

TINKER, TAILOR, SOLDIER, SAILOR: MINOANS AND MYCENAEANS ABROAD *

*"Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Sailor,
Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggarman, Thief"*
(Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes)

Introduction

In 1984, exactly ten years ago, at a conference in Athens on the 'Function of the Minoan Palaces', several participants in a general discussion on economy and trade

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The following abbreviations will be used:

Excavations at Kabri 1989 =

W-D. NIEMEIER, "Chapter 10: Area D: The painted Plaster Floor in Room 611: Technical, Stylistic, Iconographic and Chronological Implications", *Excavations at Kabri: Preliminary Report of 1989 Season* * 4 (1990);

Excavations at Kabri 1991 =

B. NIEMEIER and W-D. NIEMEIER, "Chapter 6: Area D: The Fragments of Minoan Wall Painting from Locus 723", *Excavations at Kabri: Preliminary Report of 1991 Season* * 6 (1992);

Kabri, 1991 =

A. KEMPINSKI and W-D. NIEMEIER, "Kabri, 1991", *IEJ* 42 (1992), 260-265;

NIEMEIER, *Evidence* =

W-D. NIEMEIER, "New Archaeological Evidence for a 17th Century Date of the 'Minoan Eruption' from Palestine (Tel Kabri, Western Galilee)", *Thera and the Aegean World III. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3-9 September 1989*, 1 *Archaeology* (1990), 120-126;

NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans* =

W.-D. NIEMEIER, "Minoan Artisans Travelling Overseas: The Alalakh Frescoes and the Painted Plaster Floor at Tel Kabri (Western Galilee)", *Thalassa. L'Egée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques, Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990)*, *Aegaeum* 7 (1991), 189-210;

Tel Kabri, 1989-1990 =

A. KEMPINSKI and W-D. NIEMEIER, "Tel Kabri, 1989-1990", *IEJ* 41 (1991), 188-194;

WOOLLEY, *Alalakh* =

L. WOOLLEY, *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949* (1955);

WOOLLEY, *Kingdom* =

L. WOOLLEY, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (1953).

brought up the possibility of Minoan artists working overseas¹. Peter Warren later went on to discuss the existence of Minoan merchants abroad², but few of the other participants pursued the topic any further. Indeed, although there are quite a lot of very well known data which can be used in the attempt to identify expatriate Minoans and Mycenaeans, it has proven rather difficult to actually document this elusive class of people.

Recently, some new finds of frescoes, papyri and weapons of Minoan and Mycenaean inspiration in Egypt and the Near East have brought renewed interest in, and speculation about, the foreign contacts of the Late Bronze Age Aegean. For example, from 1987 through 1991, fragments from a floor and from wall paintings of Aegean inspiration and/or manufacture were uncovered at Tel Kabri in Israel -- the site of a large fortified Middle Bronze city, possibly to be identified as Rehov³. Similar finds previously identified elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean include wall paintings of Aegean inspiration in the palace at Alalakh in Syria and at Qatna, also in Syria⁴. In 1991, a bronze sword of possible Mycenaean manufacture was uncovered at Hattušas, capital city of the Hittites⁵. In 1992 and 1993, fragments from a wall painting of Minoan inspiration if not outright Minoan manufacture were uncovered at Tell ed-Dab'a, identified as ancient Avaris, capital city of the Hyksos⁶. Also in 1992, a fragment of papyri depicting possible Mycenaean warriors aiding a fallen Egyptian was finally pieced together and reconstructed, after having been originally uncovered during Pendlebury's excavations at Amarna, capital city of the Egyptian Pharaoh Akhenaten⁷.

It has long been argued that one does not need to postulate the presence of Minoans or Mycenaeans to explain the presence of Aegean pottery at Late Bronze Age sites in

- 1 See discussion between Ch. Doumas, B. Foster, W. Helck, S. Hiller, S. Hood, G. Kopcke, I. Pini, P. Warren, L.V. Watrous, and M. Wiener, in *Function Palaces*, 267-268.
- 2 P.M. WARREN, "Egyptian Stone Vessels from the City of Knossos: Contributions Towards Minoan Economic and Social Structure", *Ariadne* 5 (*Αφιέρωμα στον Στυλίο Αλεξίου*, 1989), 1-9; IDEM, "A Merchant Class in Bronze Age Crete? The Evidence of Egyptian Stone Vases from the City of Knossos", in *Bronze Age Trade*, 295-302.
- 3 *Tel Kabri, 1989-1990; Kabri, 1991; Excavations at Kabri 1989*; NIEMEIER, *Evidence*; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*; W-D. NIEMEIER, "Tel Kabri: Cretan Fresco Paintings in a Canaanite Palace", *AJA* 97 (1993), 332-333; *Excavations at Kabri 1991*, 8-11.
- 4 R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, "L'ancienne Qatna ou les ruines d'El Mishrifé au N.-E. de Homs (Émèse): Deuxième campagne de fouilles (1927)", *Syria* 9 (1928), 13, pl. IV; IDEM, *Le site archéologique de Mishifre-Qatna* (1935), frontispiece; WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 75-76; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 224-234, Pl. XXXVI, XXXVIII, XXXIX; W. STEVENSON SMITH, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (1965), 17-18, 49-50, 102-104, Figs 136-137; J.L. CROWLEY, *The Aegean and the East: An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age* (1989), 149; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 190-196.
- 5 A. ÜNAL, A. ERTEKIN and I. EDIZ, "The Hittite Sword from Bogazköy-Hattusa, Found 1991, and its Akkadian Inscription", *MÜZE* 4 (1991), 46-52; ANONYMOUS, "Ein hethitisches Schwert mit akkadischer Inschrift aus Bogazköy", *Antike Welt* 23/4 (1992), 256-257, Fig. 1-3; A. ERTEKIN and I. EDIZ, "The Unique Sword from Bogazköy/Hattusa", *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (1993), 719-725; A. ÜNAL, "Boğazköy Kilicinin Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazısı Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler", *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (1993), 727-730.
- 6 M. BIETAK, "Minoan Wall-Paintings unearthed at Ancient Avaris", *Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1992), 26-28; ANONYMOUS, "Digging Diary 1992-1993", *Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1993), 9; M. BIETAK *et al.*, "Neue Grabungsergebnisse aus Tell el-Dab'a und 'Ezbet Helmi im östlichen Nildelta 1989-1991", *Ägypten und Levant* 4 (1994), 9-80, esp. 44-58, Pl. 14-22.
- 7 J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, III. *The Central City and the Official Quarters* (1951), 141; R. PARKINSON and L. SCHOFIELD, "Akhenaten's Army?", *Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1993), 34-35.

Egypt and the Near East --merely postulating the existence of commercial trade routes is sufficient⁸. However, what of these other evidences for interaction? Is it sufficient to attribute the spread of artistic styles, conventions, and techniques to merchants and travellers wishing to reproduce that which they had seen in foreign lands? Niemeier has hypothesized that the floor at Tel Kabri was "executed by travelling Minoan artisans", while Bietak has hypothesized that the wall painting at Tell ed-Dab'a indicates "the presence of highly skilled artists from the Minoan world"⁹.

In fact, these recent, rather unusual, finds constitute a body of data which not only contribute important information concerning contacts between the Bronze Age Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, but which might finally allow us to begin documenting this previously elusive class of Minoans and Mycenaeans: namely, those expatriate Aegean craftsmen and other individuals who were actively pursuing their chosen vocations in areas outside of their native lands. In addition to Niemeier's and Bietak's Minoan artisans, there is now possible evidence for a number of other expatriate Minoans and Mycenaeans, functioning overseas as mercenaries, interpreters, merchants, sailors, physicians, diplomats, weavers, and other types of craftsmen.

The following paper presents the preliminary results of an attempt to document the existence of this elusive class and to show that the Late Bronze Age Aegean, like the contemporary Near East, had its share of state and state-less workers, who were available for hire to the highest bidder, regardless of the location of that bidder. The reader should be aware that the material, hypotheses, and tentative conclusions presented below are, in many cases, extremely speculative and deliberately provocative. The methodology followed is one designed to push the available data as far as possible, perhaps too far in some cases, and is meant to induce further discussion. Bearing in mind the potential dangers of such an approach, the intent of this paper is to see if it is possible to resuscitate the living, breathing, flesh-and-blood people who originally lay behind the textual references and the extant artifacts which have been left to us. It is hoped that the end will perhaps justify the means.

Minoans/Mycenaeans as Possible Overseas Artisans

At Tel Kabri, during the years 1987 until 1991, excavation of the floor of Room 611, a Ceremonial Hall in the Palace, revealed a plastered and painted surface measuring 10.30 x 10.30 meters. The plaster was decorated using true fresco technique and an initial grid pattern of red lines. In the central part of the room, the squares were decorated with "rockwork" patterns in red, blue and black on alternating white and yellow backgrounds. On other parts of the floor, lilies, irises and crocuses in blue and orange were drawn in a naturalistic manner on a background pattern of orange and yellow squares. Niemeier and Kempinski have stated that the best, and most contemporary, parallels for this floor at Tel

8 J.D. MUHLY, "The Crisis Years in the Mediterranean World: Transition or Cultural Disintegration?", *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century BC* (1992), 13; G. GILMOUR, "Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB Pottery in the Levant and Cyprus", *RDAC* 1992, 118; E.S. SHERRATT, "Immigration and Archaeology: some Indirect Reflections", *Acta Cypria: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology Held in Göteborg on 22-24 August 1991*, 2 (1992), 318-319, 324-325; but cf. B.P. HALLAGER, "A New Social Class in Late Bronze Age Crete: Foreign Traders in Khania", *Minoan Society*, 116, who uses ceramics as possible evidence for Italians at Khania. Similar arguments have raged for and against the presence of later Greek colonists at Near Eastern sites, such as at Al Mina. See most recently A.J. GRAHAM, "The Historical Interpretation of Al Mina", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 12 (1986), 51-65; J. BOARDMAN, "Al Mina and History", *OJA* 9 (1990), 169-190.

9 *Excavations at Kabri 1989*, XIX; BIETAK (*supra* n. 6), 27-28.

Kabri are to be found in the Aegean, at LM IA Knossos and Thera ¹⁰.

