

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF ACHAEAN EXISTENCE IN WESTERN ANATOLIA: A COMPARISON BETWEEN ACHAEAN AND LOCAL FEATURES BASED ON DIFFUSION THEORY

BATI ANADOLU'DA AKHA VARLIĞININ FARKLI BOYUTLARI: YEREL VE AKHA UNSURLARININ DİFÜZYON KURAMI ÜZERİNDEN BİR KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

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ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Batı Anadolu'daki GTÇ merkezlerinden, Akha yayılımının farklı niteliklerini sergileyen, seçilmiş üçüne (Troia, Panaztepe ve Anaia) odaklanmakta ve "2.bin yılda Batı Anadolu" sorunsalına, Akha perspektifinden düzenli, analitik ve bilimsel bir metod uygulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Difüzyon Kuramı basitçe, bir yabancı kültürün yerel bir pazardaki varlık seviyelerini somut kültür kalıntıları üzerinden sınıflandırmaktadır. Bu kuram Batı Anadolu'daki Akha unsurlarına uygulandığında, konu üzerine analitik ve rasyonel bir veri üretimi sağlamak mümkün olmaktadır. Bağımsız kent devletleri olarak bilinen Akhalar, son derece iyi organize edilmiş bir ticaret stratejisinin uygulayıcıları gibi görünmektedirler. Bu stratejik organizasyon üç ayak üzerinde yükselmektedir: Birincisi, görsellik ve ucuzlukla öne çıkan mallarıyla yerel güç merkezlerinde faaliyet gösteren yabancı tüccarlar; ikincisi, yerel bir yöneticinin izni ve/veya davetiyle kurulan ticari koloniler; üçüncüsü ise serbest ticaret bölgelerini güçlü bir donanma ve yaygın bir üretim hacmi ile domine etmek...Bu tür bir ticari network oluşturmak bir karar alma mekanizmasına, bir şekilde bir organizasyona gereksinim duymaktadır.

ABSTARCT

This paper focuses on three selected LBA centres of Western Anatolia (Troy, Panaztepe and Anaia), which represent different features of Achaean influence; and aims to put out a proper, analytic, scientific method to clarify the picture of "Western Anatolia in 2nd Millenium BC", at least in Achaean perspective.

The Diffusion Theory simply classifies the influence of a foreign culture through tangible cultural features and their existence levels in a local market. Applying this theory to Achaean features in Western Anatolian centres would produce an analytic and rational data on the subject.

Achaean who were independent and unorganized city-states, seem to be the practitioners of a very well-organized trade strategy, focusing on three levels of market penetration: first, being foreign merchants in the capitals of strong local states and dominating the market with aesthetic and relatively in-expensive goods; second, settled emporiums by treaties with local lords; third, dominating free trade zones with their strong fleet and wide-spread production volume. Establishing such a trade network needs a decision-making mechanism, an organization of some kind.

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Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to offer a more comprehensible viewpoint for the subject of “Western Anatolia in the 2nd Millennium B.C.”, which represents one of the most problematic space-time relations of the ancient history. It is obviously and extremely important to bind the archaeological evidence with the contemporary literary sources; and this does not mean only to point out the overlaps, but also to create organic links between these two different kinds of data. In a scientific and analytic method of research, any corresponding data should produce a consistent result, or no result at all. And this consistent result should lead to a verified fact, or at least a testable and verifiable hypothesis; not a bunch of suggestions depending on some predictions on future discoveries.

The diffusion theory simply classifies the existence levels of a foreign culture in a local market, over the tangible cultural entities. It can be defined over the “import-imitation-local” formula as follows: When a foreign culture gets in touch with a local one by its tangible cultural features, the first level of this encounter is the emergence of imported goods in that market. The second phase is the production of local imitations of these imports after their acceptance by the local market (if they are accepted). And the third level may be identified as the foreign features to be adopted by the local counterparts, beside the imitations. In the case of this paper, if the “import-imitation-local” formula to be applied on the Achaean features in Western Anatolia, seeing some Achaean elements on local Minyan ware means the third level of interaction has been achieved.

