatti and Shaushga-muwa of Amurru²¹⁰

In 1209 BCE, Suppiliuma II, the last King of the Hittites, wrote to Ammurapi, the last King of Ugarit, and chastised him for failing to supply payment to Ahhiyawans for either services rendered or as a payment in advance.²¹¹ By then, there was no “Ahhiyawa” in Anatolia, and these were likely mercenaries, offering their services to the last Hittite King as he desperately tried to hold his empire together.²¹² Ahhiyawa in the late 13th century is a far cry from the Ahhiyawa of the 14th or even mid-13th century, who had actively opposed the Hittite Kings and engaged with them as equals.²¹³ Ahhiyawa’s diminished state was undoubtedly connected to Tudhaliya IV’s ban on Ahhiyawan ships passing through Amurru and his expulsion of Ahhiyawa from the Brotherhood of Kings and West Asia as a whole.²¹⁴ Ahhiyawa’s loss of status in this transitory period of the Bronze Age collapse is best understood through the records of the 13th century’s three longest reigning kings.

Many of the Hittite letters and documents refer to Ahhiyawa but where Hittite kings traditionally named themselves and the intended recipient at the tops of these letters many are

²⁰⁹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 260.

²¹⁰ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 106.

²¹¹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 257.

²¹² Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 262.

²¹³ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 140.

²¹⁴ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 106.

damaged. As a result, none of the Ahhiyawan kings in this chapter have names. Because this chapter draws most heavily on Hittite sources, it includes regular references to Hatti, as the Kingdom of the Hittites, and Hittite as the name of the dominant ethnic group in Anatolia.

Based on the Hittite sources, Ahhiyawa had consistently proven itself worthy of Brotherhood status since the late 15th century based on the three core manifestations of male, kingly power: military excellence, divinity, and diplomatic magnanimity. Ahhiyawa, as a Mycenaean Kingdom, possessed an undeniably martial elite. It represented its kings or *wanaktes* as divine, although it sometimes failed in the intricacies of gift giving.²¹⁵ An abundance of Egyptian and Levantine artifacts in Mycenaean Greece and Mycenaean pottery throughout the Levant and the Nile Delta indicate a healthy relationship between Ahhiyawa and its southern neighbors²¹⁶ This chapter seeks to analyze how and why Ahhiyawa was removed from the Brotherhood of Kings despite living up to the gendered and political standards of the Brotherhood of Kings. This analysis focuses on the correspondence of the three major Hittite Kings of the 13th century: Muwattalli II (1295-1272), Hattusili III (1267-1237), and Tudhaliya IV (1237-1209). Where they pertain to Ahhiyawa, these documents reveal constant tension between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa which was ultimately the cause of Ahhiyawan expulsion from the Brotherhood. A threat and a catalyst throughout these three is Piyamaradu, an ally of the Ahhiyawa, who appears routinely over the course of his thirty-five-year career of raiding the Hittite allies and destabilizing border territories.²¹⁷ He is essential to this narrative and shows up frequently in the Hittite records even though there are no accounts of Piyamaradu's history

²¹⁵ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 145; Bekcman, *Hittite Diplomatic*, 96.

²¹⁶ Waal, "My brother," 25.

²¹⁷ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 147. Though a thirty-five year career is impressive, he consistently appears during the reigns of three Hittite Kings and it appears he was able to retire safely to the lands of his allies. Such a long raiding career is not unique, as King Bardyllis of Illyria was in his 90s when he died fighting Philip II of Macedon.

outside of his aggressions against Hatti. Piyamaradu was a proxy through which the tensions between the Hittites and Ahhiyawa manifested and, while not the only cause, was a motive for Ahhiyawa's removal from the Brotherhood of Kings.

Muwattalli II reigned from 1295 to 1272 BCE over a Hittite empire that had come to control most of Anatolia. He claimed fealty from the Kings of Wilusa and had expanded directly to the edge of Egypt's holdings in Syria. Over the course of the 14th century, Egypt and Hatti had increasingly risen to the point of "first among equals" amidst the Brotherhood of Kings. During his reign, tensions with Egypt came to a head and ultimately broke out into war when Rameses III invaded Muwattalli II's Syrian holdings.²¹⁸ Muwattalli II's gaze was almost constantly focused on his southern border, but the developments in Ahhiyo-Hittite relations during his reign set the stage for later conflicts throughout the 13th century.

The only letter ever recovered from an unidentified King of Ahhiyawa, Ahhiyawa Text 134, was composed to Muwattalli II. As with most Hittite diplomatic texts, it is nearly impossible to discern an exact date. The tablet is also badly damaged to the point that only two lines are visible, and thus it is impossible to tell whether it comes before or after the outbreak of the Hittite-Egyptian conflict. However, the two most intact lines are telling. "Now, the King of Assuwa was on good terms with the King of Ahhiyawa so that my great grandfather Kagamuna...and had previously married his daughter." wrote the King of Ahhiyawa, "Tudhaliya, your great grandfather, defeated the King of Assuwa and made him a subject. The islands? *previously belonged to the King of Ahhiyawa.*"²¹⁹ The rest of the text makes it clear that the King of Ahhiyawa expected the King of Hatti to return these islands to him and that he

²¹⁸ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 228; Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings*, 303-4.