In addition, during the 1990 and 1991 seasons at Tel Kabri, hundreds of small fragments of a wall painting done in true fresco technique were found on the floor of Room 740 of the Palace, in the fill of Corridor 698 laying between this room and Ceremonial Hall 611, and in the fill of a robbed-out threshold leading from Room 607 to Room 611. They are thought to be the remnants of a frieze originally attached to the north wall above the door of Room 611. The fragments, which include scenes depicting "red-brown rocks with knot-like protuberances", "ashlar masonry and rounded beam heads probably from representations of houses", and "a charming representation of a flying swallow" are from a miniature fresco "similar in style to the Miniature Fresco of Santorini" ¹¹.

Niemeier suggests that the Minoanizing floor and wall represent more than just the transfer of single Aegean motifs. He believes that they show "a purely Minoan iconography as well as technique" and hypothesizes that they are actually indicators of the presence of Minoan artisans at the site -- "brought to Kabri to adorn the palace of the local ruler". Tel Kabri apparently was worthy of such treatment. Prior to its destruction and abandonment c. 1600 BC, it had been a large fortified city, second only to Hazor in size, and lay at the center of one of the Canaanite city states, possibly ancient Rehov of the Egyptian Execration Texts ¹².

At Tell ed-Dab'a in the Delta region of Egypt, fragments of a wall painting depicting unmistakably Aegean-looking people were discovered in 1992 under an early 18th Dynasty stratum. Additional fragments were discovered in 1993, *in situ* on the walls of a monumental mud-brick structure. Dab'a is now identified as the site of ancient Avaris, capital city of the Hyksos who ruled Egypt during the 17th century BC. The wall painting, done in true fresco fashion using blue, yellow, white, red, and black, depicts floral motifs, animals such as leopards and lions, and Aegean-looking men leaping over bulls, pictured in front of a labyrinth ¹³.

It is startling to see such a fresco in Egypt, for it belongs in Minoan Crete and to the strictly Greek myth of Theseus and the Minotaur, in which Theseus wanders through the basements of the Palace of Knossos on Crete and kills the dreaded Minotaur -- a beast who was half man, half bull. Like Niemeier at Tel Kabri, Bietak, the excavator of Tell ed-Dab'a, thinks that such a wall painting indicates "the presence of highly skilled artists from the Minoan world". However, Bietak goes one step further. Describing these representations as ritual rather than simply decorative, Bietak concludes that the Minoans were not simply visiting, but were residing in Avaris, and were in close contact with the ruling class; the presence of a "Minoan princess" has also been suggested ¹⁴.

10 A. KEMPINSKI, "Area D: The Architecture and Finds", *Excavations at Kabri: Preliminary Report of 1987 Season* (1988), VII, fig. 12; *Excavations at Kabri 1989*; NIEMEIER, *Evidence*, 123-124; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 196-200; *Tel Kabri, 1989-1990*, 192-193, fig. 5.

11 *Kabri, 1991*, 263, fig. 3; *Excavations at Kabri 1991*, 8-11, Fig. 15; W-D. NIEMEIER, "Tel Kabri: Cretan Fresco Paintings in a Canaanite Palace", *AJA* 97 (1993), 332-333.

12 *Excavations at Kabri 1989*, XIX-XX; NIEMEIER, *Evidence*, 124; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 196-199; *Tel Kabri, 1989-1990*, 192. For previous discussions of the transfer of artistic motifs between the LBA Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East see H.J. KANTOR, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC* (1947); STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4); CROWLEY (*supra* n. 4).

13 BIETAK (*supra* n. 6); ANONYMOUS (*supra* n. 6), 9; BIETAK *et al.* (*supra* n. 6), 44-58, Pl. 14-22. Note that the Tomb of Intef (T. 155), from the time of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III in New Kingdom Egypt, whose wall paintings once contained representations of Aegean visitors, also has a labyrinth pattern, painted in blue and green as a motif on the ceiling; cf. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (1957), 15, Pl. 13, 19; S. WACHSMANN, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs* (1987), 31, Pl. XXV; E.J.W. BARBER, *Prehistoric Textiles* (1991), 332-333, 347 n. 19, Color Pl. 3 (lower right).

14 BIETAK (*supra* n. 6), 26-28; V. HANKEY, "Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant", *Egyptian Archaeology* 3

However, it can also be argued that one does not need Minoan colonists living in Egypt to get a fresco such as this -- a wealthy Egyptian or Hyksos merchant or sea captain could easily have ordered it as a memento or record of his voyages overseas¹⁵. A Minoan colony at Dab'a must remain hypothetical until other indications of the presence of Minoans are found at the site (*e.g.* Minoan pottery, of which only a little, of an earlier period, has been found at Dab'a to date). Clearly, however, the painting indicates, at the very least, the presence of Minoan artisans -- whether transitory or resident.

As Kempinski and Niemeier note, "a similar use of the fresco technique is found on the palace walls in Alalakh (Stratum VII)"¹⁶. Niemeier notes further that "the wall paintings from Yarim-Lim's palace at Tell Atchana/Alalakh form a contemporary parallel to the Kabri floor... their technique and iconography point to Cretan workmanship, too"¹⁷. Unfortunately, the date of Alalakh Level VII is still under intense discussion; suggestions range from c. 1650 to 1575¹⁸.

These paintings in the *salon* of the Level VII palace at Alalakh built by Yarim-Lim were found in an extremely damaged condition, but it is clear that they were executed in true fresco fashion, painted on wet lime plaster. One group of pieces depicts yellowish-white grasses blown by the wind, set against a red background in a very Minoan manner. Another panel depicts predominantly green plants and trees set against a red background. As Woolley originally observed, the method of painting is like that of the miniature frescoes at Knossos and the colors -- black, brown, red, yellow, blue, and grey-green -- "appear to be identical with those used for the Knossos frescoes". There is, finally, also from this room, a fragment depicting a bull's horn, possibly from a buccanium, with a disk between its horns; a horizontal band of yellow, black and purple appears above¹⁹.

There were also "Aegeanizing" fresco fragments found elsewhere at Alalakh. These were discovered still adhering to the wall in room 6 of House 39/A, in Level IV, dating to the LB I period. These depict an architectural scene, complete with imitation marble stone slabs, similar to examples known from frescoes at Knossos and Akrotiri. A similar scene was also found in room 5 of the Level VII palace, under a later coat of plaster²⁰.

Woolley, the excavator of Alalakh, believed that "the art of Minoan wall painting was created by itinerant craftsmen from Syria", primarily because of these finds at Alalakh²¹. The situation has now been reversed, for it is currently generally accepted that the Minoan palaces, and their wall-paintings done in true fresco technique, predate these in Syria. It is thus entirely possible that the frescoes of Alalakh were, in fact, painted by Minoan artisans²².

There are also, as Niemeier and earlier scholars have noted, fragments of wall-

(1993), 29; EADEM, "A Theban 'Battle Axe' ", *Minerva* 4/3 (1993), 13-14; also lectures by M. Bietak in Chicago (February 1993) and New York (November 1993).

15 V. HANKEY, "Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant", *Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1993), 27-29; V. HANKEY (personal communication).

16 *Tel Kabri, 1989-1990*, 193; cf. WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 75-76; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 224-234, Pl. XXXVI-XXXVIII, XXXIX; T.B.L. WEBSTER, *From Mycenae to Homer* (1958), 30-31.

17 *Excavations at Kabri 1989*, XX; cf. also NIEMEIER, *Evidence*, 123; STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 102-104.

18 See discussion in NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 190-191.

19 WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 75-76; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 225, 228-231, 233-234, Pl. XXXVI-XXXVIII; STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 49, 102-104, Figs 136-137; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 192-194.

20 WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 228, 231-232, Pl. XXXIX; cf. now also NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 192-193, 196 n. 68.

21 STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 102; cf. WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 75-77; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 1.

22 See discussion in STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 102 and NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 191-193, 195-196.

paintings found in the palace at Qatna in Syria which show painted imitation of marbling in the characteristic Aegean manner. Unfortunately the date of these paintings is uncertain -- they may be placed anytime between MB IIB and LB I, that is from c. 1700 to 1400 BC ²³.

Finally, there are other painted ceilings, walls, and floors in Egypt and the Near East, including Malkata and Amarna in Egypt, and perhaps Mari and Nuzi in Mesopotamia, which bear superficial resemblances to those in the Aegean or bear motifs (such as spirals, "Wax Lilies", bucrania, and labyrinths) which may have originated in the Aegean. These, however, are not painted in true fresco style and do not otherwise give any indication that they are the work of Aegean craftsmen. In these cases, we may only hypothesize that the motifs in question were transmitted across the Mediterranean, but the means of transmission remain unknown. Kantor, Shaw, Barber and other scholars have quite reasonably suggested that such motifs may have been transferred via textiles which were traded between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East ²⁴. We should note that there may, in fact, also be evidence for itinerant Aegean weavers in Egypt at this time, who may have been responsible for the transmission of these designs.

