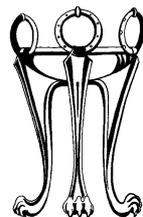


ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΟΣ

Archäologische Forschungen zwischen Nil und Istros

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Ilios, Tros and Tlos

Continuing Problems with *to-ro*, *to-ro-o*, *to-ro-wo*, *to-ro-ja*, *wi-ro* and *a-si-wi-ja/a-si-wi-jo*

THOMAS G. PALAIMA

It is an old saying that a house is only as good as its foundation¹. This applies to real houses and to metaphorical houses known as scholarly theories, especially those concerning Mycenaean Greek texts and Aegean and Anatolian prehistory. EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR., used this very metaphor in pointing out that many theories about Linear A deserve our strong skepticism².

STEFAN HILLER has tremendous range as a scholar. Like an *agrimi*, he is sure-footed on difficult terrains. No matter what topic he has taken up, he has always put us, too, on a firm foundation, by examining evidence (art historical, artefactual, archaeological, Homeric, mythological and Mycenaean textual data) comprehensively and by being admirably, but not pedantically, cautious in his reasoning. Here I will take up problems relating to our current understanding of Mycenaean-Anatolian contacts, based on the foundation that STEFAN HILLER set down over thirty years ago³. I focus here on Mycenological evidence for Ilios and Troy and how we interpret this evidence vis-à-vis Hittite, Homeric and archaeological data.

The following two statements from definitive sources are indicative of what passes for progress in Aegean prehistory:

“Ἰλιος/ον E unknown, prob. Pre-Gr.: v. KAMPTZ (Personennamen) 298. 315f.; on doubtful suggest. that Hittite *Vilusaš/Wilusa* = Ἰλιος see v. KAMPTZ⁺ (Pers.) 297. 316.”⁴

“Bei *Ilios* und mit geringerer Sicherheit auch für *T.* [i.e., *Troia*] hält [3.95–128], fußend auf den Arbeiten von [6], die Gleichsetzung mit den (geogr. unterschiedenen) Herrschaftsgebieten → ‘Wilusa’ oder ‘Taruwisa’ der hethit. Quellen trotz sprachgesetzlicher Unstimmigkeiten für erwiesen.”⁵

¹ This paper is dedicated to my good friend STEFAN HILLER, τέκτων ἀκριβής. I thank SARA KIMBALL, MALCOLM WIENER, SARAH JAMES and especially H. CRAIG MELCHERT for discussing with me specialist points in my argument. They are to be held blameless for any ways I have misunderstood or misused their help. Helpful maps specific to the subjects taken up here may be found in: HILLER (*infra* n. 3) 412; LATACZ (*infra* n. 22) XVIII–XIX, 46–7; and NIEMEIER (*infra* n. 33) after p. 155, pl. XVa.

² E.L. BENNETT, JR., “Linear A Houses of Cards.” In *Pepragmena tou E' Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou Vol. A'*. Irakleio 1985, 47–56. BENNETT was alluding to earlier use of the same metaphor regarding the controversy about the VENTRIS decipherment: A.P. TREWEEK, “Chain Reaction or House of Cards? An Examination of the Validity of the Ventriss Decipherment.” *BICS* 4, 1957: 10–26. P. ILIEVSKI, “Is the Decipherment of Ventriss a House of Cards?” *ZivaAnt* 6:2, 1956: 314–36.

³ S. HILLER, “*ra-mi-ni-ja*: Mykenische-kleinasiatische Beziehungen und die Linear B-Texte.” *ZivaAnt* 25:1–2, 1975: 388–412.

⁴ J.N. O’SULLIVAN, “Ἰλιος/ον.” In *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, 13. Lieferung θαῦμα – καπνός, 1989, 1188. The reference is to the standard treatment of Homeric onomastics: H.V. KAMPTZ, *Homerische Personennamen: Sprachwissenschaftliche und historische Klassifikation*. Göttingen 1982.

⁵ M. KORFMANN, “Troia.” In *Der Neue Pauly* 12:1, 2002, 853. KORFMANN is referring to: J. LATACZ, *Troia und Homer*. Munich & Berlin 2001, 95–128; and F. STARKE, “Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend.” *Studia Troica* 7, 1997: 447–87.