²¹⁹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 134. It is unclear just which islands Ahhiyawa is referring to but, since the King of Assuwa ruled them at one point, it is likely they were located near the northwest of Anatolia.

considered himself a Great King and a peer of Hatti.²²⁰ His language is formal and, unlike most letters carried between the Great Kings, was written in Hittite, reflecting a common language, among Ahhiyawa's scribes.²²¹ Ahhiyawa clearly sought to fulfill the expected diplomatic obligations as a peer of the international family, a relationship that appears to have been one-sided.

By contrast, Muwattalli II's treaty with the city of Wilusa made it clear that he did not consider the Kings of Ahhiyawa his peers despite their attestation in Ahhiyawa 134. Instead, Muwattalli II listed the Kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Hanigalbat, and Assyria.²²² It is unlikely that the treaty came before some other circumstance made the King of Ahhiyawa Muwattalli II's peer. The next time Ahhiyawa and Wilusa appear during Muwattalli II's reign, it is under far less favorable circumstances.

Another letter to Muwattalli II came from Manapa-Tarhunta, the King of the Seha River Land. This letter described part of an ongoing conflict between the Hittites and their vassals and the Ahhiyawa.²²³ Though Manapa-Tarhunta had rebelled against Muwattalli II's predecessor, he appears to have remained loyal to the Hittite kings during this exchange and cites with despair the poor conduct of an agent of Ahhiyawa; Piyamaradu.²²⁴

²²⁰ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 134. The italics here represent where the translators observed this segment had been at least partially erased but was still decipherable.

²²¹ Most letters written amidst the Brotherhood were in Akkadian which had become a common tongue of scribes during the reign of Sargon the Great of Akkad. The few exceptions are usually between immediate family members, such as letters between the Hittite Kings and their sons, both literary and political, in Carchemish and Amurru.

²²² Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 90. Hanigalbat doesn't come up in this thesis except here but it is telling that Muwattalli II considers it his 'peer' since at this point it is a puppet kingdom of his made from what remains of the Kingdom of Mitanni that his grandfather, Suppiliuma I the Great had conquered. The king of Wilusa described in this treaty is one Alaksandu whose name shares the same linguistic root as Alexandros, the royal name of Prince Paris of Troy, i.e. Wilusa. This treaty might feel a bit odd here but it is surprisingly complete in deity, king, and region lists and it comes up again later in this thesis as a result.

²²³ Where the "Seha River Land" was is debated but it is believed to have been just north of Milawanda where an ancient citadel five times the size of the one at Wilusa has been found.

²²⁴ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts* 141-2.

When Piyamaradu humbled me, he installed Atpa over me. Then he attacked Lazpa. [And[absolutely all of the dyers who belonged to me went over [to him]. Those who [belonged] to Your Majesty [were...] dyers, and all without exception went over.... The dyers [of the household] of Huha made a [representation[to Atpa as follows: “We are persons subject to tribute, [and] we have come across the sea. We want [to deliver] our tribute. Siggauna may have committed a crime, but we haven’t done anything!”...He would have released [them], but Piyamaradu sent [Sigguana to him, saying] as follows: “The Storm -God [has given[(them) to you–why [will you return[them?: When Atpa heard the message of Piyamaradu, he did not give [them] back....Kupanta-Kurunta sent to Atpa: “Release [the dyers]there who belong to [His Majesty]!” He released every [last one] of the dyers who belonged [to] the gods or to Your Majesty.²²⁵

In this letter, Manapa-Tarhunta lays out a series of grievances against Piyamaradu. The raider had seized Lazpa (Lesbos) and ensured that the ruler of Milawanda, the administrative center of Anatolian Ahhiyawa, held skilled laborers loyal to Muwattalli II hostage.²²⁶ These hostilities connect to other parts of the letter, which describe Hittite soldiers going to Wilusa for reasons that are unclear.²²⁷ Furthermore, Piyamaradu does not hide his close dealings with the ruler of Milawanda, indicating an open war between the kingdoms of Ahhiyawa and Hatti.

Read separately, the badly damaged letters from the King of Ahhiyawa (134) and Manapa-Tarhunta (143) do not make as much sense. However, in analyzing these two letters together, they paint a very clear picture of Ahhiyo-Hittite relations in the early 13th century. Ahhiyawa had occupied Milawanda and the lands around it since at least the reign of Tudhaliya I/II in the late 15th to early 14th century BCE. It is this Tudhaliya to whom the King of Ahhiyawa refers in his request for the islands of conquered “Assuwa” in northwestern Anatolia. That the King of Ahhiyawa had reached out not only diplomatically but with a familiarity indicates that Ahhiyawa had become well educated in the language of power appropriate for

²²⁵ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 143. The emboldened ellipses are inserted by the author for clarity rather than as indications of where the tablet was broken as is the case with the other quotes.

²²⁶ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 143.

²²⁷ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 141. This is likely the same “Wilusa” conflict that Hattusili III’s “Tawagalawa Letter” refers to.

kings in Late Bronze Age West Asia. Furthermore, that he requested lands from Muwattalli II indicates that, despite modern conceptions of the Homeric raider-king and Mycenaean warrior-elite ideals, Ahhiyawa preferred to negotiate for control of these islands likely so as not to disrupt the long-distance trade of the Brotherhood of Kings. When this failed, Ahhiyawa went to war in western Anatolia. Piyamaradu seized Lazpa/Lesbos and apparently was enough of a concern that Muwattalli II sent soldiers to Wilusa over the matter. The Brotherhood of Kings expected its kings to adhere to diplomatic ideals as the alliance facilitated long-distance trade for luxury items. When these millennia-old systems broke down, war was the common response. Ahhiyawa here had done everything it was supposed to do as a Great Kingdom and upheld those associated traditions.