Before applying the analytic methods of data production on the subject mentioned above, some uncertainties should be clarified. And the long-argued Ahhiyawan/Achaean equivalence seems to be the prior problem in this regard. This paper does not intend to doctrinally solve this major argument, but it is essential to ask some important questions: If Ahhiyawans were not Achaeans, isn't it interesting that a culture known with their cultural evidence throughout all Aegean including the Anatolian coastline (Kan, 2009), as well as Northern Syria and Levant both of which known to be the main regions of interest for the Kings of Hatti, and even known with their sword gifts(?) found in Hattusas (Niemeier, 2002: 522; Cline, 1996: 137-151), not being mentioned in Hittite Textes? Or if Ahhiyawa was located in somewhere in Western Anatolia, isn't it weird that Mursilis II who conquered the entire region, didn't mention the borders and neighbours of this land while re-organizing the “Arzawan States” (Kinal, 1953: 13.; Mellart, 1986: 218.; Dinçol, 1982: 41)? One should understand that asking these questions is not a pursue of the heroic age in the Homeric tales. Any modern scientific approach is already free from the fantastic atmosphere of the last century. But some questions on nothing being mentioned about Hittites in Homeric poems (Ünal, 1991: 18), is far from being meaningful, as the Achaean tradition was the sustaining culture in both mythology and history by the time of Homeros; while the Kingdom of Hatti was already a long forgotten ancient civilization.

Unless there are some satisfying answers for those questions above, the most acceptable explanation on Ahhiyawan/Achaean equivalence is to suggest that the Kings of Hatti were in contact with the Achaean population (mostly with the ones located on the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia), and they were using the name Ahhiyawa for them (Kan-Dündar, 2005: 3, 8; Kinal, 1953: 15; Starke, 2001: 38, Fig. 41; Niemeier, 2002: 522; Bryce, 1974: 107; Bryce, 1999: 60-61 and 395, Map. 3; Macqueen, 1968: 175, Fig. 11; Macqueen, 1996: 41, Fig. 22; Mellaart, 1986: 228-229, Pl. I; Ünal, 2003: 22.)

After partly clarifying the Ahhiyawan/Achaean matter, the area of interest should be defined for the paper. Although the Achaean involvement extends the western coasts of Anatolia throughout Eastern Mediterranean (van Wijngaarden, 2002), the main focus of the Kings of Mycenaean Palaces seem to be the dominance in Aegean trade routes, and even try and make the Aegean an “inner sea” (Kan, 2009). This clear fact is not the main topic of discussion for this paper. But a comparison of Achaean and local Anatolian Minian Wares in the region, combined with corresponding historical data, may lead to a clear picture of qualitative and quantitative features of Achaean cultural influence.

It is very important to understand that neither every singular similarity in one or more types of cultural features may lead to a cultural diffusion, nor every intercourse means an interaction. Any cultural diffusion can be identified using variables such as imported original material, locally produced imitations of this original material and relatively unaffected local productions. Imported ware is the first step for a culture to sneak into another's market. If this imported material is accepted by that particular market, the local manufacturers start to produce their own imitations of it, to get share of this acceptance. Obviously, this is the second and improved phase of

cultural diffusion. This second phase being missing or weak for a local market, means there is only an intercourse between these two cultures; just like being intense and strong, means an interaction. And something to keep in mind: this interaction may be one sided or mutual. This “import-imitation-local” equation may be called as “the diffusion theory”.

Although there are numerous sites in Western Anatolia to present Achaean pottery, three of them provide the most useful and systematic data for this diffusion equation. Troy is the most stratigraphic and systematically excavated site in the region, considering the 2nd millennium layers; also, it is located in a very advantageous and active location for economic and cultural interactions. Panaztepe is the second site to provide important and useful data with burials, imported and local productions of Achaean ware, and local-origin Minian pottery. The last site to provide relatively rich material considering the subject, is the mound of Anaia-Kadıkalesi.

Troy

The first fragments of Achaean Pottery in Troy, come from Middle VI Layer together with the matte painted examples; and the only significant deposit is dated to the end of this period, and all are imports (Troy III: 10, 209, Fig. 383). These fragments are mostly dated to LH II-III A1, and LH I pottery exists but in very few pieces (Bayne, 2000: 42; Blegen, 1963: 141 ff.). Mee (1978: 146) states that the LH II examples represent only the 18% of total findings. Besides, Özgünel (1983: 701) believes the Achaean imports in Troy starts as early as LH I.

While the imported ware starts at the end of the Middle VI with only one significant deposit, it strongly reaches through the Late VI Period, until the end, with more and larger deposits; and with typical LH IIIA-B features considering both the shape and decoration of the findings (Troy III: 75, 241 ff., 338 ff., 357 ff., 386 ff.; Bayne, 2000: 45-46; Furumark, 1941: 67, Fig. 70). Though the decoration patterns are mostly consisted of spirals and other abstract decorations, there are few Levanto-Helladic examples with animal figures (Troy III: fig. 403, 411-413, 415-421).