Minoans/Mycenaeans as Possible Overseas Mercenaries

A fragment of papyrus originally excavated by Pendlebury at Amarna in the company of an LH IIIA2 late stirrup jar within the House/Chapel of the King's Sculptor, and recovered and reconstructed in 1992, depicts, in full color, a group of what appear to be Mycenaean warriors rushing towards a fallen Egyptian, who is about to have his throat cut ²⁵. The Mycenaeans wear Egyptian linen kilts, but are identified by their distinctive boar's tusk helmets and ox-hide shields ²⁶. The scene leaves little doubt that the Mycenaeans are members of the Egyptian army. The fact that they were allowed their separate helmets and shields suggests that they have retained some measure of

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- 23 R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, "L'ancienne Qatna ou les ruines d'El Mishrifé au N.-E. de Homs (Émèse): Deuxième campagne de fouilles (1927)", *Syria* 9 (1928), 13, Pl. IV; IDEM, *Le site archéologique de Mishifre-Qatna* (1935), frontispiece; C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale aux IIIe et IIe millénaires* (1948), 116; STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 17-18, 49, Fig. 31; CROWLEY (*supra* n. 4), 149; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 196.
- 24 Cf. KANTOR (*supra* n. 12), 29, 78; WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 77; WOOLLEY, *Alalakh*, 231; STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 18, 102, 106-108, 113, Figs 33, 127-128; M.C. SHAW, "Ceiling Patterns from the Tomb of Hepzefa", *AJA* 74 (1970), 28; E.T. VERMEULE, "Mycenaean Drawing, Amarna, and Egyptian Ostraka", *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (1981), 194-195, 197-198; CROWLEY (*supra* n. 4); BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 311-383; S. NISHIMOTO, "The Ceiling Paintings of the Harem Rooms at the Palace of Malqata", *Göttinger Miszellen* 127 (1992), 69-80. Note also that spirals and rosettes carved in stone are found at Hattušas.
- 25 PENDLEBURY (*supra* n. 7), 141; PARKINSON and SCHOFIELD (*supra* n. 7), 34-35; V. HANKEY (personal communication).
- 26 The helmets are distinctly unique in New Kingdom iconography; the closest parallels, which still show tremendous differences, are helmets used by both Egyptian and Asiatic charioteers in battle scenes detailing Asiatic and Nubian campaigns of Tutankhamun and additional campaigns of Horemheb, from their respective mortuary temples; cf. W.R. JOHNSON, *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes: A Late Amarna Antecedent of the Ramesside Battle-Narrative Tradition* (Ph.D. Dissertation, 1992), 156-170, Figs 3, 4, 8, 15, 17, 35, and 44. The best parallels for the helmets on the Amarna papyrus come from the Aegean, namely the several ivory warriors' heads at Mycenae and the ivory plaque depicting a warrior at Delos, all depicting boar's-tusk helmets; cf. A.J.B. WACE, "Mycenae 1939-1953: Part I: Preliminary Report on the Excavations of 1953", *BSA* 49 (1954), 236-237, Pl. 35b-c, e; H. GALLET de SANTERRE, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (1958), Fig. 54, Pl. 23; G.E. MYLONAS, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (1966), 195; W.R. BIERS, *The Archaeology of Greece* (1987), 89-90, Fig. 3.32.

autonomy -- an indication that they were probably hired mercenaries functioning within the Egyptian military, as Parkinson and Schofield have suggested. The larger question of why these Mycenaean mercenaries are fighting on behalf of the Egyptian pharaoh can only be guessed, but in this particular instance we may note only that they appear to be running to the aid of the fallen Egyptian.

Although long suggested, archaeological evidence for Mycenaean mercenaries is only just beginning to be identified. In theories now usually discounted, Persson, Schachermeyr and Marinatos, among others, originally discussed the possibility of Mycenaean mercenaries having helped the Egyptians to rid Egypt of the Hyksos invaders²⁷. In 1958, T.B.L. Webster suggested that the young Minoan officer known as the "Captain of the Blacks", who is shown on a fresco at Knossos leading a troop of black warriors, may well represent a Minoan mercenary who saw service in Egypt -- and who may "have brought back stories and ideas as well as riches"²⁸. More recently, Driessen and Macdonald have suggested that Mycenaean mercenaries may have been present on Crete during the 14th-11th centuries BC, following the Mycenaean invasion during the LM IB period. As they note, mercenaries of numerous nationalities were known in the Late Bronze Age; obvious examples may be found in the Trojan army during their war against the Mycenaeans (*Il.* 17.225) and in both the Egyptian and Hittite armies during the Battle of Qadesh²⁹.

In 1991, a bronze sword was found in the vicinity of Boğazköy in central Anatolia, c. 750 meters southwest of the monumental gateway at that site. Although still the subject of much discussion, it has been tentatively identified as a Mycenaean Type B sword, dating to the LH I-II period. The sword is of great importance, for it has a single line of Akkadian inscribed on one side of the blade. The text reads:

"As Tudhaliya the Great King shattered the Aššuwā-Country, he dedicated these swords to the Storm-God, his Lord".

The sword, apparently one of a number, was dedicated after the victory of Tudhaliya II over Aššuwā c. 1430 BC³⁰.

There are any number of ways in which a Mycenaean sword, if such it is, may have gotten into Aššuwā hands, only to be taken as booty by a victorious Hittite army and dedicated back at Hattušas. Again, though, the most likely possibilities involve Mycenaeans themselves, functioning as mercenaries or as arms-dealers. In fact, at the 'Minoan Palaces' conference in 1984, Helck suggested that the Minoans "exported arms, as well as smiths who could manufacture them". He cited in particular the inlaid weapons found in the tomb of Ahmose in Egypt, which he felt may have been of Minoan manufacture³¹.

27 A.W. PERSSON, *New Tombs at Dendra near Medea* (1942), 178-196; F. SCHACHERMEYR, "Streitungen und Streitungenbild im Alten Orient und bei den mykenischen Griechen", *Anthropos* 46 (1951), 705-719; Sp. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, *Crete and Mycenae* (1960), 81-82.

28 WEBSTER (*supra* n. 16), 65-66; cf. *PM* II (1928), 755-757, Pl. 13; *PM* IV (1935), 886-887, Fig. 869.

29 J. DRIESSEN and C. MACDONALD, "Some Military Aspects of the Aegean in the Late Fifteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries BC", *BSA* 79 (1984), 50-56; N.K. SANDARS, *The Sea Peoples* (1985), 49-50, 53, 106, 113, 117-120, 158, 165, 198-199.

30 ÜNAL *et al.* (*supra* n. 5), 46-52, with illustrations; ANONYMOUS (*supra* n. 5), 256-257, Fig. 1-3; ERTEKIN and EDIZ (*supra* n. 5); ÜNAL (*supra* n. 5). The Mycenaean origin of the sword was first suggested by O. Hansen and tentatively confirmed by C. MacDonald; information courtesy of J. Binder; see now M.J. MELLINK, "Archaeology in Anatolia", *AJA* 97 (1993), 106, 112-113. ERTEKIN and EDIZ (*supra*), 722 are more reluctant to embrace the sword as 'Type B', although their points in opposition can be readily countered.

31 W. HELCK, in *Function Palaces*, 267; see also discussions in KANTOR (*supra* n. 12), STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), and most recently V. HANKEY, "A Theban 'Battle Axe'", *Minerva* 4/3 (1993).

However, finds of identifiable Mycenaean or Minoan weapons in the Eastern Mediterranean are rare. In addition to the new discovery at Hattušas, there are only six other such finds known: another Type B sword found in an undated context at Izmir, in Anatolia; a Type Cii sword found in a probable LH II-IIIa context at Gezer, in Israel; a Type Di sword found with LH IIIa1-2 pottery at Panaztepe, in western Anatolia; a possible Mycenaean knife in a 12th century BC context at Fraktin, in central Anatolia; and one Type Di sword and one as yet unidentified Mycenaean sword found on the Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck, dated to the late 14th century BC³². The lack of numerous Aegean weapons in the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean indicates that the Mycenaeans were probably not arms-dealers after all; in fact, as Sandars has noted, "Minoans and Mycenaeans seldom made presents of their swords"³³. Their role as mercenaries, on the other hand, may account for the few finds which do exist, particularly the newest discovery at Hattušas.

From Hattušas comes also another possible indication of Mycenaean mercenaries serving in Anatolia. There is a fragmentary Hittite bowl incised with a drawing of what appears to be a Mycenaean warrior in full battle array, complete with plumed and horned helmet very reminiscent of the Mycenaeans pictured on the later "Warrior Vase" from Mycenae. The two joining sherds from this bowl were found in a late 15th - early 14th century BC context at Hattušas -- a context which may well correlate with the reign of Tudhaliya II and with the time of the Aššuwān Rebellion mentioned above³⁴.

Finally, Hattušas has provided a third possible example of a Mycenaean warrior or mercenary fighting in western Anatolia. The reference is found in the Indictment of Madduwatta (KUB XIV 1 + KBo XIX 38, sec. 12), dating to c. 1450 BC. This document, discussing an event which occurred during the reign of Tudhaliya II, indicates that Madduwatta, a renegade Hittite vassal ruling in western Anatolia during the 15th century BC, had been attacked by Attarissiya, "a man of Ahhiya". Ahhiya is the older, and shorter, form of the name Ahhiyawa³⁵. It is conceivable that this is yet another indication of Mycenaean mercenaries fighting in Anatolia during the 15th century BC.

32 R.A.S. MACALISTER, *The Excavation of Gezer III* (1912), Pl. lxxiv, lxxv; K. BITTEL, "Kleinasiatische Studien", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 1942, 175; SCHAEFFER (*supra* n. 23), 197-198, Fig. 158; N. ÖZGÜÇ, "Finds at Firakdin", *Bellefen* 19 (1955), 296; N. SANDARS, "The First Aegean Swords and Their Ancestry", *AJA* 65 (1961), 27; EADEM, "Later Aegean Bronze Swords", *AJA* 67 (1963), 118 (Map), 121-122, 125-126, 146; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD (*supra* n. 29), 72; Y. ERSOY, "Finds from Menemen/Panaztepe in the Manisa Museum", *BSA* 83 (1988), 55-82, Pl. 5; C. PULAK, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign", *AJA* 92 (1988), 22, Fig. 21; IDEM, "The Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1993 Excavation Campaign", *INA Quarterly* 20/4 (1993), 11, Fig. 13.

33 N. SANDARS, "Later Aegean Bronze Swords", *AJA* 67 (1963), 128.

34 K. BITTEL, "Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung von Bogazköy", *RA* (1976), 9-14, Fig. 1-3; H.G. GÜTERBOCK, "Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look", *PAPS* 128 (1984), 115, Fig. 6; BIERS (*supra* n. 26), 83-86, Fig. 3.25.

35 F. SOMMER, *Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunden* (1932), 329-349, Pl. IX; G.L. HUXLEY, *Achaean and Hittites* (1960), 9 (no. 19), 24; S. HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, *Arzawa, Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen* (1977), 255-275; T.R. BRYCE, "Madduwatta and Hittite Policy in Western Anatolia", *Historia* 35 (1986), 1-12; IDEM, "The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia", *Historia* 38 (1989), 11-12; IDEM, "Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans--An Anatolian Viewpoint", *OJA* 8 (1989), 298-299; A. ÜNAL, "Two Peoples on Both Sides of the Aegean Sea: Did the Achaeans and the Hittites Know Each Other?", *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium BC* (1991), 20 (no. 14).