Muwattalli II snubbed Ahhiyawa in the king list as recorded in his treaty with Wilusa. Muwattalli II also caused a breakdown in Hittite relations with Egypt. His forces were beaten in the first Battle of Kadesh, date unclear, and a second engagement in 1274 that left both sides badly bloodied. Both conflicts were in no small part due to Muwattalli II's mismanagement of his Syrian holdings and alliances which had enflamed Egypt.²²⁸ Like a West Asian Great Power, the Great King of Ahhiyawa fostered positive relations with all of its neighbors, as indicated by the presence of Egyptian wares even though no letters to Egypt survive. Though Cline traced the origins of a proposed Ahhiyawan alliance with Amenhotep III in the 14th century, one cannot deny that any such alliance would have been cemented by a shared breakdown of relations with the Hittites during the reign of King Muwattalli II.²²⁹ There are almost no Hittite wares in the

²²⁸ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 235. Seti I won the first battle of Kadesh against the Hittites but the year of this victory is vague.

²²⁹ Cline, *1177*, 71.

Mycenaean archaeological record which may indicate Cline’s proposed Egypto-Ahhiyawan alliance as a result of Ahhiyawa’s snub and the Hittite-Egyptian alliance as a result of Ahhiyawa’s snub and the Hittite-Egyptian

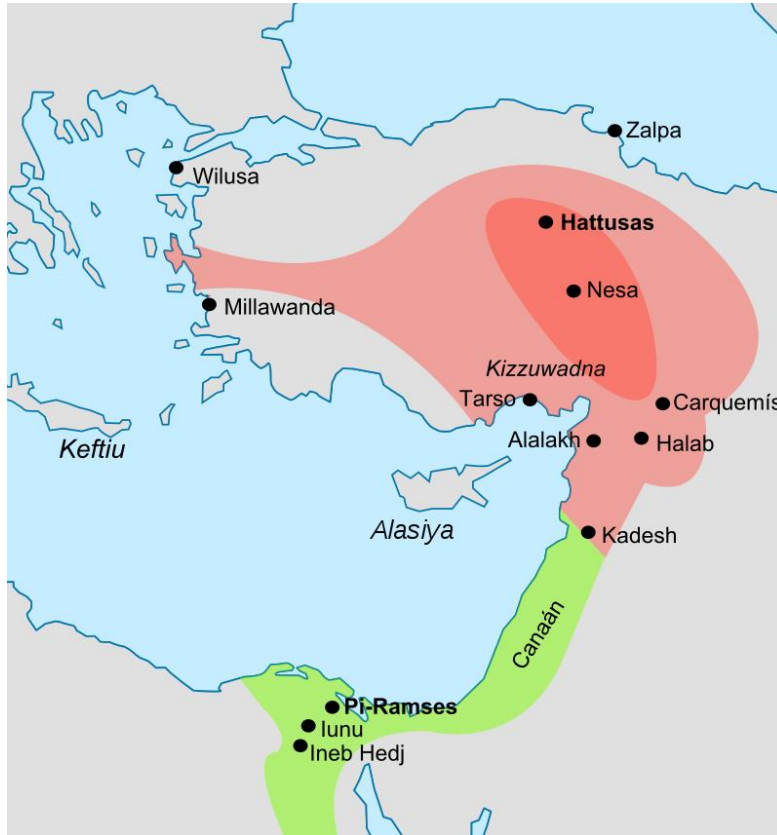


Figure 10. A map of the Hittite and Egyptian Empires in 1274 BCE with Milawanda, Wilusa, Keftiu/Crete, and Kadesh visible.²³⁰

conflict. If one member of the Brotherhood, between Ahhiyawa and Hatti, fell short of their expectations, then Muwattalli II failed diplomatically and militarily when he misjudged the strength of Ahhiyawa and, in doing so, made a terrible enemy that would haunt his successors.

In 1274 BCE, Muwattalli II and Rameses II both claimed victory at the mutually disastrous Battle of Kadesh. Trevor Bryce writes that “[t]he conflict at Kadesh had seriously

²³⁰ Crates, “The Egyptian Empire under Ramesses II (green) bordering on the Hittite Empire (red) at the height of its power in c. 1279 BC.,” Wikipedia Commons, 2008.

drained the resources of both kingdoms. From this, they would never fully recover.”²³¹ Hattusili III, a veteran of Kadesh and experienced military commander set about ending the wars begun during his brother Muwattalli II’s reign.²³² He cemented a peace treaty with Egypt and officially ended the war with Ahhiyawa.²³³ Hattusili III likely underwent these measures for two closely connected reasons; to mitigate any further damage from the semi-victory at Kadesh and to allow him to focus on his more volatile frontiers in the north and east. If preservation of these boundaries was Hattusili III’s hope, they fell short. The records from his reign consistently describe raids by Piyamaradu on Hittite territory and the Ahhiyawan King’s refusal to aid his fellow Great King.