Thus in thirteen years did the equation between Hittite *Wilusa* (*Wilusiya*) and Greek *Ilios* go from questionable speculation (at least from a Homerist perspective) to virtual certainty (from the viewpoint of Hittitology, Anatolian/Trojan/Mycenaean archaeology and Homeric studies). Still we should note the late MANFRED KORFMANN'S HILLER-like caution in speaking of the lesser certainty of the equation between Hittite *Taruwisa* and Greek *Troia* and in stressing the historical linguistic discrepancies in these two pairs of Hittite-Greek 'parallel' forms.

There is no scientific certainty in these equations of Hittite and Greek (Homeric and perhaps Mycenaean) terms for ethnic groups, cities and regions. They depend on weighing archaeological, textual, traditional and linguistic evidence, and are therefore subject to different judgments about the degree of probability of interpretations of the supporting data. Indeed, when we are working with the Mycenaean Greek texts and with cross-cultural adaptation of ethnica and toponyms, we would do well to take CALVERT WATKINS' advice – given in dealing with elements of the very topic we address here – and use “an abiding skepticism about deducing too much from names,” especially “isolated onomastic elements.”⁶

WATKINS speaks of the need to interpret linguistic evidence using a comparative method based on similarities and structural sets, and paying attention to systematicity. WATKINS explores the relationships: *Aleksandros* – *Alaksandus* (which he takes as an adaptation from the Greek “in the context of widespread Greek-Asiatic bilingualism on the western coast of Anatolia” in the late second millennium BCE); (*W*)*ilios* – *Wilusa*; *Priamos* – *Pariya-muwas*; *Paris* – *Pari-LÚ* (see also Mycenaean *a-si-wi-jo/po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* and *Assuwa*)⁷. The parallels here are striking, and are made all the more compelling by the larger picture which STEFAN HILLER thirty years ago started to define.

HILLER traced the connections between the Mycenaean and western Anatolia by interpreting the Linear B evidence (mainly onomastic) within the framework established by archaeological, traditional textual (including, but not limited to, the Homeric epics), and Hittitological evidence. Some few of HILLER'S identifications are now to be discarded, but the list of probable ‘Hellenized Anatolian names’ recorded as the names of human beings in the Linear B tablets⁸ is still compelling: *a-pa-si-jo* (Ephesos, cf. Hittite *Apasa*); *di-du-mo* (cf. Didyma⁹); *pa-pa-ra-ko* (cf. Paphlagonia¹⁰); *ra-pa-sa-ko* (Lampsakos¹¹); *ru-ki-jo* (cf. HOM.

⁶ C. WATKINS, “The Language of the Trojans.” In *Troy and the Trojan War*, edited by M. MELLINK. Bryn Mawr 1986, 48, 55.

⁷ WATKINS (*supra* n. 6) 48, 49, 54, 56–7.

⁸ For the nature of Linear B documents see: T.G. PALAIMA, “‘Archives’ and ‘Scribes’ and Information Hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B Records.” In *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions*, edited by M. BROSIUS. Oxford 2003, 153–94.

⁹ When we consider *di-du-mo* as the primary ethnic for the later site Didyma, near Miletos, we confront the hazards of the whole process of identifying toponyms with physical places. Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Δίδυμα, lists, besides the famous sanctuary near Miletos, rivers in Crete and Thessaly, two small islands near Syros, and mountains near Laodikeia, named Δίδυμα. Stephanus also lists a village in Cilicia named Διδύμη. Moreover, he documents mountains *in the Troad* (!!!!) named Δίνδυμα, the primary ethnic for which in Mycenaean would also be represented as *di-du-mo*.

¹⁰ WATKINS (*supra* n. 6) 45, thinks the connection between *Pala* (the district of Palaic speakers west of the Hittite home territory) and reduplicated *Paphla-* is plausible. For *pa-pa-ra-ko* as *Paphlagon*, see now also V. PARKER, “Die Aktivitäten der Mykenäer in der Ostägäis im Lichte der Linear B Tafeln.” In *Florent Studia Mycenaea* II, edited by S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. HILLER & O. PANAGL. Wien 1999, 496.

¹¹ The historical settlement, a 7th-century colony of Phocaea, lies on the Hellespont.

Λυκία, Λύκιοι); and finally *to-ro* (which HILLER rightly compares with both Τρώς and Τλω̄ς)¹².