The local imitations of Achaean pottery start when the imported ware reaches its peak: at the end of the Late VI Period; and with some unelaborate copies of the decoration on the local buff-ware (Troy III: 241 ff., 338 ff., 357 ff., 386 ff., Fig. 404-405, 411, 414-415, 417-418, 422).

Considering the Troy VI levels, even the local Minian ware is consist of red, buff, and grey pottery, the dominant variant seems to be the Grey Minian (Bayne, 2000: 40, 43, 47, 49; for the detailed identification of the clay properties see: Troy III: 34 ff.). As the red ware was ½ of the greys in Early VI, it disappears through the Middle VI (Bayne, 2000: 40 ff.). The buff ware, which Blegen (Troy III: 34 ff.) calls “tan ware”, gets stronger in Late VI and becomes more and more popular later (Troy IV: 20, Pl. 9).

After the Late VI period, imported Achaean pottery weakens significantly in VIIa and nearly disappears in VIIb (Bayne, 2000: 46 ff.; Troy IV: 38 ff., Fig. 242-248); as the local imitations are stronger in VIIa and VIIb (Bayne, 2000: 46-50).

In VIIa period, the buff ware of Minian pottery catches up the popularity of grey ware and even some shapes can only be seen in buff (Troy IV: 20). And in these later layers, even the most basic local shapes seem to be under the Achaean influence, which is compatible with the increased numbers of LH imitations (Bayne, 2000: 47).

Another significant aspect of Troian Minian Ware is, although as the Early and Middle VI layers can be in close interaction with Helladic use of Minian ware, this is not the case for the Late VI, which is contemporary with LH II-III (Bayne, 2000: 42).

The evaluation of the data summarized above, draws a raw picture of Achaean-Troian relations during the LBA. In the light of the Minian ware parallels in both sides before the Late VI period, the interaction may even be in opposite direction, as the natively North-West Anatolian Minian ware spreads through west. But in Late VI period of Troy, which overlaps with the LH II-III, even though Troy was in its golden ages, the Achaean culture has also put its character forth strongly. In this period, Troy was not as influential as before, while the Achaean culture is far from returning the favour either. During LH II-III (Late VI of Troy), the economical intercourse depending on trading relations between these two equal cultures seems to be intact but limited with exchanged trading wares. After the Late VI, with the collapse of the high culture of Troy, the interaction seems to be

reversed and a high Achaean influence can be observed, with not only the locally produced Achaean ware, but also with the Achaean features on the local Minian ware.

Panaztepe

Panaztepe is another important and uniquely providing center in Western Anatolia. With the existence of both the “intramural” and “extramural” burials (Akyurt, 1998: 3) that include both tholos and pythos types, providing a seal and Linear B fragments as well as both imported and local production Achaean pottery (Erkanal, 1990: 139-141), the “import-imitation-local” pattern indicates a somehow different character for the settlement. Also, the tholos burials of Panaztepe are one of the earliest examples of this type in Western Anatolia, despite not representing the standard characteristics of the Achaean tholoi (Erkanal, 1990: 140-141). The local imitations seem to be more dominant (Günel, 1999: 79) while the stylistic evaluations on the imported ware point out the mainland Achaean centres like Attica and Argolis (Günel, 1999: 152). According to Erkanal (1990: 144), the Achaean pottery of Panaztepe can be set in the same chronology with Müsgebi and Rhodes examples.

A comparative statistical table of Achaean and Minian pottery has been presented by Günel (1999: Graphic 1). Although the Minian pottery has not been as well investigated as the Achaean examples, at least the quantitative dominance is significant.

Panaztepe requires a special attention for its geographical location as well as the Achaean and Minian findings. The region is relatively rich considering the LBA findings (for some discoveries and comments on MBA-LBA settlements in the region see Doğer, 1998: 7-13). One of these LBA centres, later Larissa on Buruncuk, is especially important. The LBA walls surrounding the mound is larger than the ones in Troy (Larissa I: 15-16; Larissa III: 3-13, 58)¹. The LBA settlement on Buruncuk, controlling both the coastal route from Smyrna to Myrina and the inland route through Gediz River, and has a defensive advantageous location provided by Dumanlı Mountain behind it, seems to be the natural centre of the smaller settlements in the region, including Panaztepe itself. The localization of Buruncuk/Larissa with any site mentioned in Hitite textes, requires systematic excavations to provide more solid evidence; but it is much probable that it might be identified as one of the major fractions of the region in LBA.