Hattusili III reigned for thirty years, from 1267-1237 BCE. His reign saw numerous letters between him and his vassals and to the King of Ahhiyawa.²³⁴ The most famous of these is the “Tawagalawa Letter,” named for the brother of the Ahhiyawan King, whom Hattusili III depicts as friendly to Hatti and an ideal intermediary between the two. Hattusili III complains that Piyamaradu is constantly raiding Hittite and their allies’ lands, only to retreat back to Ahhiyawa each time the Hittites attempt to confront him.²³⁵ When Hattusili III finally confronted Piyamaradu face-to-face, Piyamaradu agreed he would leave Ahhiyawa but would leave his family safely in Milawanda out of the Great King’s reach:

“I will cross over to the land of Masa or the land of Karkiya, but I will leave behind here the civilian captives, my (!) wife, children, [and] household.” Will it (indeed) be like this plan? While he leaves behind his wife, children, and household in my brother’s land, will

²³¹ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 241.

²³² Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 164.

²³³ Beckman, Bryce, Cline *Ahhiyawa Texts* 171; Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 90.

²³⁴ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 115.

²³⁵ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 113-5.

your land support him? This person keeps attacking my territory. But if I... it to him, he returns to your land. Do you approve, my brother? Did you now [...] this?²³⁶

Though Hattusili III is, understandably, frustrated with the King of Ahhiyawa's refusal to cooperate on the matter of Piyamaradu, the tone is otherwise largely conciliatory. He even goes so far as to offer safe conduct to Piyamaradu, to offer him hostages, and to implore the King of Ahhiyawa to tell Piyamaradu to be "hostile from another land."²³⁷ Hattusili III clearly seeks to avoid another conflict with Ahhiyawa, such as the one which occurred at "[Wilusa] about which we were hostile."²³⁸ Hattusili III acknowledges the King of Ahhiyawa's anger with him and quotes the Ahhiyawan King as citing Hattusili III's earlier aggressions in Lukka and the Wilusa war. Hattusili III dismisses these actions as the fault of his youth.²³⁹ Considering the high-handed nature with which Hattusili III's predecessors had handled Ahhiyawa and their neighbors, this desperate plea to end hostilities highlights Hatti's weakness after Kadesh and Hattusili III's tenuous position after he seized the throne. Despite Hattusili III's frustrations, the tablets imply that, even as Ahhiyawa did nothing to deter Piyamaradu, they also seem to have taken care to not take responsibility for his actions, thus, at least nominally, saving face with the Hittite King.

Though Ahhiyawa likely referred to a broader Mycenaean-led kingdom or league, its holdings in western Anatolia almost consistently revolve around Milawanda, making it part of a vast hinterland of peoples.²⁴⁰ Depending on the strength of the Hittite king, most of Ahhiyawa's

²³⁶ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 115.

²³⁷ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 113, 115. One can imagine that, if Piyamaradu went to another land and was still hostile, Hattusili III would have had fewer concerns about attacking Piyamaradu's base of operations.

²³⁸ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 117.

²³⁹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 117. Lukka is generally accepted as correlating with "Luwa" or "Luwian," a linguistic group that thrived in Western and Southwestern Anatolia throughout the Bronze Age and into the Classical era as they correlate to the later Lycians of southern Anatolia.

²⁴⁰ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 6.

neighbors were either independent or Hittite vassals. This generated a broad coastal middle ground about which details were sparse, but were fertile ground for a raider like Piyamaradu to thrive. White's description of the circumstances of the middle ground, though written for indigenous studies in North America, applies well to this context:

Diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient misunderstandings. People try to persuade others who are different from themselves by appealing to what they perceive to be the practices of those others. They often misinterpret and distort the values and practices of those they deal with, but from these misunderstandings arise new meanings and through them new practices.²⁴¹

This process describes how the Brotherhood of Kings initially developed as city-states absorbed each other and expanded, but it also paints an accurate picture of the conflict-laden middle ground that was western Anatolia during the 13th century BCE.²⁴² Western Anatolia was caught between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, with Wilusa and Lukka having become battlegrounds for the two during the Late Bronze Age. As a result, localized middle ground developed in line with what White describes above. Ahhiyawa was late to the formation of the Brotherhood but consistently demonstrated an understanding of its norms and functions, which it applied to Hatti. Hatti, especially during the reign of Hattusili III, consistently treated the conflicts over Piyamaradu as a misunderstanding. One could argue that Hattusili III was making up for Muwattalli II's Ahhiyawa mistake in that he recognized Ahhiyawa's power and influence over Western Anatolia. As a result of the disastrous previous misunderstandings and conflicts, the Hittites had developed a new and more accurate understanding of Ahhiyawa as a Great Power at the edge of the West Asian world.

²⁴¹ White, *The Middle Ground*, x.

²⁴² Podany, *The Brotherhood of Kings*, 31.