That such names were carried by persons of high enough status to appear in the intensively region-internal economic records of Mycenaean palatial centers is important for tracing cross-cultural contacts¹³, but we must not make too much of these isolated individuals among the approximately two thousand names recorded on the tablets. Some of these names may derive locally from substrate languages (HILLER speaks of a possible general Anatolian-Cretan substrate) and refer to other places, groups of people or settlements than those that are prehistorically or historically attested. (They may also refer directly as descriptive terms to whatever the meaning of their non-Greek roots is. To cite an example where we know the meaning of the root, does *wo-di-jo* refer to ‘Mr. Rose’ or to someone known as ‘the Rhodian’? There is no reason that this should not apply to a foreigner who calls himself *Tros* and who brings that name into the Mycenaean onomasticon.) Minimally, however, such individual names may indicate current or past contacts between regions, either by settlers or by individuals who ‘have to do with’ other regions¹⁴.

Besides isolated individual names, we also have in the Linear B tablets ethnic designations for groups. These reflect more appreciable contacts between the Mycenaean palatial territories and other regions. HILLER studied the group ethnic designations of women workers in the Pylos **Aa**, **Ab** and **Ad** series¹⁵ in combination with the archaeological evidence for Mycenaean trade contacts or settlements. He concluded that in the late Mycenaean palatial period, the Mycenaeans had a zone of influence along and off the central and southern western coast of Anatolia: *mi-ra-ti-ja* (Miletos), *ki-ni-di-ja* (Knidos) and *ze-pu₂-ra₃* (Halikarnassos)¹⁶.

In addition, the personal name *ka-pa-ti-ja* (Karpathos) (**PY Eb 338.A**, **Ep 704.7**, **Ep 539.9** and **Un 443.3**) fits in with the material evidence for the Mycenaeans on Rhodes and Karpathos. We find a possible personal name associated with Rhodes? (*wo-di-jo*) and a group designation for Khios (*ki-si-wi-ja*)¹⁷. There is a clear Ionian-Lyidian cluster of localities: Ephesos (*a-pa-si-jo*), Didyma (*di-du-mo*) and Asia (Hittite *Assuwa: a-si-wi-jo/a-si-wi-ja*)¹⁸.

¹² HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 389. For the location of *Tlos* in Lycia in relation to Rhodes, Karpathos and Knidos and Anatolian geography reconstructed from the Hittite records, see LATACZ (*infra* n. 22) XVIII–XIX.

¹³ For Cypriote-related personal names and ethnica in different ancient societies, see T.G. PALAIMA, *The Triple Invention of Writing in Cyprus and Written Sources for Cypriote History*. Nicosia 2005.

¹⁴ PALAIMA (*supra* n. 13) 25 and 31, for arguments that the ‘collector’ *ku-pi-ri-jo* may be the individual who “conducts transactions with inhabitants of the region or locality known as Cyprus.” HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 389, cites evidence for a “kleinasiatische Einwanderung in Kreta.”

¹⁵ HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 398–9. See now, too, J. CHADWICK, “The Women of Pylos.” In *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy. Offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. (Minos Suppl. 10)*, edited by J.-P. OLIVIER & T.G. PALAIMA. Salamanca 1988, 43–95. On p. 84, read *ze-pu₂-ra₃* instead of *ze-pu₂-ra₂*.

¹⁶ *ze-pu₂-ra₃* is clearly the primary ethnic Ζεφυραί (cf. Mycenaean genitive plural *ze-pu₂-ra-o* and masculine singular *ze-pu₂-ro*), as seen long ago by C.J. RUIJGH, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*. Amsterdam 1967, 366. Cf. PARKER (*supra* n. 10) 498.

¹⁷ PARKER (*supra* n. 10) 496–7. The primary ethnic *i-wa-so* = plural **I*Ϝασ(σ)οι (and secondary *i-wa-si-jo-ta*) found in the Pylos *o-ka* tablets (**An 519.8**, **654.17**, **661.3**) (and **Cn 3.5**) is generally agreed to refer to the toponym near the border of Achaea and Arkadia, and not to have to do with Iasos in Karia, near ancient Halikarnassos, despite abundant Mycenaean ceramic evidence there (see HILLER *supra* n. 3, 406). See F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario Micénico* 1. Madrid 1985, 290–2.