There is another career connected with weapons which might be suggested for expatriate Mycenaeans or Minoans, and that is the role of metalsmith. Sandars has noted some atypical Type Ci swords found in Epirus-Yugoslavia and in Bulgaria. She surmises, tentatively, that they may have been

“the work of a craftsman trained in one or other of the great centers, Cretan or Mainland, selling his skill in the northern mountains, where in the course of time he may have fallen into personal idiosyncrasy, or simply have tried to meet the special demands of the barbarian”³⁶.

There is, as yet, no indication for such itinerant Aegean arms-makers in the Eastern Mediterranean, but the possibility remains, as Helck hypothesized ten years ago.

Minoans/Mycenaeans as Possible Overseas Merchants, Diplomats, and/or Emissaries

A text found in Mesopotamia, in the palace of King Zimri-Lim of Mari, contains one of the few references to specific Minoans identified by title or by profession. The text (ARM A 1270 = ARMT 23 556: 28-31) concerns tin which Mari had received from the east and had distributed to western markets, including Ugarit, Hazor and Aleppo. Included among the recipients are men from Caphtor (*Kap-ta-ra-i-im*), that is, Minoans:

“1+x/3 minae of tin to the Caphtorian, 1/3 minae of tin to the interpreter (of the) chief merchant of the Caphtorians in Ugarit”³⁷.

Thus, we have here probable evidence for Minoan merchants, and in particular the Chief of these Minoan merchants, active in Ugarit and, apparently, Mari during the 18th century BC. The phrasing of the text leaves it unclear whether these merchants are acting officially on behalf of the Minoan state or are private merchants acting on their own behalf -- both scenarios have been suggested. There is also the tantalizing possibility that the interpreter mentioned was a bilingual Minoan -- thus allowing us to document an additional occupation pursued by expatriate Minoans, that of official translator -- but this, of course, is mere speculation³⁸.

There are also the well-known examples of the Aegean people, sometimes labelled as “Chiefs”, pictured in Egyptian tomb paintings bringing “tribute” to the Pharaoh. In each case, these are probably Mycenaeans and Minoans functioning overseas as either merchants, diplomats or emissaries, depending upon how the scene is interpreted. Tombs with such paintings are chiefly found during the years spanning the reigns of Thutmose III through Amenhotep III and include those of Rehmire, Menkheperesenb, Amenemhab, and Anen³⁹. Given the nature of the scenes, the Aegean people pictured in these tombs are most likely functioning as state workers, rather than state-less workers, and are present in Egypt as official representatives of Aegean rulers⁴⁰.

36 SANDARS (*supra* n. 33), 125.

37 After G. BARDET *et al.*, *Archives Administratives de Mari I* (ARMT XXIII, 1984), 528-529 [no. 556]; M. HELTZER, “The Trade of Crete and Cyprus with Syria and Mesopotamia and their Eastern Tin-Sources in the XVIII-XVII Centuries BC”, *Minos* 24 (1989), 12.

38 Cf. M.H. WIENER, “Trade and Rule in Palatial Crete”, *Function Palaces*, 262-264; *Excavations at Kabri 1989*, XXX.

39 J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (1956), 56-71 (nos. 9-11), 79-82 (no. 15), 126, 133-134 (no. 35), 219-229; J. STRANGE, *Caphtor/Keftiu* (1980), 45-54 (nos. 16-18), 55-56 (no. 20); WACHSMANN (*supra* n. 13), 33-38, 40, 94.

40 Cf. G. KOPCKE, “The Cretan Palaces and Trade”, *Function Palaces*, 258.

Minoans/Mycenaeans as Possible Overseas Sailors

There are a number of indications from the Greek Mainland and from Crete that Mycenaeans and Minoans were active sailors, but it is surprisingly difficult to document such people actively sailing in the Eastern Mediterranean ⁴¹. The only possible example to date is found on the Ulu Burun (Kaş) ship.

As yet, there is no consensus concerning the national origins of this ship. Of the two principal excavators, Pulak has tentatively suggested a Mycenaean rather than a Near Eastern origin for the crew members, based upon artifacts considered to be personal possessions. Bass has tentatively described the wreck as a vindication of his theories concerning the role of Canaanites in the maritime trade during the Late Bronze Age. To judge from the personal possessions found on board, the ship and crew may well have been as ethnically diverse as the cargo ⁴². Most of the cargo on board was found by the excavators in a new, unused condition -- apparently merchandise destined for future ports-of-call and not yet sold. However, it is clear that at least one person on board the ship was using Mycenaean jugs, vases, and bowls in everyday capacities, and someone on board had a Mycenaean seal in their possession ⁴³. It is possible that the person using the pottery was the same one who owned the seal; and it would not be too farfetched to suggest that this person was in fact of Mycenaean nationality ⁴⁴. Whether he was the captain, a common crewmember, or perhaps even simply a passenger cannot, however, be ascertained. As Pulak has recently said:

"The two Mycenaean swords... together with the Mycenaean knives, chisels, nearly two dozen pieces of pottery, jewelry (beads of quartz, faience, amber, and glass pendant beads), a cloak pin of bronze, and the personal seal of a merchant, point to a near-certain Mycenaean presence aboard the ship, if only as a passenger or passengers" ⁴⁵.

Thus, the Kaş wreck may provide the first substantial indication of a Mycenaean actually pursuing the occupation of international seafarer or traveler.

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- 41 Cf. *Thalassocracy*; M.H. WIENER, "The Isles of Crete? The Minoan Thalassocracy Revisited", *Thera and the Aegean World III. Proceedings of the Third International Congress, Santorini, Greece, 3-9 September 1989*, 1 *Archaeology* (1990), 128-160; T.G. PALAIMA, "Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets", *Thalassa. L'Egée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques, Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990)*, *Aegaeum* 7 (1991), 273-310; A.B. KNAPP, "Thalassocracies in Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean Trade: Making and Breaking a Myth", *World Archaeology* 24/3 (1993), 332-347.
- 42 G.F. BASS, "Oldest Known Shipwreck Reveals Splendors of the Bronze Age", *National Geographic* 172/6 (1987), 716-717; IDEM, "Evidence of Trade from Bronze Age Shipwrecks", *Bronze Age Trade*, 69-82; C. PULAK, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign", *AJA* 92 (1988), 37; cf. also A.B. KNAPP, "Alashiya, Caphtor/Keftiu, and Eastern Mediterranean Trade: Recent Studies in Cypriote Archaeology and History", *JFA* 12/2 (1985), 244; S.P. MORRIS, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992), 104.
- 43 G.F. BASS, "A Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaş): 1984 Campaign", *AJA* 90 (1986), 296; IDEM, "Oldest Known Shipwreck Reveals Splendors of the Bronze Age", *National Geographic* 172/6 (1987), 716-717; IDEM, "Evidence of Trade from Bronze Age Shipwrecks", *Bronze Age Trade*, 69-82; C. PULAK, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun, Turkey: 1985 Campaign", *AJA* 92 (1988), 37; G.F. BASS, C. PULAK, D. COLLON, and J. WEINSTEIN, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign", *AJA* 93 (1989), 1-29.
- 44 Cf. GILMOUR (*supra* n. 8), 120.
- 45 C. PULAK, "The Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1993 Excavation Campaign", *INA Quarterly* 20/4 (1993), 12.

Minoans/Mycenaeans as Possible Overseas Craftsmen

The possibility of Minoans or Mycenaeans working in the Eastern Mediterranean as metalsmiths has been mentioned above, although there is no direct evidence for such at this time. Others have felt strongly that other types of Aegean craftsmen were working overseas during the Late Bronze Age. Woolley and Pendlebury, for instance, both believed that there were Aegean craftsmen as well as Aegean merchants at Amarna in Egypt⁴⁶.

There is, in fact, some possible evidence for the presence of Aegean weavers working at the Middle Kingdom site of Kahun and at the New Kingdom sites of Gurob and Amarna in Egypt. Barber notes that at 12th Dynasty Kahun, approximately equal to the Middle Minoan I-II periods in the Aegean, Petrie discovered a " 'handful of weaver's waste' of spun wool in three different colors"⁴⁷. This 'weaver's waste' is the result of cutting off the ends of the wool from the loom and indicates that weaving was taking place on the spot, at Kahun itself. Since there is no evidence that the Egyptians wove or dyed wool at this time, or even raised the necessary type of sheep, Barber suspects that foreigners,

"presumably women and probably Aegean, were busy weaving in the Faiyum in the 12th Dynasty according to their own foreign customs and with some of their own foreign materials"⁴⁸.

Such weavers may well have been foreign residents, but are as likely to have been itinerant craftworkers, since there is little other evidence for foreign residents at Kahun.

A similar situation may be found at New Kingdom Amarna, as Woolley and Pendlebury suspected, for more spun and unspun colored wools were found at this site -- where cloth made from white linen was far more traditional. The origin of these wools, from the time of Akhenaten, are more debated, however, for Syrian textiles were as well known in Egypt as those from the Aegean by this point⁴⁹.

Barber also discusses at length a low-whorl spindle found in Grave 11 at the New Kingdom site of Gurob. The spindle has a thread groove at one end and a limestone whorl weighing c. 150 grams at the other end. A similar limestone whorl was found in Grave 600 at Gurob, in the context of "Aegean-related pottery"⁵⁰. Barber states that the spindle in Grave 11 is of Aegean design, but made from local materials, and concludes that it was made locally for a "foreign resident" -- probably someone from the Aegean. Presumably the whorl from Grave 600 was also used by an Aegean resident, particularly given the Aegean-type pottery also in the grave. A number of explanations can be offered for the presence of these Aegean-type spindles, and spindle whorls, at Gurob; among the possibilities are that the items belonged to a resident or itinerant Mycenaean or Minoan

46 H. FRANKFORT and J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, *The City of Akhenaten*, II (1933), 44-46, Pl. XIV, XXII 1-3, XL; J.D.S. PENDLEBURY, *Tell el-Amarna* (1935), 120-121; WOOLLEY, *Kingdom*, 77; STEVENSON SMITH (*supra* n. 4), 105.

47 W.M.F. PETRIE, F.L. GRIFFITH, and P.E. NEWBERRY, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (1890), 28; BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 351.