Despite this, it appears Ahhiyawa was persuasive and interested in fostering positive connections with Egypt and with the local vassals of the Hittite Empire even while Piyamaradu, an Ahhiyawan allied raider mentioned in the “Tawagalawa Letter,” continued to raid beyond the reign.²⁴³ Piyamaradu’s ability to constantly raid Hatti’s borders reflects an imbalance between Ahhiyawan and Hittite power in Western Anatolia. Ahhiyawa’s ability to foster alliances in these middle grounds as Piyamaradu does not appear to have been Ahhiyawan. Ahhiyawa’s localized popularity was likely due to growing Hittite power in West Asia and Hittite bouts of rapid Anatolian expansion. Hatti was older and, likely, more powerful than Ahhiyawa, but at the same time, Hatti had numerous enemies, and tensions persisted with Egypt. These tensions could not have been easily resolved by Hattusili III, who was himself a usurper. This may explain why he sought closer connections with Ahhiyawa, especially if he suspected or even feared a reinvigorated Ahhiyo-Egyptian alliance in the wake of Kadesh.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, Hattusili III’s recognition of Ahhiyawan power likely reflected an acknowledgement of Ahhiyawa’s untouchability. They had been victorious in the war over Wilusa while the Hittites never fully recovered from Kadesh. A similar campaign can be found in New Mexico during the 19th century CE where, despite orders from Spanish governors, local officials often relied heavily on the Comanche to mitigate the worst effects of their raid and trade economics, a practice also conducted by the Ahhiyawa via Piyamaradu.²⁴⁵ In Anatolia, due to the more formidable Hittite authorities, those living in Western Anatolia often had to rely on localized terms and

²⁴³ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 133.

²⁴⁴ Hattusili III struggled with legitimacy throughout his lifetime. Though his wife, Puduhepa was quite popular, especially with foreigners, Hattusili III’s struggles to extradite his nephew from Egypt and his struggles at home indicate an insecurity in his rule. Ahhiyawa’s refusal of a gift, as the Tawagalawa Letter, may have even been intended as a snub.

²⁴⁵ Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire*, (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 83-4.

arrangements with the Ahhiyawa in Millawanda as represented by Ahhiyawa's influence over Hittite vassals in Wilusa and the Seha-River Land.

By the end of Hattusili III's reign in 1237, Piyamaradu still raided the Western coast of Anatolia while Ahhiyawa continued to uphold the core attributes necessary for good kingship. Letters from Hattusili III's reign describing shaky gift exchange, likely as a symptom of worsening relations, but as ongoing nonetheless.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, Ahhiyawa does not appear to have engaged with Hatti directly, thus maintaining at least a nominal peace between the two in Western Anatolia. Despite this, Piyamaradu continued to raid along the coastline, as evidenced by Puduhepa's, queen of Hatti, prayer tablet in which she offers the gods rich offerings in exchange for Piyamaradu's capture or death.²⁴⁷ When Hattusili III's son, Tudhaliya IV, inherited the throne, he rose in a kingdom with enemies at all sides and prepared to confront another power, Assyria, that had grown alarmingly powerful in the wake of Kadesh.²⁴⁸ Tudhaliya IV's most famous contribution to the history of Ahhiyawa is likely his removal of Ahhiyawa from the Great King lists, physically visible in his treaty with Shausga-muwa of Amurru, and his conquest of Milawanda. His reign, from 1237-1209, carries this chapter to the end of Ahhiyawa's direct influence over West Asia at the end of the 13th century and the Hittite Empire.

Tudhaliya IV's reign is defined by his preparations for an Assyrian campaign as he reaffirmed old alliances.²⁴⁹ However, his preparations for war were anything but smooth. The

²⁴⁶ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 145.

²⁴⁷ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 248. Though Hattusili III's wife, Puduhepa was by far one of the most powerful queens in Hittite, if not West Asian, history. This tablet could have come from her husband's or her son's reign as her position as Queen and High Priestess lasted until her death rather than that of her husband's as was custom among the Hittites. The position is sometimes called that of the Tawannana but whether this is the name of the office, one of its earliest holders, or both is unclear.

²⁴⁸ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 241.

²⁴⁹ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 321.

Seha River Land, which had rebelled against Mursili II in the late 14th century BCE, would do so again early on in Tudhaliya IV's reign. On this, the Great King's pronouncement reads:

The Land of the Seha River offended once more, for the second time, (saying): "[...the great-] grandfather of His Majesty did not conquer [us earlier] by force of arms... [He would have conquered] us but we eliminated the offense against him." [But afterwards, Tarhuna-radu] became hostile and relied upon the King of Ahhiyawa.²⁵⁰

Ahhiyawa and Hatti's tensions finally boiled over once more in the second Seha River Land rebellion. Many scholars believe this occurred when Tudhaliya IV brought his forces into a direct engagement against the rulers of Milawanda.²⁵¹ Tudhaliya IV's letter to the King of Mira, a kingdom loyal to the Hittites just north of Milawanda, sheds some light on their joint defeat of the rebellion.²⁵² Tudhaliya boasts that "[y]ou [recognized] my Majesty [as overlord. I, My Majesty, thereby established] once more the sea [as my frontier]."²⁵³ Part of this expansion to the coastline included the defeat of Milawata: "As I, My Majesty, and (you), my son, have established the borders of the land of Milawata, you shall [not] withhold your [good-will]...that I did not give you within the border territory of the land of Milawata."²⁵⁴ Tudhaliya refers to the land of Milawanda as his to divide up and never refers to Ahhiyawa in the "Letter to the King of Mira." This leads to the conclusion that Ahhiyawa had been forced to surrender Milawanda to Hittite sovereignty. While this effectively ended Ahhiyawa's power in West Asia, it would not be the final blow Tudhaliya IV dealt to Ahhiyawa.

²⁵⁰ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 155.

²⁵¹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 157.

²⁵² This king's father may have actually taken part in the rebellion as he is described as treasonous but the throne may have changed hands or allegiances shifted quickly, hence the King of Mira's maintained "son" status to Tudhaliya IV's "father" but a sudden change after initial revolt also explains why Mira did not absorb Milawanda.