¹⁸ We should note that in the *Iliad* Ἄσιος is used as an adjective (2.461) modifying a meadow along the Kayster River, which empties into the Aegean near Ephesus; and as the personal name of two individuals: (1) the son of Hyrtakos, from Arisbe, and leader of those who came from the district of Sestos and Abydos (2.838 and 12.96);

The main anomaly to the Karian-Lyikian-Karpathian-Rhodian *Kernbereich* and Ionian-Lyidian cluster of Mycenaean contacts is the *ra-mi-ni-ja* women (Lemnos) (cf. also possibly the personal name *i-mi-ri-jo* referring to Imbros¹⁹). HILLER shows that the *Iliad* (7.467–75) attests to the involvement of Lemnos in trade with the Achaeans, even the kind of trade of ‘slave women’ (ἀνδραπόδεσσι) that underlies the Pylos **Aa**, **Ab** and **Ad** series texts²⁰. We should note now, too, that the king of the Homeric Lemnians is Ἰησονίδης Εὐνήος. Fourteen years later, HILLER would point to *i-wa-so Iason* on **PY Cn 655.6** and eight other personal names linked with Argonautic legend in the Linear B tablets in support of material evidence for Mycenaean contacts with the Black Sea and the route to it²¹.

Within this overall context, it is worth considering where the Mycenaean textual evidence for the identification of toponyms and ethnica connected with Troy now stands (see **Fig. 1**). First, there is no significant change in the picture we have developed from the one HILLER originally drew. So far as the Linear B evidence is concerned (and we deal with it separately from the Hittite evidence to avoid contamination of our sources), there is a strong Mycenaean emphasis in the area of Karia, Lykia, Rhodes and Karpathos, extending northward into Ionia-Lydia as far as Didyma, Ephesos and the Kayster River (*Asios*). The Pylos reference to working women from the island of Khios gives us an off-shore northern limit of the Ionian-Lyidian cluster. The reference to working women from Lemnos, we have seen, functions *sui generis*. A single Knossian shepherd might have an ethnic name associated with the island of Imbros in the same area. Two other possible locales are independent: Lampsakos at the eastern limit of the southern shore of the Hellespont; and the region of Paphlagonia south of the southwestern shore of the Black Sea.

Now let us consider the phonetically ambiguous Mycenaean items that have been associated either with Troy or Tlos (*to-ro*, *to-ro-o*, *to-ro-wo*, *to-ro-ja*). We take it as *a priori* more consistent with the just-surveyed Linear B evidence to associate these with Lycian Tlos. This identification, however, has recently either been ignored or dismissed²².

This is a thorny problem. The attested forms of Troy and Ilion in the Hittite documents are hard to reconcile linguistically with Greek (Mycenaean or historical) forms. These difficulties have been tolerated because the identifications fit so well with interpretations of material and (Hittite) textual evidence as it relates to the major archaeological excavations at Troy.

and (2) a Phrygian, and brother of Hekabe (16.718). See KAMPTZ (*supra* n. 4) 116, who cites Cretan and Asia Minor toponyms as possible sources for *Asios*.

¹⁹ Objections to the identification of *i-mi-ri-jo* (a shepherd at the site of *ra-to* on **KN Db 1186**) with *Ἰμριος > Ἰμβριος are put forward by RUIGH (*supra* n. 16) 148 and n. 254, 68 and n. 98. We may unwrap the full reasoning in RUIGH’S brief remark as follows. Mycenaean has already developed the Greek use of a voiced stop between a nasal and a liquid, sharing the same point of articulation as the nasal (cf. the dental nasal inserted in *a-di-ri-ja-te* = *andriantei*). Thus we would expect the Mycenaean form for the ethnic in question to show a labial nasal: Ἰμβριος spelled as **i-pi-ri-jo*. Still, we may wonder whether this development would apply, or apply immediately or universally, to a foreign ethnic. Cf. the non-assibilation in the ethnic *mi-ra-ti-ja*.

²⁰ HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 400–1 and n. 69.

²¹ S. HILLER, “The Mycenaean and the Black Sea.” In *THALASSA: L’Égée préhistorique et la mer (Aegaeum 7)*, edited by L. BASCH & R. LAFFINEUR. Liège 1989, 214. HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 403, notes the ties between the Lemnian and Pylian royal houses, attested in historical genealogy, and the fact that the personal name of the Homeric Lemnian king *e-u-na-wo* (*Eunawos* Εὐνήος) is found on **KN As 1520**, **B 799** and **Dv 206**. HILLER (*supra* n. 3) 403 and n. 81, already connected *i-wa-so* on **PY Cn 655.6** with *Iason*. But see AURA JORRO (*supra* n. 17) 291, for the consensus of scholarly opinion that here, too, the reference is to *Iwasos*, Homeric *Iasos*.