48 BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 351. Cf. E. SCHOFIELD, "The Western Cyclades and Crete: A Special Relationship", *OJA* 1 (1982), 17 and J.T. KILLEN, "The Linear B Tablets and the Mycenaean Economy", *Linear B: A 1984 Survey* (1985), 241-305 on sheep, wool and textiles for export in the Bronze Age Aegean.

49 FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY (*supra* n. 46), 18; PENDLEBURY (*supra* n. 7), 109, 246, Pl. CXI 2-5; BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 352.

50 G. BRUNTON and R. ENGELBACH, *Gurob* (1927), 18, Pl. 13.8, 14, 25 and 26; BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 64-65, 351, Fig. 2.32.

weaver, or even a textile merchant.

As for other types of itinerant Aegean craftsmen, Kantor also believed that there were "Mycenaean craftsmen working in Asia". She cited, in particular, the ivory pyxis lid from Tomb 3 at Minet el Beida, the port of Ras Shamra, which she thought more likely to have been carved by an expatriate Mycenaean than by an "Asiatic following Western prototypes"⁵¹.

In addition, there are textual attestations in the Eastern Mediterranean to possible craftsmen from the Aegean during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Ugaritic mythology held that the craftsman god Kothar-wa-Hasis resided in *Kptr*, identified now as the island of Crete. This craftsman god was frequently called upon to build one or another thing, including, for instance, a palace for the god Baal⁵². As Sandars has aptly put it:

"All these are, of course, incidents of myth, the action is superhuman and the characters divine; but reduced to human scale the building of a house for Baal, like supplying tableware and furniture, gives a fair enough picture of the methods and functions of the palace architect and designer of international reputation and sphere of influence in the middle second millennium, and one that might provide the wanted link between the great Syrian palaces, Mari and Tell Atchana [Alalakh], and those of Crete"⁵³.

Minoans/Mycenaean as Possible Overseas Physicians

An Egyptian papyrus (London Medical Papyrus 11, 4-6), dating to the time of Amenhotep III and recopied in the time of Tutankhamen, lists medical words "in the Keftiu language" for various ailments. It begins:

"Spell for the Asiatic disease in Keftiu language: *s3-n-ti-k3-pw-py-w3-y-i-y-m3-n-ti-r-k3-k3-i-r*. This utterance is said with..."⁵⁴.

It must remain no more than a hypothesis, but it seems within the realm of possibility to suggest that this list was created by, or with the aid of, a Minoan physician visiting Egypt or, alternatively, an Egyptian physician who had visited Crete. A similar scenario might be envisioned behind the mention in Egypt of medicinal herbs from Keftiu, *i.e.* Crete (*iwryt kftiw* = the bean from Keftiu), as described in the Hieratic Papyrus Ebers. This latter text is dated to about the time of the Hyksos king Apophis, but may contain parts considerably older, *i.e.* from the Second Intermediate Period or the Middle Kingdom⁵⁵.

There is also a text from Anatolia (KUB V 6, II 57, 60), which records an illness of the Hittite king Muršili II c. 1330 BC. The text states that the god of Ahhiyawa, presumably in the form of a cult idol, has been brought to help heal the king⁵⁶. It would be no great surprise to learn that a physician from the Aegean had accompanied the statue. Such visits find many precedents in the physicians sent back and forth between the royal courts of Egypt and the Near East during the Bronze Age, as attested by Hattušili III's letter to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylon (KBo 1 10: 34-48) concerning a Babylonian physician

51 KANTOR (*supra* n. 12), 86, 89; cf. R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, "Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra (campagne du printemps 1929)", *Syria* 10 (1929), 291-293, Pl. LVI.

52 SANDARS (*supra* n. 33), 129-130; STRANGE (*supra* n. 39), 83-85 (no. 29); C. VIROLLEAUD, *La déesse Anat* (1938), Pl. VIII lines 12-23 (called V AB); *Excavations at Kabri 1989*, XIX; NIEMEIER, *Minoan Artisans*, 199; MORRIS (*supra* n. 42).

53 SANDARS (*supra* n. 33), 129-130.

54 Translation following STRANGE (*supra* n. 39), 99-101 (no. 43). Cf. VERCOUTTER (*supra* n. 39), 82-85 (no. 16).

55 G. EBERS, *Papyrus Ebers I* (1875), Pl. IX 16-19; VERCOUTTER (*supra* n. 39), 39-40 (no. 2); STRANGE (*supra* n. 39), 93-94 (no. 38).

56 SOMMER (*supra* n. 35), 275-294, Pl. VI 2; HUXLEY (*supra* n. 35), 5 (no. 10); ÜNAL (*supra* n. 35), 20 (no. 15).

sent to Hattušas, two letters (KUB 3 66; KUB 3 67) sent between Ramses II and Hattušili III concerning two Egyptian physicians already present and practicing at the court of Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntaš, a letter (ARMT 4 65) from Išme-Dagan of Ekallatum concerning a physician sent between his court and that of his brother Yamaḥ-Adad at Mari, and numerous other instances, most commonly involving Hittite kings requesting Egyptian physicians⁵⁷.

The Question of "Sedentary" vs. "Mobile" Aegean Expatriates

The majority of the Aegean personnel hypothesized in the pages above would seem to represent a class of people more mobile than sedentary; that is, moving or being sent around the Eastern Mediterranean to where their skills were required, and then either moving on or returning home once the work was completed, rather than settling in one foreign location for the remainder of their lives.

Some data may, of course, be interpreted as indications of permanent Aegean residents in the Eastern Mediterranean. For instance, as discussed above, Barber has hypothesized Aegean weavers at Kahun, Gurob and Amarna, and Pendlebury hypothesized a Mycenaean merchant or "greengrocer" at Amarna, while Bietak has recently suggested not only Minoan colonists, but also the presence of a "Minoan princess" at Tell ed-Dab'a⁵⁸.

The first category -- resident Aegean craftsmen in the Eastern Mediterranean -- has been a favorite topic for decades, particularly beloved by scholars who saw anything good in the Near East as having necessarily come from Greece, but has recently fallen into disfavor⁵⁹. Many of the supposed Aegean "colonies" in the Bronze and Iron Age Eastern Mediterranean have now been withdrawn from consideration or are at least debated -- Al Mina in particular comes to mind⁶⁰. We should, however, remain aware of the difficulties inherent in identifying foreign enclave colonies, whether in the Eastern Mediterranean or in the Aegean; identifying a single foreign resident can be even more difficult, if not downright impossible⁶¹.

As for the second category -- arranged dynastic marriages -- intermarriage was always a favored diplomatic tactic in the Bronze Age Near East and it is not implausible that Aegean royalty found their way into Egyptian and Near Eastern palatial courts and harems. Bietak's suggestion of a Minoan princess at the Hyksos court in Avaris cannot be proved yet, or perhaps ever, but the hypothesis may not be as farfetched as might be supposed⁶². Many of the New Kingdom Pharaohs engaged in diplomatic marriages, including Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and Ramses II⁶³. It is by no means

57 See C. ZACCAGNINI, "Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen", *JNES* 42 (1983), 247-248, 250-253; G.M. BECKMAN, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Hattusa", *JCS* 35 (1983), 106-107.

58 FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY (*supra* n. 46), 44-46, Pl. XIV, XXII 1-3, XL; PENDLEBURY (*supra* n. 46), 120-121; BARBER (*supra* n. 13), 64-65, 351-352; also Tell ed-Dab'a references given in nn. 6 and 14 *supra*.

59 Cf. discussions and bibliography in M. BERNAL, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic roots of Classical Civilisation. I: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985* (1987) and II: *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence* (1991).

60 See most recently GRAHAM (*supra* n. 8); BOARDMAN (*supra* n. 8).

61 Cf. detailed discussion in E.H. CLINE, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (1994), 50-55.

62 See references given in nn. 6 and 14 *supra*.

63 A.R. SCHULMAN, "Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom", *JNES* 38 (1979), 177-193; M. LIVERANI, *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 BC* (1990),

impossible that a Hyksos king would do the same -- and what an ally the Minoans would have made! Following the same line of speculative reasoning, one might also hypothesize that evidence for a Mycenaean princess at the court of Amenhotep III may one day be found, given the plentiful connections attested between the Aegean and Egypt during his reign, the numerous diplomatic treaties signed by Amenhotep III, his many arranged dynastic marriages, and the presence of Aegean motifs in the ceiling paintings at his palace at Malkata ⁶⁴.

In all of the above cases, we must not forget that, whether mobile or sedentary, there is the slim possibility that these expatriate Aegean peoples may well have begotten children with Egyptian or Near Eastern women, or had children by Egyptian or Near Eastern men. These unions would have resulted in offspring of mixed descent and potentially important ramifications for questions regarding the transfer of inventions and innovations, or of myths, legends and stories, between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Vermeule and Coldstream have separately begun investigations along these lines, but the topic remains one to be explored more fully ⁶⁵.

The Question of "State" vs. "State-less" Aegean Expatriates

As Zaccagnini has shown, there is a large body of good evidence for Near Eastern craftsmen, artists, masons, sculptors, and even physicians functioning as state workers exchanged temporarily or permanently between royal courts during the Late Bronze Age in Egypt and the Near East. Gift exchanges between Near Eastern rulers during the Late Bronze Age frequently included such people, dispatched upon request from one royal court to another ⁶⁶. Such individuals, taken as a group, were almost certainly responsible for the spread of certain ideas, artistic motifs, and architectural techniques across the Late Bronze Age Near East. It is perhaps no wonder that there are certain similarities between LBA architectural structures in Egypt, Anatolia, Cyprus and Syro-Palestine, if the same architects, sculptors and stonemasons were working in each area. In addition, such artisans could frequently serve a dual purpose, as "ambassadors for elite patrons... as well as skilled craftsmen" ⁶⁷.

It should be stressed that the majority of the evidence for the exchange of craftsmen, physicians, and other workers in the ancient Near East comes from palatial records. Such personnel were practicing their occupations as "state workers", whether at home or in a foreign land. Although there is some additional evidence attesting to ancient Near Eastern craftsmen and professionals working on their own individual behalf, either as mercenaries

274-282.