²⁵³ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 155, 157.

²⁵⁴ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 129.

Tudhaliya IV's treaty with the King of Amurru is the document in which Ahhiyawa had been famously stricken off of the king's lists, yet this was likely only a formality in the wake of his seizure of Milawanda, spelled in the letter as Milawata, and his ban on Ahhiyawan merchants' free travel in West Asia. Tudhaliya IV explicitly forbade Ahhiyawan merchants from trading with Assyria via Amurru, their most direct route to Ahhiyawa's eastern ally. Specifically, he orders Assyrian merchants seized and sent to Hatti while the King of Amurru could permit "[n]o ship [of] Ahhiyawa may go to him (the King of Assyria?)."²⁵⁵ Cline proposes that Tudhaliya IV's ban is representative of a long-term embargo on Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean wares due to the Ahhiyo-Egyptian alliance. However, Amurru would have provided the most direct access for the coastal Ahhiyawa to trade with Assyria. Tudhaliya IV sought to prevent an Ahhiyo-Assyrian from ever reaching fruition by seizing Milawanda and severing trade routes between the two kingdoms.²⁵⁶ In doing so, Tudhaliya IV actively hampered Ahhiyawa's access to West Asian materials, impeded its diplomatic abilities, and appeared to have achieved the military triumph that had eluded Hattusili III and Muwattalli II.

The sudden defeat of the Ahhiyawa in Anatolia may have reflected and/or contributed to crises at home, which their opponents in Hatti likely knew about and were able to capitalize on to remove a dangerous and recurrent threat on their borders. Similarly, Tudhaliya IV's victories against Ahhiyawa were not his alone but were augmented by natural disasters. In ca. 1250 BCE, numerous buildings in Mycenae and other citadels throughout Mycenaean Greece were destroyed by an earthquake.²⁵⁷ Extensive building programs followed the quake and would have

²⁵⁵ Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 106.

²⁵⁶ Cline, *1177*, 128.

²⁵⁷ Cline, *1177*, 130; J. Hošek, et al.. "Geoarchaeological Evidence on a Late Bronze Age Earthquake, Ohrid Basin (North Macedonia)." *Journal of Quaternary Science* 36, no. 6 (2021), 1003, 1011. While Cline's argument for a series of earthquakes during the Bronze Age Collapse, is somewhat controversial, the bodies and destruction from

put a strain on the local populace as the new defensive structures were built, and other buildings were completely rebuilt.²⁵⁸ At the same time, some scholars have argued that drought undermined Mycenaean Greece at home.²⁵⁹ While drought may or may not have affected Mycenaean Greece, the earthquake certainly did. The news of the earthquake in Ahhiyawa would explain why Tudhaliya IV was able to expel the Mycenaean elites from Milawanda and cut off their access to Assyria with seemingly minimal interference. Tudhaliya IV had actively undermined every way in which Ahhiyawa had been able to challenge Hatti before overwhelming its Asiatic possessions at its most vulnerable point. In seizing Milawanda, Tudhaliya IV capitalized on the earthquake's aftermath to remove Ahhiyawa's ability to challenge him militarily and influence its neighbors in Anatolia. In blocking Ahhiyawan merchants from Amurru, Tudhaliya IV not only impeded Ahhiyawa's ability to trade with the Levant and Assyria but also severely restricted Ahhiyawa's access to copper. As a kingdom on the western fringes of the Brotherhood of Kings, likely occupying both Mycenae and Milawanda, Ahhiyawa was particularly vulnerable to being severed from its fellows in the Brotherhood of Kings, and Hatti's pre-eminent position meant it was particularly well suited to do so. Despite the connections Ahhiyawa had forged with Egypt and Assyria, these alliances only served to cement its status as a generational enemy of the Hittites and a threat to the stability of all of the Hittite Empire. Ahhiyawa had made allies but allies that were too far away to aid it and, in the case of Egypt, likely would not have done so openly. As a result, Ahhiyawa was not expelled from the Brotherhood of Kings for any shortcoming on its own part but as a

1250 indicate an earthquake fairly consistently and there is evidence from Macedonia that indicates at least one sizeable quake in the region.

²⁵⁸Nicholas G. Blackwell, "Making the Lion Gate Relief at Mycenae: Tool Marks and Foreign Influence," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118, no. 3 (2014), 451-3.

²⁵⁹ Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 91.

direct result of a long-term generational conflict with Hatti, a conflict which Great Kings of Ahhiyawa ultimately lost.

Tudhaliya IV later failed in Assyria, and, in 1209 BCE, his son, Suppiliuma II was the last Hittite King, and he ruled for barely more than a year.²⁶⁰ From him comes the last mention of the Ahhiyawa in the Hittite historical record, where “Hiyawa” men are awaiting payment, likely as mercenaries, for their services to the Hittite King.²⁶¹ Ahhiyawa had survived in some capacity that the Hittites recognized, likely in its mainland form in the Argolid or perhaps even as a resurgent kingdom during the increasingly fractured reign of Suppiliuma II. Much as they had before, the Ahhiyawa fulfilled the ideals of military excellence, but the extent of their diplomacy or even their divinity during the reign of the last Hittite King is impossible to tell. If the loss of Milawanda was as devastating to Ahhiyawa as Tudhaliya IV’s treaty implies, it likely contributed to the increased decentralization of power in Greece that marked the end of the Late Bronze Age.