According to Günel (1999: 159) the Achaean findings from Panaztepe indicate that Achaeans were not only traders but practitioners of a settled colonial mentality which was based on living together with the local population in somehow equal terms and under the same rules. And Panaztepe seems to be the best alternative for sea trade for both the authority in Buruncuk/Larissa and Achaeans. So, the Achaean settled merchants might have operated under the permission and/or even by the demand of this central local authority.

Anaia/Kadıkalesi

Anaia/Kadıkalesi is the last site to be mentioned in this paper, with its potential to provide quite useful and complementary data to understand the Achaean activities in Eastern Aegean. To correctly evaluate the findings of the site, it is essential to understand the importance and dominance of its location. Anaia/Kadıkalesi is located right across Samos, and should have shared the control of the infamous Samos Pass with the settlements of the island itself.

There is a study published regarding the Achaean pottery gathered from the excavations (Akdeniz: 2006), and it is claimed that “there are no certain examples to be dated before LH IIIC” (Akdeniz 2006, 8). Although the excavations are not complete and there is no stratigraphic LBA layers have been discovered, published examples does not encompass even the whole material gathered from the site. As it is shown in the following sections of this paper, the Achaean pottery of Anaia/Kadıkalesi starts with LH IIIA2 and continues until the end of LH IIIC (Kan: 2005, 87-94).

LH IIIA-B examples represent a ratio of 45% of the total. Except one kantharos foot that should be dated to LH IIIA1-2 transition (Fig. 1), the majority of these earlier findings seem to be dated to LH IIIA2-IIIB (Fig. 2-5). Favourite shapes seem to be the kantharoi, cups, necked jars, stirrup jars, kalathoi, craters and kylixes, as well

¹ Special thanks to Prof.Dr. Ersin DOĞER for sharing his observations and thoughts on Buruncuk, as well as the other settlements in the region; and providing invaluable information in the field considering the geographical relations.

the popular decoration patterns are horizontal bands, FM 45 “U” motive (see. Mountjoy 1999 for the shape definitions and decoration charts), and vertical bands on lips.



Figure 1

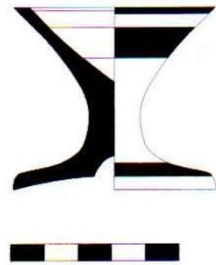


Figure 2

The earlier LH IIIA-B examples of Anaia/Kadıkalesi show similarities with some mainland centres like Attika, Argos, Boeotia, Korinthos, Lakonia and Mycenae, as well as some island settlements like Rhodes, Kos and Astypalia (Kan, 2005: 89 (with references); Mountjoy, 1999: fig. 27, 29, 68, 70, 82, 88, 91, 122, 187, 193, 194, 254, 294, 409, 411-413, 443, 447-448). Another interesting thing is, the settlements of Myloi, Heraion and Tigani in Samos, right across the Samos Pass, do provide contemporary findings during this earlier period of LH IIIA-B; but not later on (Huxley, 1960: 21; Simpson-Dickinson, 1979: 368-369; Mountjoy, 1999: 1146). At this point, it is safe to claim that Anaia/Kadıkalesi has dominated Samos Pass region in time, with its hinterland advantage over the island settlements.



Figure 3



Figure 4

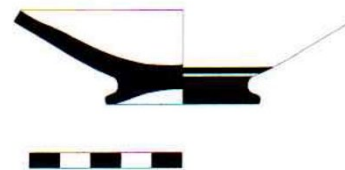
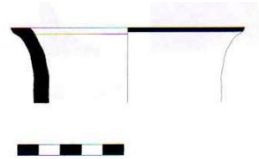


Figure 5

The LH IIIC examples are quantitatively surpassing the earlier LH IIIA-B findings (55%). Even though this is a general fact for the whole Western Anatolia regarding the Achaean invasive policies during the period, it can also be the result of the dominance of the site over the island settlements and attracting the whole traffic of the Samos Pass. Two pieces are important to represent the LH IIIB-C transition and prove the continuity (Fig. 6). Rest of the examples belong to the Middle and Late LH IIIC. Favourite shapes are cups, craters, necked jars,

stirrup jars and kylixes, as well as the popular decoration patterns seem to be FM 46 (concentric circles and spirals), horizontal bands, waves over the handles and lip. The only figure decoration is an amorph piece with birds between thick bands (for parallels see Mountjoy, 1999: fig. 464.19/465, 467.31). (Fig. 7)