²² Ignored by J. LATACZ, *Troy and Homer* (Transl. by K. WINDLE & R. IRELAND). Oxford 2004, 280 and 316, nn. 3 and 4.

PARKER, for instance, supports the generally accepted equation of *to-ro*, *to-ro-o* with *Tro:s*, *Tro:(h)os*, the primary ethnic Τρώς. He rejects *Tlo:s*, because of the appearance of a digamma in the stem of Tlos, as attested both historically on coins and protohistorically in the Hittite spelling: *d/ta-la-u-wa-as*²³. However, MELCHERT now has shown that a basic stem *Tla-* was in use. He interprets the longer form exhibiting digamma as containing the productive suffix *-wa*²⁴.

Moreover, the same semivowel might be viewed as a problem for the standard identification of Hittite-Luwian *Taruwisa* (*Ta-ru-i-sa* of *KUB* 23.11 ii 19) with *to-ro-ja*, later Greek Τροία in its many forms, if we take the stem here as *tro:w*. This, I believe, is not acknowledged because this equation fits in so well with the scholarly preoccupation with Troy and its excavations.

If the ‘base’ of the Hittite-Luwian form is *Taru-*, this is also a stumbling block for the standard identification of *to-ro/to-ro-o* Τρώς and *Tro(h)os*²⁵. According to WOODARD’S principle of hierarchy of orthographic strength (and generally observed Mycenaean spelling principles) the cluster *-rw-* should be represented in Linear B as ØC, i.e., we would expect a spelling **to-wo* for a Mycenaean ethnic derived from *Taru*²⁶. *Wilusa* and its expanded ethnic adjectival form *Wilus-iya* is not as problematical in its correlation with later Greek *Ilios*. We could posit a sequence **Wilusi(y)o-* > **Wiluhio-* > **Wiluio-* > *Wilwio* > *I:lio*²⁷. But it, too, would create problems for connecting the Mycenaean personal name *wi-ro* (KN As 1516.8) with the historical primary ethnic form *Wi:los* (Ἰλος *Iliad* 20.329). We would expect the Mycenaean spelling of **Wilwos* to be **wi-wo*²⁸.

One seductive, and rather likely, solution to problems of equating such Hittite and Mycenaean Greek forms is proposed by LATACZ, namely that the Mycenaean Greeks *and* the

²³ PARKER (*supra* n. 10) 495.

²⁴ H. CRAIG MELCHERT, *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*. Ann Arbor 2004, 68. MELCHERT (personal communication 08/28/06) comments that in Mycenaean “the cooccurrence of *to-ro-* and *to-ro-wo* is particularly striking. This really looks like *Tla-*, *Tlawe/i-*.”

²⁵ MELCHERT (personal communication 08/28/06) writes: “I don’t see how to get from Luvian **Tarw-/Taru-* to Mycenaean *to-ro-*. *Tarw-* should have come out as **torw/* in Mycenaean.” At least LATACZ (*supra* n. 22) 297–8, n. 137, recognizes the possibility that the stem here might be *tro:w*. A spelling *to-ro-wo* could represent: **Trowos* or **Trwos*. The Homeric forms are: primary ethnic Τρώς, plur. Τρώες; fem. Τροίη, Τροίη; adjectives: Τρώιος, fem. Τρωιάς, Τρωιάδος; and the ktetic form Τρωικός. For the historical development of different kinds of ethnic and ktetic forms, see F. GSCHNITZER, “Zur Geschichte des Systems der griechischen Ethnika.” In *Res Mycenaeeae*, edited by A. HEUBECK & G. NEUMANN. Göttingen 1983, 140–54. GSCHNITZER, p. 142, takes *to-ro*, genitive *to-ro-o* as primary ethnics: Τρώς, Τρώός. RUIGH (*supra* n. 16) 89 n. 75, explains *to-ro-o* as Τρωός. RUIGH does not discuss the Mycenaean form: *to-ro-wo*. L. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*. Oxford 1963, 148, chooses to avoid explaining *to-ro-o* in **PY An 519.1**, translating: ‘Command of *To-ro(s)* at *Ro-o-wa*.’ If Hittite-Luwian and Mycenaean Greek were deriving their versions of the place name or ethnic for later Troy directly from the inhabitants of Troy, they might be working with a structure like **tro* or **tru*. The Mycenaean would render the first form easily and directly as *to-ro*. The Luwians would use an anaptyctic vowel between initial cluster *tr-* and would render the vowel *o* as *u*. It would remain to explain why the Mycenaean treated this form effectively as an *-s-* stem: nominative *to-ro* and genitive *to-ro-(h)o*. But, this may come from how the putative base **tro-/tru-* was treated in the original ‘substrate’ language.