- 64 E.H. CLINE, "Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century BC", *Orientalia* 56/1 (1987), 1-36; IDEM, "Contact and Trade or Colonization?: Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th-13th Centuries BC", *Minos* 25-26 (1990-91), 7-36; also references given in n. 24 *supra*.
- 65 E.T. VERMEULE, "Baby Aigisthos and the Bronze Age", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* 213 (1987), 122-152; J.N. COLDSTREAM, "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World", *OJA* 12/1 (1993), 89-107. In an effort to investigate a similar question as a doctoral dissertation in progress for Indiana University, L.M. Little is presently examining skeletal material to determine the degree of biological relatedness of the MBA and LBA populations in the Aegean (L.M. LITTLE, Email communication on "Aegeanet", 7 March 1994).
- 66 Cf. KUB 3 66, KUB 3 67, KUB 3 71, KBo I 10+; see especially ZACCAGNINI (*supra* n. 57), 250-254; BECKMAN (*supra* n. 57). Similarly, later than the Bronze Age but earlier than Homer, during the 10th century BC, Hiram of Tyre is reported to have sent architects, craftsmen, etc. to Jerusalem, to assist King Solomon in the building of the First Temple (I Kings 5: 15-25); cf. St. ALEXIOU, "Minoan Palaces as Centres of Trade and Manufacture", *Function Palaces*, 252.
- 67 M.W. HELMS, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power* (1993), 37, cf. also 53.

or free-lance artists attached to palaces or as completely state-less workers, these are in the minority, and Zaccagnini cautions against overusing this body of evidence. As he stated in 1983:

“There is no sound evidence whatsoever to support the existence of such figures [itinerant state-less artisans] throughout the pre-Classical phases of Near Eastern history. To hypothesize a significant presence of itinerant craftsmen in the Near East and to liken the movements of these ‘free’ artisans with the spread of fundamental technologies (e.g. iron metallurgy) seems a serious historical mistake”⁶⁸.

On the other hand, as Mary Helms has recently pointed out, artisans such as “poets, troubadours, carvers, musicians and smiths” were “perhaps the most travelled artisans... whose frequent journeys qualified them as true itinerants”⁶⁹. Certainly the spread of technologies could have been facilitated by these itinerant artisans, although Zaccagnini is perhaps correct to minimize their role to some extent.

We must also remember that state-less workers are unlikely to have been following official State orders or to have been adhering to official State policy. The presence of a Mycenaean or Minoan expatriate in Egypt or the Near East does not, therefore, necessarily imply official contact at the State level between the Aegean and that Eastern Mediterranean area⁷⁰. For this reason, among others, it is important to distinguish, where possible, between state and state-less workers, and to make this distinction clear in any ensuing discussions.

Thus, while the fresco at Tell ed-Dab’a and the fresco and floor paintings at Tel Kabri may plausibly be explained as the result of Minoan artisans sent to Egypt and Syro-Palestine via royal loans or even permanent gift exchanges, we must ask if these hypothesized Minoan artisans at Dab’a and Kabri could have been working on their own behalf, freelance as it were? That is, could they have been state-less workers, migrating on their own initiative rather than having been sent officially by the state? And what of the other possible expatriate Mycenaeans and Minoans enumerated above -- were they functioning as state or state-less workers while pursuing their vocations in the Eastern Mediterranean? Answers to these questions might be elucidated by information gleaned from the Aegean Linear B texts and from the writings of Homer.

The Possible Evidence from Homer

It is, of course, always dangerous to rely on Homer for factual information about the Bronze Age. Fortunately, in this case we needn’t do so, for there is plenty of better -- that is, more contemporary -- evidence available, as we have seen. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Homer does present several stories regarding the visits of Bronze Age heroes to Egypt and other Eastern Mediterranean areas.

First, in the *Odyssey*, Menelaus mentions, three separate times, the fact that he spent seven years in Egypt, Sidon, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Libya while on his way back from Troy⁷¹. Especially intriguing is the fact that it was in Egypt that Menelaus amassed his fortune -- but we are not told whether it was acquired through the process of “gift giving” (or in this case, “gift receiving”) or through the pursuit of some occupation, such

68 ZACCAGNINI (*supra* n. 57), 258, and 245; cf. also B. FOSTER, “The Late Bronze Age Palace Economy: A View from the East”, *Function Palaces*, 14-15; comments by K.P. Foster in *Function Palaces*, 267.

69 HELMS (*supra* n. 67), 34, cf. also 35-36.

70 I am grateful to C.G. Thomas for this observation.

71 *Od.* 3.299-303; 4.76-89; 4.576-584. This is also mentioned in *The Returns*; cf. Loeb translation by H.G. EVELYN-WHITE, *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (1954), 526-527. Cf. also Hdt. 2.119.

as a mercenary warrior.

Second, also in the *Odyssey*, Odysseus describes a voyage he undertook to Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus and Libya ⁷². Odysseus has actually fabricated this story, but his listeners find it completely credible that he, as well as Menelaus (above), should have undertaken such journeys ⁷³.

We may also note that the *Cypria* recorded that Helen and Paris stopped at Sidon enroute to Troy ⁷⁴, while Herodotus, noting the alternate versions of the Trojan War story, insisted that Helen and Paris had stopped and lingered in Egypt while enroute to Troy, and that Homer had known of this but had not included it in his epic poems ⁷⁵. Clearly, the concept of Bronze Age Aegean heroes in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean did not pose difficulties for Homer and his contemporaries, but it is unclear whether this reflects true Bronze Age or later Iron Age practices and procedures.

Homer also describes a variety of professions practiced by migrant workers -- including medicine, carpentry, music and various seafaring occupations such as merchant, pirate, and skipper ⁷⁶. Again, these may represent Iron Age rather than Bronze Age occupations, but one passage in particular sounds suspiciously like the situation we find in the Bronze Age Aegean and Near East:

“Who would of his own accord approach and invite a wandering stranger in unless he were a craftsman who worked for the whole community, a prophet, a physician, a carpenter, or even a divine minstrel who can give pleasure with his songs? For all the world over such guests as those are welcomed...” ⁷⁷.

Zaccagnini, who does not willingly support the existence of permanently-itinerant craftsmen in the Bronze Age, suggests that this particular passage might best be interpreted

“in the framework of the movements subsequent to the fall of the Mycenaean world, regarding these craftsmen as professionals looking for new employment in other economic organizations... in other words, their wanderings represented a *temporary* stage of unemployment and not a permanent and institutional condition of life” ⁷⁸.

However, as Mary Helms has noted, those pursuing occupations such as Homer cites are indeed frequently “true itinerants” ⁷⁹, and thus *contra* Zaccagnini, it is quite possible that the wanderings of Homer’s craftsmen *do* represent a permanent and institutional condition of life during the Iron Age, and perhaps the Bronze Age as well.

The Possible Evidence from Linear B Texts

We should be on firmer ground in examining the Linear B texts for attestations of state and state-less workers in the Bronze Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. However, unfortunately, the Linear B tablets do not often speak of travelling, or itinerant, craftsmen or merchants. The tablets at Pylos mention centralized control, the tablets at Knossos decentralized control, but in all cases the people in question are connected with

72 *Od.* 14.235-320; 17.424-444.

73 Cf. S.P. MORRIS, “A Tale of Two Cities: The Miniature Frescoes from Thera and the Origins of Greek Poetry”, *AJA* 93 (1989), 529.

74 See Loeb translation by EVELYN-WHITE (*supra* n. 71), 490-491.

75 Hdt. 2.113-117.

76 *Od.* 8.158-164; 9.252-255.

77 *Od.* 17.382-388.

78 ZACCAGNINI (*supra* n. 57), 258-259.

79 HELMS (*supra* n. 67), 34.

the palaces and the main towns -- they are not usually recorded as having moved around⁸⁰.

Thus, to come full circle, the participants in that 1984 'Minoan Palaces' conference in Athens, and many who have thought about Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen since, turned to the Linear B texts, but in a fruitless effort, for those texts mention only craftsmen connected to the palaces and major towns. There are few mentions in the tablets of itinerant craftsmen, and certainly no mentions of itinerant *expatriate* craftsmen.

However, as Tom Palaima has noted, the Linear B tablets are notoriously "palatiocentric" and the mere fact that they do not mention itinerant craftsmen does not rule out the existence of such specialized craftsmen moving from palace to palace within the Aegean area, or even the Near East, during the Late Bronze Age⁸¹. As Sara Immerwahr and John Younger have pointed out, an example of such travelling craftsmen attested archaeologically but not textually might be the artist or artists who painted various frescoes with similar themes and using similar techniques at Tiryns, Orchomenos, and perhaps Pylos as well⁸². In addition, James Wright and William Cavanagh have suggested that the close similarity between the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae and the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos, and comparable ashlar masonry and building styles found at Mycenae, Kadmeion Thebes, Pylos, and Tiryns, *might* also represent an "exchange of craftsmen" at a royal or palatial level in Bronze Age Greece⁸³.

At any rate, the Linear B texts, even if they were helpful, would most likely tell us only about the state workers, but not about the state-less workers. Similarly, most of the representations of Aegean peoples in Egypt must represent state workers, *e.g.* diplomats and ambassadors, as may the Minoan merchants at Ugarit. However, the painted walls and floors at Dab'a and Kabri, and the bronze sword found at Hattušas, could also be evidence for state-less workers; that is, Aegean peoples pursuing their vocations independently.

Summary and Tentative Conclusions

As stated at the beginning of this paper, the approach used in the above pages has resulted in a highly speculative presentation, yet one which is fraught with future possibilities. The objective has been to try to put living, breathing people back behind the artifacts and the textual references. Obviously, the Egyptians had seen the Minoans and Mycenaean in person, or had at least heard of them, for they had a name for these Aegean peoples and their homelands -- Keftiu (Crete) and Tanaja (Mainland Greece)⁸⁴.

80 Cf. SCHOFIELD (*supra* n. 48), 19-22; KILLEN (*supra* n. 48), 252-253, 272-273, 285-287 nn. 41-42, 296-298 nn. 93-95; ALEXIOU (*supra* n. 66), 253; WIENER (*supra* n. 38), 264-265; IDEM, "The Nature and Control of Minoan Foreign Trade", in *Bronze Age Trade*, 340-341; D. EVELY, "Minoan Craftsmen: Problems of Recognition and Definition", *Problems*, 412-413; P. HALSTEAD, "On Redistribution and the Origin of Minoan-Mycenaean Palatial Economy", *Problems*, 520-522, 526-527; SHERRATT (*supra* n. 8), 322-323.