The “Bronze Age Collapse” refers to a period of supposed widespread cultural, political, and population decline. Other scholars increasingly argue that the collapse functioned more as a transition into the Early Iron Age, prompted by environmental and political circumstances that made the civilizations of the Bronze Age vulnerable to decentralization and collapse.²⁶² Trade survived on a far more localized and independent level than that regulated by the Great Kings. Cypriot replicas of original Mycenaean pottery were traded throughout the Levant after Mycenaean Greece lost the means to mass produce these wares.²⁶³ Furthermore, Mycenaean

²⁶⁰ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 260; Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites*, 327.

²⁶¹ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 260.

²⁶² Cline, *1177*, 149.

²⁶³ Cline, *1177*, 149; Middleton, Guy D., "Revisiting 1177 BCE and the Late Bronze Age Collapse," *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 10, no. 2 (2022), 189.

populations became decentralized rather than destroyed, further breaking up the idea of Doric or Aryan invasions as were once blamed for the collapse.²⁶⁴ Many of the Mycenaean societies are now understood as undergoing drastic evolutions at the end of the Bronze Age, ones that, on a universal scale, are not well suited to any one term as similar disruptions occurred in Asia. Yet, the idea of decentralization applies markedly well for a narrative of Mycenaean Greece's relationship with West Asia. While Suppiluliuma II is the last Hittite to mention the Ahhiyawa, this is not the last time the kingdom appeared in the broader historical record.

The final reference to Ahhiyawa comes in "The Inscription of Warika, King of Ahhiyawa" comes from the 8th century BCE and is recorded in Luwian and Phoenician on a statue base recovered, out of context, from western Anatolia.²⁶⁵ It is the last time in recorded history that any king claimed the title of King of Ahhiyawa. The inscription reads as follows:

I am Warika, son of [...], descendent of Mukasa, (Ah)hiyawan King,
[and made prosper] the Ahhiyawan plain through the help of the Storm-God and my
paternal gods.
I added horse to horse;
I added army to army;
Indeed, the Assyrian king and all the Assyrian dynasty became (like) a father and mother
to me,
and (Ah)hiyawa and Assyria became a single house.
Indeed I smashed [powerful] fortresses,
[and I built] fortresses—eight to the east and seven to the west
Indeed, these places were...for the palace of the River (Land).
And I, by myself, [...] in the land...towns [...]
[...all] extremely good things.²⁶⁶

It is fitting that the last word on Ahhiyawa come from a self-identified Ahhiyawan, even if it is not in the Bronze Age but during the midst of the Early Iron Age. The "River Land" is likely a

²⁶⁴ Brandon L. Drake, "The Influence of Climatic Change on the Late Bronze Age Collapse and the Greek Dark Ages." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39, no. 6 (2012), 1862-1870, 1868.

²⁶⁵ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 263.

²⁶⁶ Beckman, Bryce, Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 265. Warika's ancestor, Mukasa, linguistically correlates to Mopsus, a mythic Greek city-builder.

reference to the Seha River Land. The clear ties to Assyria are all likely legacies of the relationships established by the Great Kings of Ahhiyawa during the Late Bronze Age. Though this new Ahhiyawa was no longer ruled by a Great King, now subservient to the powerful and resurgent Neo-Assyrian Empire, the alliances it had made in the Late Bronze Age had clearly been remembered and fostered by parties involved. In turn this produced a viable Ahhiyawan kingdom in West Asia during the Late Bronze Age in which the language of the international family and power survived in some capacity.

During the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean Greece had proven more than capable of adapting West Asian iconography, diplomacy, and gendered norms to cement itself as a Great Kingdom. Over the course of the 13th century, Ahhiyawa establish its status and constantly worked to expand alliances, undermine Hittite power in Anatolia, and secure access to the West Asian luxury items that had drawn them east in the first place. They succeeded in each of the core norms of West Asian power and spoke the languages of international familiarity, divinity, and martiality with fluency. In doing so, they made a terrible enemy in the Hittites that, despite their alliances with Assyria and Egypt, saw them removed from the Brotherhood of Kings and West Asia as a whole. However, the Ahhiyawa would return. To Warika, the Great King of Assyria was “like a father,” the perceived legitimacy of the bond between the Great King and his secondaries had become a simile, but the language of it persisted. The legacies of Ahhiyawan alliances with the Seha River Land and Assyria are also echoed in Warika’s time, breaking through the traditionally bleak image of the Greek Dark Age.²⁶⁷ There, in the early Iron Age, Ahhiyawa clearly still maintained an identity that revolved heavily around West Asia and the ideals of martiality, divinity, and kingly brotherhood.

²⁶⁷ Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings*, 286.