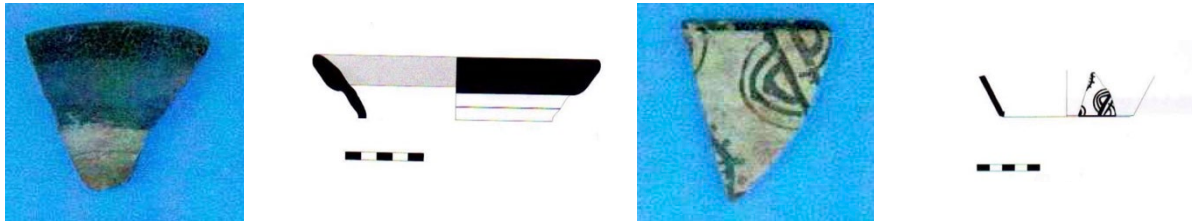


Figure 6



Figure 7

The LH IIIC findings of Anaia/Kadıkalesi show similarities with numerous different centres from both mainland and island settlements (Kan, 2005: 90-93 (with references); Mountjoy, 1999: fig. 44, 47, 51, 218, 220-221, 235-236, 305, 311, 418, 421, 427, 430, 434, 448-449, 453, 469, 472-473). Still no production centre seems to be dominant, and the material represents an increased variety compared to the earlier examples. Especially earlier LH IIIA-B, but the most of whole Achaean ware shows an elaborate and qualified character, which suits its commercial property.

Anaia/Kadıkalesi seems to be relatively richer considering the Minyan ware, in regard of both variety and quality. Even though the red and buff ware seem more popular, grey and “gold-wash” mica-bath fragments have also been found. The clay is of high quality and the pottery seems elaborate, and the variety indicates several production centres.

As there are no stratigraphic layers in Anaia/Kadıkalesi because of the much later Byzantine castle over the mount, the Minyan pottery could only be divided in to two chronological phases simply as early and late groups. The early Minyan ware looks contemporary with the Early and Middle VI of Troy, and the grey ware represents the 45% of the total, and the rest are red and buff ware. The popular shapes are mostly various forms of cups and necked jars (Fig. 8-9) These seem to have parallels in Smyrna (Bayne, 2000: fig. 7.5-6, 8.8, 13.6, 18.3), Antissa (Bayne, 2000: fig. 28.4-6), Troy (Troy III: 157, fig. 361.18-19, 364.16-17), Panaztepe (Günel, 1999: Pl. 143.1) and Larissa (Bayne, 2000: fig. 21.4).

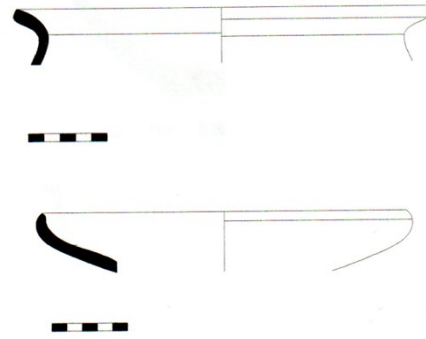


Figure 8

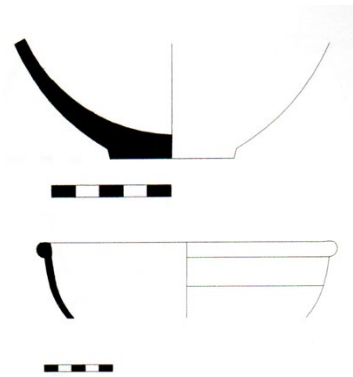


Figure 9

The late group generally can be dated to Late VI of Troy. Some shapes may be dated to the end of the Late VI and may be to VIIa without any certainty, but one Grey Minyan narrow necked jar (Fig.10) has some parallels in Köylüce and Perama findings which are dated to VIIb of Troy (Bayne, 2000: fig. 4.12, 30.8). One interesting feature to be mentioned is, the red and buff ware unexpectedly increases to 75% of total, as well as the grey is only 25%. This situation should be in relation with the spreading patterns of the red ware. Even though the Red Minyan Ware appears in north-western Anatolia in EBaIII, it could reach to south-western settlements like Beycesultan only in LBA (Bayne, 2000: 123). Being a south-western settlement, Anaia/Kadıkalesi is closer to Beycesultan rather than Troas. The variety and quality of the earlier group continues till the end.