81 T.G. PALAIMA, Email communication on "Aegeanet", 2 February 1994.

82 S.E. IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (1990), 129-132 (Ti nos. 6-7; Or no. 3; PY no. 11); information and references courtesy of J. YOUNGER, Email communication on "Aegeanet", 5 February 1994.

83 Suggestions and observations made by W. CAVANAGH and J. WRIGHT via Email communications on "Aegeanet", 3 February 1994. Cf. also P. HALSTEAD, "The Mycenaean Palatial Economy: Making the Most of the Gaps in the Evidence", *PCPS* 38 (1992), 64 on the possibility of 'master craftsmen' travelling around Mycenaean Greece, perhaps in the context of diplomatic exchange.

84 Cf. VERCOUTTER (*supra* n. 39); STRANGE (*supra* n. 39); WACHSMANN (*supra* n. 13); CLINE (*supra* n. 61), 32-33, 108-120, Fig. 7, Catalogue nos. A.1-A.59.

Similarly, the inhabitants of Syro-Palestine and Mesopotamia had a name for the Minoans -- Caphtorians -- and the Hittites probably had a name for the Mycenaeans -- Ahhiyawans⁸⁵. These textual references and artifacts all too often become an end in themselves, yet these were real people behind these static names, real people who painted the frescoes, and real people who sailed the ships. The data should instead, for social historians and archaeologists alike, rather be the means to an end, for our ultimate goal is, after all, to reconstruct the people, the economy, and the society of those times. We need use only a little ingenuity to bring these people back to life. Imagine what it would be like to shake the hand of the Mycenaean warrior who fought using the sword found at Hattušas; to ask the Minoan merchant what he planned to do with the tin he had just purchased; to discuss artistic techniques and innovations with the Minoan artists at Tel Kabri and Tell ed-Dab'a?

Overall, common sense tells us that there *must* have been expatriate Minoans and Mycenaeans working in the LBA Eastern Mediterranean -- including tinkers and tailors, soldiers and sailors -- but they are rather, perhaps understandably, difficult to pinpoint. The data and hypotheses presented above are a tentative, and very speculative, beginning to the task of identifying those itinerant Aegean peoples who may have functioned overseas in Egypt, Anatolia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia as artisans, mercenaries, interpreters, merchants, sailors, physicians, diplomats, and craftsmen⁸⁶. It certainly seems likely that the Late Bronze Age Aegean, like the contemporary Near East, had its share of state and state-less workers; some will have been sent on official State orders; others will have been on their own, available for hire to the highest bidder, regardless of the location of that bidder.

In conclusion, given an hypothesized existence of these (willing or unwilling) expatriate Minoans and Mycenaeans, one might ask additional questions, at the risk of collapsing the already-fragile "house of cards" which has been constructed above. Bearing in mind Zaccagnini's cautions against too-readily linking the movements of 'free' artisans with the spread of fundamental technologies, we may still inquire as to what all of this may indicate for the transference of cultural ideas and innovations between the LBA Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East. Cyrus Gordon once said:

"Stories spread throughout the Levant via various categories of mobile social strata. Sailors were then, as always, good carriers of stories. Merchants engaged in foreign trade were just as likely to entertain each other (and their customers) with stories as travelling salesmen do today. Military stories circulated largely through mercenaries; and Aegean troops often served as mercenaries... Literature was spread orally by another mobile stratum of society: the guild of minstrels"⁸⁷.

Not only stories, epics and tall tales, but also advances in medicine, science, philosophy art, and warfare could conceivably have been spread between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean by Mycenaeans and Minoans travelling abroad, and by Eastern Mediterranean peoples visiting the Late Bronze Age Aegean. The interactions,

85 Cf. STRANGE (*supra* n. 39); T.R. BRYCE, "The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia", *Historia* 38 (1989), 11-12; IDEM, "Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans--An Anatolian Viewpoint", *OJA* 8 (1989); CLINE (*supra* n. 61), 26-27, 49-50, 69-70, 120-128, Fig. 14, Catalogue nos. B.1-B.3, C.1-C.26, D.1 - D.12.

86 E.B. FRENCH, "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines", *BSA* 66 (1971), 175 notes that the presence of Mycenaean terracotta figurines at sites in the Near East, such as Ugarit-Ras Shamra, Tell Sukas, and Tell Abu Hawam, may be additional evidence for the presence of Mycenaean merchants, settlers or diplomats at these sites; cf. also GILMOUR (*supra* n. 8), 118.

87 C.H. GORDON, "The Epics Drawn from a Common Eastern Mediterranean Tradition", *Homer's History: Mycenaean or Dark Age?* (1970), 97.

and intermarriages, at the fringes of the Aegean world have only just begun to be explored⁸⁸; further research will indeed prove most interesting and should generate much discussion.

Eric H. CLINE

88 VERMEULE (*supra* n. 65); S.P. MORRIS, "Greece and the Levant", *JMA* 3/1 (1990), 57-66; EADEM (*supra* n. 42); COLDSTREAM (*supra* n. 65).

DISCUSSION

W.-D. Niemeier: As to the Aegean frescoes in the Levant and in Egypt discussed by E. Cline. I would like to add that we did not find only the painted plaster floor but subsequently also fragments of a miniature fresco comparable to the miniature fresco from the West House at Akrotiri on Thera (cf. W.-D. Niemeier, "Tel Kabri: Aegean Fresco Paintings in a Canaanite Palace", in: S. Gitin ed., *Recent Excavations in Israel: A View to the West*, 1995). The question is if the artists who painted these frescoes were itinerant or did belong to Minoan groups permanently present at those sites as M. Bietak has argued. You can imagine how I looked for Minoan pottery at Tel Kabri. We have many Cypriot imports but not a single Minoan sherd. The same is true for Tell el-Dab'a in the period of the fresco (the Kamares sherds are earlier). Another piece of evidence for these artists' having spent only a brief amount of time may be seen in the rather worn condition of the painted plaster floor in the palace at Tel Kabri: it has many holes. It was therefore only laid down once and never repaired, as, e.g., in Pylos and in other places where we have different layers in the plaster floors being renewed many times. Those Minoan artisans came once, they disappeared, and the Canaanites were not able to repair their floor!

E. Cline: I must agree that I think that these artists are itinerant – both at Tel Kabri and at Tell el-Dab'a. I do not see a Minoan colony at Tell el-Dab'a. The idea of a Minoan princess, which has been tossed about, is fascinating, I must admit. I did leave out the section which I have in my written version on intermarriage. I looked at what the people of the Near East were doing at this time: there is much intermarriage among the royal courts. A Minoan princess? Why not? The Minoans would certainly have made wonderful allies.

W.-D. Niemeier: I do not believe in Bietak's idea of a Minoan princess at Tell el-Dab'a, I could imagine it if Tell el-Dab'a would be an isolated case. But we have Minoan frescoes also Tel Kabri and, as I have argued, at Alalakh. That would make three Minoan princesses! In all three palace of the Hyksos period in the Levant and in Egypt which have been hitherto excavated we have Aegean-type frescoes. This strikes me as a kind of pattern. I do not think that we can explain this pattern simply with princesses being married around.

M. Korfmann: I have problems with the approach of E. Cline. He dealt with 18th century to 13th century evidence and handled it as though it were all relevant to the same problem. I think that in this area geography and topography very often changed in these 600 years, as they undoubtedly did in later history with reference to the political and commercial connections.

E. Cline: I do not believe that I was trying to make it a simple line. I do agree that geography changed over time. In fact, if I may, I would like to agree with you and ask Dr. Gates about Ahhijawa. I personally feel that the evidence which he cited actually works better for the Greek mainland than for western Anatolia. I would prefer the suggestion that perhaps Ahhijawa changes over time. Whereas maybe in the 14th and 15th centuries the Hittite reference to Ahhijawa was to the Greek mainland, in the 13th, perhaps, it also included the west-Anatolian coastlands. In the 12th century, however, Ahhijawa might have been a reference to Rhodes depending on where they thought the Mycenaeans were coming from. I would cite as Near Eastern examples Magan and Dilmun from Mesopotamia. These were references to the Persian Gulf and then moved down to Ethiopia in the 2nd and 1st millennia. Therefore, I too would agree that geography is changing; I think that Ahhijawa may be one of those that change over time.

C. Gates: As I shall show in my paper there are very few indications about the location of Ahhijawa. These few are, frankly, very vague. I will make a proposal, and proposals being what they are, there is no guarantee of truth, but it does seem a new way of looking at the matter. I shall make a proposal which seems to me to fit best the archaeological evidence and those few indications in the texts. I agree that it is possible that the Hittite concept of Ahhijawa could have changed over time.

H. van Effenterre: I wish to point out that there are frescoes in the ancient palace of Mari which are not yet published. They are small fragments, but they will be very important with respect to all the frescoes in the Middle East.

W.-D. Niemeier: The problem is that we often use "wall paintings" and "frescoes" synonymously. Fresco means, however, a specific technique in which the paint is executed on the still wet plaster. As far as I know, all Near Eastern and Egyptian wall paintings are executed in *al secco* technique, with the exception of the Alalakh, Tel Kabri and Tell el-Dab'a ones which are painted in true fresco technique. The fresco technique was, however, a Minoan discovery of the late 3rd millennium B.C.

H. van Effenterre: Yes, there is the question of technique; but the question of its duration and that of the actual drawing is perhaps more important than that of technique.

W.-D. Niemeier: Of course the inspiration of wall-painting comes from the East, but the fresco technique was invented in Crete.

G. Kopcke: What has been shown from Tell el-Dab'a is not Aegean. At best, you can claim it is of Aegean inspiration. In the first place we should, as art historians, be analytical in a responsible fashion. In any case the following question is really more interesting: could a foreign idiom have been adopted? There is, I think, as H. van Effenterre has already indicated, much more evidence and much more evidence to come. It is just a strange phenomenon that we are dealing with here, namely that something is being acquired for some reason in this region which then local artisans are free to execute on their own and to deal with and possibly to play with. So I believe that we will find even more variety in the future than we have now. We are dealing, I think, not with an Aegean phenomenon; we are definitely dealing with a Levantine phenomenon, and as such, I think, we ought to see it.