CONCLUSION

“[Agamemnon] and his ships escaped, for Hera protected him... Then [Aegithus] sent his chariots and horsemen to Agamemnon, and invited him to the feast, but he meant foul play. He got him there, all unsuspecting of the doom that was awaiting him, and killed him when the banquet was over as though he were butchering an ox in the shambles; not one of Agamemnon’s followers was left alive, nor yet one of Aegisthus’, but they were all killed there in the cloisters.”²⁶⁸

Nereus the Old Man of the Sea, Homer’s *Odyssey*

It is difficult to not talk about Homer when discussing Mycenaean Greece. Homer offers an early Iron Age memory of the Bronze Age with nuggets like “gold-rich Mycenae,” Odysseus’ boar-tusk helmet, and the oral traditions of settlements that no longer existed at the end of the Bronze Age.²⁶⁹ The Kings of Achaea who saw Troy and survived the siege became rich off of its plunder, but most of them never made it home. Ajax the Lesser was drowned for his sin, Odysseus was lost at sea, Menelaus was stranded in Egypt, Agamemnon, High King of Mycenae, was murdered no sooner than he had broken bread with his own cousin.²⁷⁰ Diomedes made it home but found a home that would never welcome him again, pushed off to settle somewhere in Italy. Perhaps in that whole affair there is a nugget of truth as well. The Ahhiyawa eventually had been forced to abandon Milawanda under Hittite pressure only to return to a Mycenaean mainland that was rapidly changing under the pressures of the Bronze Age collapse.²⁷¹ Only in Iron Age Ahhiyawa did any semblance of the old guard survive as client-kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

The story this thesis tells is one of ambition, of a Mycenaean Greek warrior-elite, ruled by a semi-divine king, who, upon gaining access to West Asian materials, wanted more of the

²⁶⁸ Homer, *The Iliad and Odyssey*, trans. Samuel Butler (San Diego: Canterbury Classics, 2011), 415.

²⁶⁹ T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer: A Study in Early Greek Literature and Art*, (Routledge: Routledge University Press, 1958), 11.

²⁷⁰ Homer, *The Iliad and Odyssey*, 413-15.

²⁷¹ Cline, *1177*, 128.

luxury items West Asia had to offer and crossed the Aegean to acquire them. Yet this is not a Homeric bloody warlord reaving his way across the Aegean. The Mycenaean Greeks entered peaceable agreements with the Minoans on Crete and, after a combination of factors led to Minoan decline, the Mycenaeans fully crossed the Aegean as traders and raiders. There the Mycenaean Greeks found older powers in Babylon, Egypt, Ugarit, and Hatti. They established themselves in Milawanda and enriched themselves via raiding, trade, and mercenary work.²⁷² They first appear in Hittite records, pursuing Madduwatta to the Hittite court, attacking Rhodes, and serving as a general nuisance on the border.²⁷³ However, in the 14th century, the King of Ahhiyawa wrote to the King of Hatti hailing him as his brother and peer in the same style as West Asian kings had done for over a thousand years. Just like those kings, Ahhiyawa favored a long-term peace and diplomacy for access to luxury items, especially in Ugarit and Egypt, even as they undermined Hittite power in western Anatolia and supported enemies of the Hittites. In the late 13th century, during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, the matter reached a head as they allied with Assyria. In 1250 an earthquake devastated Mycenae, and Milawanda was abandoned. After the Bronze Age collapse, Mycenae's involvement in West Asia would only be remembered in *The Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer.

Mycenaean Greece is an enigma and its scope and the specifics of its relationship with West Asia have all been up for debate since Schliemann's first excavations of Mycenae in the late 19th century. This thesis has attempted to understand Mycenaean Greece as a part of West Asia during the Late Bronze Age via political analysis, supplemented with input from gender and borderlands histories to fill gaps of a thinly documented historical. Mycenaean Greece actively

²⁷² Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *Ahhiyawa Texts*, 105

²⁷³ Beckman, Bryce, and Cline, *Ahhiyawa Letters*, 149.

sought direct trade with West Asian powers for the luxury items that were integral to the development of a stratified elite.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, from 1450 until Tudhaliya IV's seizure of Milawanda and his embargo on Ahhiyawan ships, Ahhiyawa was the western border of the Brotherhood of Kings. The Great King of Ahhiyawa not only raided Hatti but actively engaged in cultural exchange with Hatti, Egypt, and Ugarit. In doing so, the Great Kings of Ahhiyawa established themselves as West Asian masculine ideals of diplomacy, divinity, and martial prowess. These attributes in turn expanded on older martial symbolism, already integral to Mycenaean aristocratic ideals, and applied them in diplomatic and religious domains. Tudhaliya IV marks the end of Mycenaean Ahhiyawa. While they upheld the ideals of divine and martial kingship, their alliance with Assyria and constant harassment of Hatti saw them expelled from the Brotherhood of Kings in the wake of the c. 1250 earthquake.²⁷⁵ All of this highlights their development as a peripheral West Asian kingdom that came to increasingly revolve around larger, more powerful, and adjacent imperial powers.

In analyzing Mycenaean Greece as influenced by its developmental adjacency to West Asia, this thesis has reached three conclusions; firstly that Mycenaean Greece actively sought direct access to West Asian materials via a partnership with culturally aligned Minoan Crete before they fully took over Minoan trade routes. Secondly, Mycenaean Greece actively emulated and engaged with West Asian languages of power that manifested in the idealized masculinity of the Great Kings. In understanding this one sees the Mycenaean *wanaktes* as gaining their authority not only from luxury items but from diplomatic capability, divinity, and martial prowess. The third and final conclusion is that Mycenaean Ahhiyawa was not removed from the

²⁷⁴ Burns, *Mycenaean Greece*, 19.

²⁷⁵ Cline, *1177*, 130.

Brotherhood of Kings and expelled from West Asia due to any shortcomings, but as a direct result of an explosion of tensions with the Hittite Kings over proxy wars and anti-Hittite alliances.

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