²⁶ This is true whether the Mycenaean realized the borrowing as **Trowos* or **Trwos*. R.D. WOODARD, *Greek Writing from Knossos to Homer*. Oxford & New York 1997, 61–5, esp. 64, tab. 4.1. Note that liquid-glide clusters in words in the Linear B corpus studied by WOODARD have 4 instances of CC spelling (all the participial form *a-ra-ru-wo-a*, where a morpheme boundary may explain the anomalous ‘full spelling’) vs. 362 ØC spellings.

²⁷ MELCHERT (personal communication 08/11/06). G. NEUMANN, “Wie haben die Troer im 13. Jahrhundert gesprochen,” *WurzJbb* 23, 1999: 15–23, investigates *Tros* and *Troilos* in connection with the language that would have been spoken by the inhabitants of Troy.

²⁸ See *supra* n. 26 and compare the Mycenaean spelling *wo-wo* = *worwos* Attic ὄρος Ionic οἶρος.

Hittites were coming up independently with solutions for how to represent foreign place names and “both could have adopted in their own language what they thought they heard.”²⁹ This would mean that we do not have to explain the Greek forms as derived from the Hittite, i.e., we do not have to get the forms to ‘agree’.

There is nothing improbable with the idea of ‘independent adaptations’, but it does loosen the rules by which we play the game of equating the place names. IE-speakers (Hittites and Mycenaeans) might ‘hear’ the basic phonemes in these important toponyms and ethnics in similar ways, whether they heard them directly from Trojan speakers or from other peoples within WATKINS’ late Bronze Age Greek-Asiatic bilingual culture.

The facts that we want to believe about place names *are* loose. I have discussed elsewhere the so far inexplicable linguistic problems involved in equating Κρήτες (Mycenaean, Homeric and historical Greek), Egyptian *Keftiu* and Semitic (Mari and Ugarit) *Kaptara* with the island of Crete³⁰. But this equation is universally accepted because the contents of written records from these different cultures strongly suggest that we should accept it.

The identification of *to-ro*, *to-ro-o*, and *to-ro-ja* (a woman’s name, a *te-o-jo do-e-ra* in **PY En 705.6**) with *Tros* and *Troia*, instead of *Tlos* and *Tloia*, is driven both by a kind of Troy-mania and by complex reasoning about the identification and location of place names in the Hittite documents, especially the so-called ‘Assuwa Coalition’ in the Annals of Tuthaliya I³¹. This has also led to arguments that *Assuwa* (Mycenaean *a-si-wi-ja*) should be identified with a locality in the Troad, not with the Ionian-Lyidian area where (1) historical usage³²; (2) Homeric evidence; and (3) Mycenaean evidence, all strongly suggest it should be located. Few of the ca. 20 members that make up the ‘Assuwa Coalition’ are identifiable³³. One of the exceptions is *Wilusa*.

The ‘Assuwa Coalition’ attacked Tuthaliya on his way back from a campaign against Arzawa. The ‘Assuwa Coalition’ is placed on the Hittite map relative to Arzawa and the Seha River Land, based on the assumption that it was a geographically unified federal country, rather than a potentially geographically looser coalition. By this reasoning, if *Wilusia* lies in the Troad north of Arzawa and the Seha river land, then *Assuwa* and the associated *Tarwisa* must also lie to the north.

We might recall that the Persians considered Athens in Attica and Eretria on the island of Euboea to be members of the ‘Ionian Coalition’ that engaged in hostilities against the King of Persia in 499 BCE. This indicates that coalition members need not be drawn from a single unified geographical region. In sum, I see no reason to displace *a-si-wi-ja* from the location where three strong bodies of evidence place it³⁴.