W.-D. Niemeier: I agree with G. Kopcke that it is a Levantine phenomenon if Aegean artisans arrive and paint in Palestine and Egypt. I think, however, that there can be no doubt about the Aegean character of the Tell el-Dab'a paintings. According to the investigations of N. Marinatos technique and iconography are Aegean.

J. Maran: In my opinion the most problematic aspect of E. Cline's stimulating paper is the interpretation of Mycenaean weapons and other bronze objects found abroad. Thus, I am not at all convinced that we should take the new sword find from central Anatolia as evidence of Mycenaean mercenaries. Because we should not forget that we have Mycenaean swords in Bulgaria and even in Georgia. Will these also be mercenaries? If so, what would you do with the central European weapon types coming in LH III B and C like the Naue swords? Is there also evidence for people coming from central Europe? I think it is more plausible to see these weapon types as evidence of trade relations or perhaps gift-relations rather than as evidence of mercenaries.

E. Cline: I admit the Mycenaean mercenaries are speculative: one could also argue for trade relations; one could also argue for arms' dealers. As far as the swords up in Georgia and the Caucasus and such are concerned, N. Sandars says there is no Mycenaean exploration and wants to see perhaps arms' makers going up there. I still think there are too few weapons out there to have Mycenaean running around as arms manufacturers. The few that are out there could perhaps be evidence of trade relations. I think that the sword at Hattuša is a very unique example of this. I am writing an article on that sword right now which is called "Achilles, Anatolia, and the History of the Aššuwa Rebellion". In this essay I have about five pages devoted to why I think that sword is Mycenaean.

I. Kilian: It is not Mycenaean!

E. Cline: It is a mixture, of Mycenaean inspiration, I should perhaps say. I think this is one of the more interesting finds in recent times. I would argue there are many possibilities, although I am tending toward mercenaries at the moment. That may change as the evidence grows.

G. Albers: I think one can imagine that the Minoans and the Mycenaeans had a lot of business to do abroad, of various sorts and on various social levels. But I wonder whether it is possible to derive conclusions about Minoan and Mycenaean sailors and people with other occupations directly from the archaeological evidence. In particular I have a problem regarding the identification of such people from the evidence of pottery, *i.e.* the attempt to use pottery as an argument for the presence of certain people or even of certain individuals. For example, in the case of the shipwreck of Ulu Burun and the Mycenaean pottery that was found on the ship, I would like to make the following points: First, I want to ask: can we really ascertain from the archaeological evidence whether that pottery is pottery used by a person on the ship or whether it is for trade. Secondly, I want to consider the variety of the cargo, which, as far as I remember, comes from seven different cultural regions. Thus it is quite likely that the people who ran the ship were a mixed group. Therefore, I think that it was not necessarily a Mycenaean person who used that Mycenaean pottery, if it was used on the ship. It could just as well have been an Egyptian or a person from the Levant – considering the amount of imported Mycenaean pottery in the Levant which indicates that Mycenaean pottery was indeed used by non-Mycenaeans.

I would like to make a related point regarding the statement that the frescoes from Tell el-Dab'a were made by Minoan artisans, and that the only problem we have is that there is no Minoan pottery at Tell el-Dab'a. I wonder whether one should not put the question the other way round: Can we really expect to find Minoan

pottery at Tell el-Dab'a. If those Minoans were only there for a short time, it may, at any rate, not be very likely. However, the question has to be put even if they were there for a longer time. I think Bietak in a lecture mentioned 500 boxes of fragments. So, it seems that the Minoan artisans had rather a large amount of work to do at Tell el-Dab'a. But no pottery that belongs to their cultural sphere was found on the site. I really wonder, therefore, whether these people were there for quite a long time, but did not really need Minoan pottery. I only want to put my argument on a methodological basis. The question arises, first, whether you can from the presence of foreign pottery draw conclusions about the actual presence of a particular people; secondly, whether we should expect to find their pottery when we assume the presence of foreign people at a certain site.

E. Cline: As to the Mycenaean on the ship, I am following C. Pulak who is now excavating the ship. He is arguing for a Mycenaean ship, as opposed to G. Bass who wants it to be Canaanite as usual. What I am arguing from on the ship is the combination of the used pottery: it is the only pottery that is used on the ship in any quantity. Everything else is brand new and was never used. Furthermore, I am using the pottery in combination with the Mycenaean seal, which could conceivably have been used by an Egyptian or a Near Eastern, although I think that is unlikely. The combination of the two - the used Mycenaean pottery and the seal - leads me to suggest - only as a hypothesis - a Mycenaean. Secondly, as far as Minoan pottery at Tell el-Dab'a is concerned, I am frankly not expecting to find any, as I do not think there is a colony there. I think any itinerant Minoan artists that were there used local products. Let us remember Kültepe Kaneš in Anatolia: if it were not for the texts, we would not know that Mesopotamians were there.

J. Schäfer: We are approaching a methodological problem, which, as G. Albers has said, entails serious consequences. What is a Mycenaean? Are Mycenaean people speaking the same kind of Early Greek? What is the list of features necessary for being a Mycenaean: the same language? the same cups? the same cults? the same architecture? the same artistic style? some sort of social hierarchy? What is the beginning and the end of a sufficient list?

C. Gates: I am sure that everybody in this room would have his or her own idea. I think that the Mycenaean culture is defined by the pottery of the Late Helladic period (unrest in the Audience). Well, I see that does not play well!

J. Schäfer: I think that it is impossible to find a satisfactory answer now. But I think we should bear this problem in mind, otherwise we will come to absolutely no conclusions.

W.-D. Niemeier: We have to thank J. Schäfer, for we have now found the topic for the next Aegean conference: What is a Mycenaean?

S. Dietz: I was very much offended by E. Cline's terminology with regard to this sailor. On the basis of the LH IIIA:2 pottery it was said that he was probably a person of Mycenaean *nationality*.

J. Schäfer: Did he have a Mycenaean passport?

M. Wiener: As to the Mari wall paintings I would like to recall that H. Parrot published almost 30 years ago a painted floor that showed a marbling pattern which he suggested had to be Aegean. But again there was no other evidence of the presence of Minoans. On the question of the absence of Minoan pottery on these sites which have Minoan artists: it is worth noting that at Avaris M. Bietak has uncovered huge areas of this very large site and that no sherd of Minoan pottery has turned up. The interesting thing is not whether the Minoans would bring their own pots - which of course no one would expect - but that the pottery does not appear. After all, Avaris is by far the largest site in the Hyksos world, three or four times the size of Knossos. But what I may suggest is that it is particularly Minoan painters whose work was prized throughout the Hyksos and Near Eastern world and that whatever cult significance the paintings may have had in Crete by the time they travelled they may simply have been a status symbol; that is to say that the ruler wanted paintings by the people regarded as the best painters in the world and that these were Minoans.

W.-D. Niemeier: I would like to point to a story in the mythological poetry of Ugarit which appears to important in this connection. It tells that Ba'al has no palace and how the god of arts is brought from Caphtor, *i.e.* Crete, to build a palace and to furnish it with works of art.

J.L. Crowley: When I was trying to gather such ideas of interaction for my book on *The Aegean and the East* (1989) I saw that you can find certain connections and you can find records of people who were sent between

royal courts and so forth in the Near East. There may be Aegean equivalents to these. But what we do have to face up to, even if we do find evidence of this, is the question of what influences then prevail and at what level the influences penetrate different societies. I think that we have no measurements of this and things are even more complicated than the last three or four questioners have suggested.

G. Walberg: Do we have to think in terms of people moving around when it comes to these swords? Could we possibly think in terms of warfare techniques that are outspread? In connection with what G. Kopcke said I have to say that the Kamares cup from Tell el-Dab'a is a real Kamares cup. There is no doubt about it. I have worked with Egyptian imitations of Kamares ware also, and they are quite different. They are usually very easy to identify. I want, however, to say that unlike M. Bietak I do not believe in a colony at Tell el-Dab'a. The evidence is far too limited for that.

W.-D. Niemeier: As far as the Kabri miniature fresco is concerned, the closest parallel is from Thera, not from Crete.

F.-G. Maier: I am bit concerned about the idea of postulating mercenaries, Mycenaean or otherwise, on the basis of a single sword. If we would make up a list of the Damascened swords which came into the medieval West, then we could by the same method postulate hundreds and hundreds of Syrian Islamic mercenaries in western Europe.

E. Cline: As far as mercenaries are concerned, it is a far more complicated story. I had my reasons for saying mercenaries, which, if I had another two hours, I could go into. Very simply, however, Homer is rife with mentions of mercenaries and myths of people fighting over western Anatolia. I do not want to bring in Homer here, but more important is, I think, the papyrus from el-Amarna which shows people wearing boar's-tusk helmets and carrying ox-hide shields who, I am convinced, are definitely Mycenaean. If they are fighting there, why should they not be fighting elsewhere?

F.-G. Maier: I am not denying that there are possibilities for Mycenaean mercenaries, but one beautiful sword is not enough evidence to suppose that there are mercenaries.

E. Cline: Yes, I agree. But I am working on this not only from the sword but also from Hittite texts and from a lot of other evidence which I just did not have time to bring in here.

M. Wiener: On the matter of the swords: there are some literature which I think I cited in passing in 1982 in a symposium paper concerning the rapid adoption of survival technologies. What that means is, briefly, that people who go on producing their own styles of pottery for however long they want, will, if there is a better type of defensive wall or a better type of sword, adopt it so that they will not be in danger. The example frequently cited is that within a few years American Indians who had never seen a horse became the best users of the horse and integrated it successfully into their culture. If one is wearing Egyptian clothes in other respects, but has a boar's-tusk helmet – or perhaps his own type helmet (it is not quite clear that it is a boar's-tusk helmet in that papyrus cited by E. Cline) – and a Mycenaean type shield or armour, the case is still open as to whether these are really Mycenaean or whether these are survival technologies, or alternatively gifts being exchanged.