Figure 10

Interpretation

Using the “import-imitation-local” equation for these three centres, provides a clear picture of the character of Achaean involvement in Western Anatolia. Troy is one of the most influencing and strong centres of the region in LBA (even the most, regarding the limited discoveries till now), and the material is compatible with this status. As mentioned above in the Troy section of the paper, the relations between the north-western centre and Achaeans have been evolved in time. The Achaean influence penetrates the Trojan markets slowly but strongly, following the inevitable steps of “import-imitation-local” rule.

Panaztepe looks like an emporium that was subjected to Larissa/Buruncuk, which may be as large and strong as Troy during LBA. The pottery findings supported by burial patterns indicate that Panaztepe was home to Achaean settler merchants who acted under the authority of a local lord (if not a king), who may have been ruled in Larissa/Buruncuk. An emporium acting relatively isolated under the authority of a local lord, causes the equation to be stuck at the second phase of the “import-imitation-local” formula.

Anaia/Kadıkalesi, without any obvious and clear local productions, seems like a gathering point for every kind of merchant from all over the Aegean and may be even inner Anatolia, as there is a Hittite statuette found in the excavations (Akdeniz, 2006: 11). The settlement may be considered like a “free trade zone” in LBA. Finally, in Anaia, as there is no dominant local culture in a trade zone where a lot of foreign fractions encounter each other, the formula could only be implied at its first level.

Conclusion

Although there are numerous sites across the Aegean coastline of Anatolia to present LBA finds, and most of them have been studied and compiled systematically by some successful scholars and their publications (Pieniazek-Pavuk-Kozal, 2018; Pavuk, 2015; Pavuk and Horejs, 2018; Dedeoğlu and Konakçı, 2015; Gür, 2019; Mountjoy, 1998; Özgünel, 1983; Mee, 1978; Kan, 2009); the selected three of this paper represent a brief but accurate summary of the whole picture:

Achaean, even though they are thought to be a culture of somehow unorganized city states, or even just feudal lords that constantly fight with each other as well as foreign fractions, seem to be the practitioners of a very well-organized trade strategy to spread all-around the Aegean, and even Mediterranean. This strategy puts the Achaean commercial activities in the region on a tripod. First, being foreign merchants in the capitals of strong local states and dominating the market with aesthetic and relatively in-expensive goods; second, settling in locally established trade centres with the permission and/or invite of a local lord, and providing profit for a “win-win” agreement; and third, competing with local and other imported goods in free trade zones, using their strong fleet and wide-spread production volume to their advantage. This kind of a well-organized trade strategy was not an innovation of any kind. It was the result of some failures and experiences gained from them. Like the Ahhiyawan activities in Zippasla, mentioned in Hittite Texts, which showed that any kind of Achaean military existence in any part of Anatolia, wouldn't be tolerated by the Kingdom of Hatti (Kan-Dündar, 2005).

One might assume that this tripod trade organisation would be the natural result of the circumstances of that period and does not need to be an actual “organisation” or a “strategy” in the first place. But obviously some decisions have been made, and there were alternative methods to be chosen. For example, settling in emporiums instead of just being visiting merchants is a choice. Doing this in chosen locations is a decision. This strategical approach indicates that there must be a common sense, some kind of a decision-making mechanism. May be Achaeans were just feudal lords, not a central state in any means, but this mechanism might not be political, but a commercial one. Suggesting that there might be some kind of an “Achaean Trade Confederation” might be daring, but not absurd.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Batı Anadolu'daki GTÇ merkezlerinden, Akha yayılımının farklı niteliklerini sergileyen, seçilmiş üçüne (Troia, Panaztepe ve Anaia) odaklanmakta; ve "2.bin yılda Batı Anadolu" sorunsalına, Akha perspektifinden bir açıklık getirmek üzere düzenli, analitik ve bilimsel bir metot uygulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Difüzyon Kuramı basitçe, bir yabancı kültürün yerel bir pazardaki varlık seviyelerini somut kültür kalıntıları üzerinden sınıflandırmaktadır. Bu kuram Batı Anadolu'daki Akha unsurlarına uygulandığında, konu üzerine analitik ve rasyonel bir veri üretimi sağlamak mümkün olmaktadır. "İthal-imitasyon-yerel" formülü üzerinden, difüzyon kuramı şu şekilde tanımlanabilir: Yabancı bir kültür kendi somut kültür varlıklarıyla yerel bir kültür ile temas ettiğinde, bu temasın ilk aşaması ithal malzemenin yerel pazarda ortaya çıkışıdır. İkinci aşama bu malzeme kabul gördükten sonra (eğer kabul görürse) bunların imitasyonunun yerel pazar tarafından üretilmesini içerir. Üçüncü ve son aşama ise, söz konusu yabancı kültür varlıklarının yerel karşılığı olan yerel malzeme gruplarının da bu yabancı unsurlardan etkilenmesi ve bu etki altında ürün vermesi olarak tanımlanabilir.