²⁹ LATACZ (*supra* n. 22) 99.

³⁰ PALAIMA (*supra* n. 13) 17–8.

³¹ LATACZ (*supra* n. 22) 97–8. Here the use of the cuneiform determinative KUR makes it clear that we are dealing with political or geographical entities.

³² J.D. GEORGACAS, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula and a Register of Surviving Anatolian Pre-Turkish Placenames*. Heidelberg 1971, 27–30.

³³ The clearest brief explanation of the Anatolianist tinkering with the location of *Assuwa* is given by W.-D. NIEMEIER, “Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor.” In *POLEMOS: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l’Âge du Bronze (Aegaeum 19)*, edited by R. LAFFINEUR. Liège & Austin 1999, 145.

³⁴ This does not rule out that *Wilusia* and *Tarwisa* in the Tuthaliya record are geographically close to one another. MELCHERT (personal communication 08/28/06) believes that “too many conclusions have been drawn from the mere juxtaposition of place names in lists.”

Some further confusion has been introduced into scholarship about the Mycenaean evidence for the ethnic *Tros* and the toponym (or feminine ethnic adjective) *Troia* by the publication of the latest Linear B tablets from Thebes. In their transcription and discussion of tablet **Gp 164**, the editors remark³⁵:

lat. inf.: to-ro-wo: anthroponyme masculin au datif; attesté au nominatif en **KN Ag 89**, **PY An 129.5** et **Vn 130.8**.

Then in their chapter on pp. 355–8, discussing “l’extension territoriale du royaume de Thèbes,” they state:

to-ro-wo: (**TH Gp 164 l.i.**; cfr. aussi **KN Ag 89** et **PY An 129**, **Vn 130**); il s’agit d’un anthroponyme pouvant correspondre au génitif de Τρώς, Τρωός ‘le Troyen’.

The editors first rightly understand that *to-ro-wo* in context on the lower edge of **Gp 164** is a dative, and make no attempt to interpret it. *to-ro-wo* occurs three times elsewhere in the Linear B texts, probably twice in the nominative and once in the dative. This makes it certain that the form is a masculine *o*-stem. Thus it is generally interpreted as nominative Θρό(Ϝ)ος dative Θρό(Ϝ)ωι, coming from the root of the verb θρέ(Ϝ)ομαι. Θρό(Ϝ)ος would be the ancient equivalent of the family name of my good friend in Austin JOEL ‘CRYER’.

But when the editors discuss the geographical evidence for the royal territory of Thebes, they have another purpose. They want to magnify the importance of Thebes by making its territorial reach and foreign contacts seem very grand. So they ignore the *opinio communis*. They contradict themselves. And they baldly assert without any contextual justification or further discussion that the form *to-ro-wo* is in the genitive and that it means ‘the Trojan’³⁶.

This mistake then contaminates our view of Anatolian matters. For LATACZ, unfortunately, has relied on this reference to a Trojan on Thebes **Gp 164** in his reasoning about the contacts between the *Ahhiyawa* (Mycenaean) and western Anatolia³⁷.

As we have analyzed the data above, beginning with STEFAN HILLER’S fundamental article in 1975, there may be no references in the Linear B tablets to the place name Troy, to the primary ethnic for Trojan(s), or to the primary ethnic *Wilwos*. There never has been any reference to *Wilusa* (*Wilusiya*). Even if one accepts that Mycenaean *to-ro*, *to-ro-o*, can be explained linguistically as deriving from a Trojan-language ethnonym or toponym³⁸, there are still good reasons to situate the main area of late Mycenaean contacts with western Anatolia in Ionia, Lydia, Karia, Lykia, Karpathos and Rhodes. The location of Mycenaean *Asiwiya* (Hittite *Assuwa*) should remain where it has always been, and not be changed to accommodate preset theories. For these reasons and for linguistic reasons, we should link the forms *to-ro*, *to-ro-o*, and *to-ro-ja* (and perhaps even *to-ro-wo*³⁹) with *Tlos*.

Scholarship on these matters has drifted far from STEFAN HILLER’S original careful presentation and interpretation of the evidence. By re-reading HILLER’S seminal article and following his leads, we can put ourselves back on a firm foundation.

³⁵ V. ARAVANTINOS, L. GODART & A. SACCONI, *Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmée I. Les tablettes en linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou*. Édition et commentaire. Pisa & Rome 2001, 290.

³⁶ ARAVANTINOS ET AL. (*supra* n. 35) 356, 358.

³⁷ LATACZ (*supra* n. 22) 280, 316 n. 4.

³⁸ *supra* n. 25.

³⁹ *supra* n. 24.

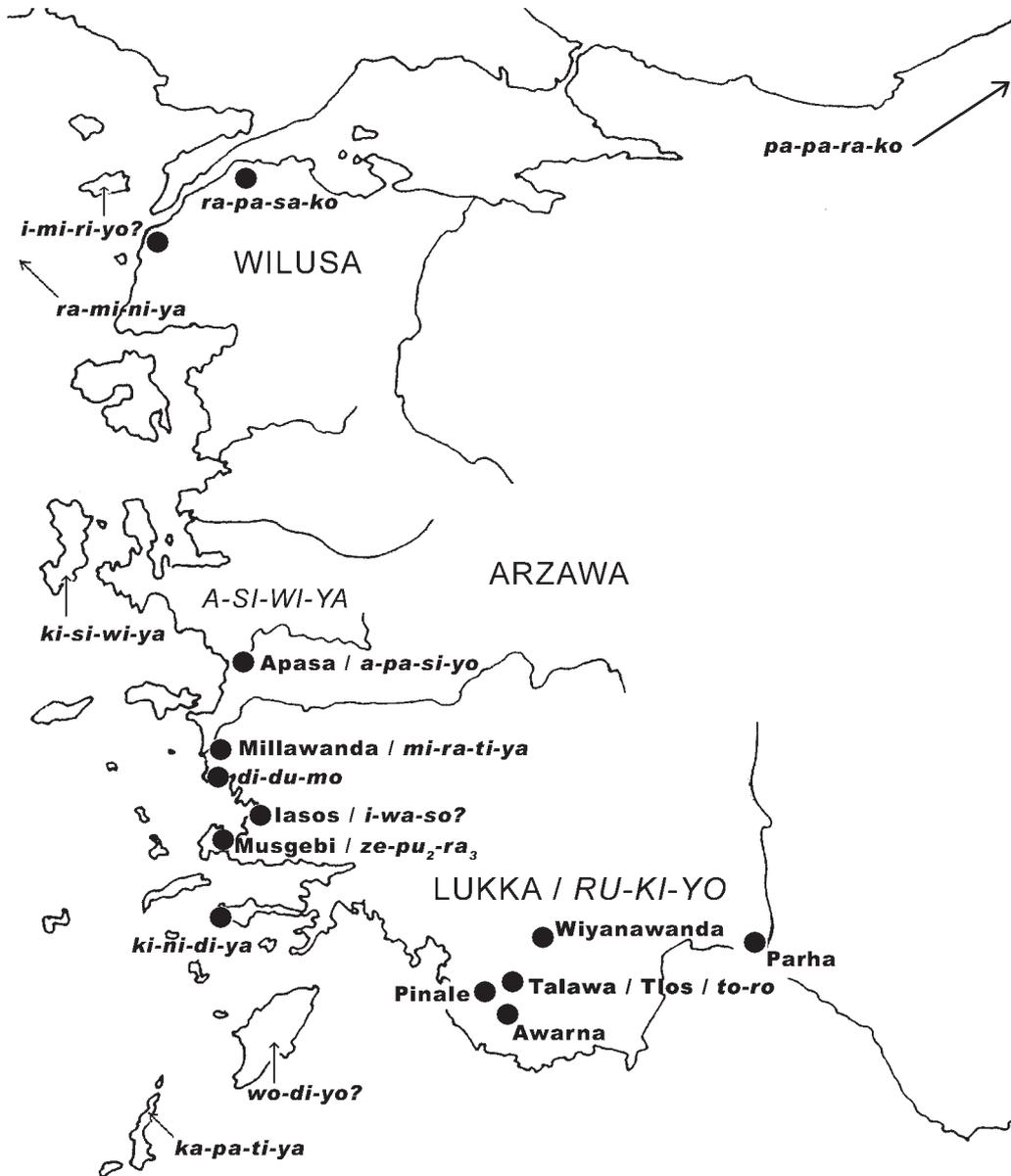


Fig. 1. Possible Linear B place name references, after NIEMEIER (supra n. 33), pl. XVa.

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