Yukarıda sözü edilen şablonu arkeolojik verilere uygulamadan önce, dilbilimsel verilerdeki Akha/Ahhiyawa eşleşmesi açısından da bir açıklık getirmek gerekliliği ortadadır. Zira gerek tarihsel gerekse arkeolojik tartışmaların odağına bu eşleşmenin doğrulanması veya çürütülmesi çabası yerleşmiş gibi görünmektedir. Yine de köklerini büyük oranda dilbilim ve eskiçağ tarihi disiplinlerine salmış olan bu eşitlik problemini çözmek arkeolojik temele oturan bu çalışmanın ana konusunu oluşturmadığından, sadece sorulması gereken birkaç soruya yer verilmiştir: Bütün Batı Anadolu sahilinde arkeolojik buluntularıyla kendini göstermesi bir yana, Kuzey Suriye ve Levant gibi Hitit ilgi sahasının önemli bölgelerinde de somut kültür kalıntıları ele geçmiş olan, hatta Hattuşaş buluntuları dahilinde kılıç hediyeleri (?) bilinen Akhalar'ın, eğer Ahhiyawa değilse, Hitit metinlerinde hiç anılmamaları garip değil midir? Veya eğer Ahhiyawa Batı Anadolu'daki herhangi bir beylik ise, bölgeye düzenlediği sefer sonrasında tüm siyasi unsurların sınırlarını yeniden düzenleyen Murşiliş II'nin, Ahhiyawa'nın komşuları ve sınırlarından hiç söz etmemiş olması normal midir?

Akha/Ahhiyawa eşleşmesini kabul etmek Homeros destanlarına bilim dışı bir bağlılığın sonucu değildir. Aksine yukarıdaki sorular, romantik edebî metinlerin yönlendirdiği destanlar çağı arkeolojisinden kurtulmuş modern bilimin ürettiği rasyonel sorulardır; ve bu sorulara tatmin edici yanıtlar verilene kadar da, Hititler'in en azından adalardaki Akha unsurlarından haberdar oldukları ve bu unsurları Ahhiyawa olarak isimlendirdikleri önerisini ortaya bırakmak gerekmektedir.

Akha/Ahhiyawa sorunu kısmen ortadan kaldırıldıktan sonra, eldeki arkeolojik verilerin incelenmesi daha sağlıklı bir zemine oturabilmektedir. Bölgedeki Akha buluntuları üzerine, ana metinde de değinildiği üzere, çok sayıda ve çok değerli yayınlar mevcuttur. Dolayısıyla bütün bölgenin yeniden ele alınmasındansa, kuramın ayaklarının oturacağı üç seçme merkez üzerinden (Troia, Panaztepe ve Anaia) çalışmanın ilerletilmesi mantık arz etmektedir. Herhangi bir araştırmacı, farklı üç merkez seçerek de aynı sonucu elde edebilir. Zaten bir kuramın işlerliği de farklı deneylerle doğrulanabilmesinde yatmaktadır.

Eldeki arkeolojik veri yukarıda sözü edilen difüzyon kuramı içerisinde değerlendirildiğinde, Troia veya dönemdeki adıyla Taruisa, bölgesel bir güç unsuru ve Wilusa ülkesinin başkenti konumundaki önemli bir siyasi ve ekonomik merkezdir. Bu konumuyla Akha ticari yayılım stratejisinde ancak ilk ayağın, yani sabit olmayan seyyar tüccarlar vasıtasıyla varlık göstermeye ve tek yönlü değil karşılıklı bir etkileşime dayalı bir ticari faaliyetin sahnesi olmuştur. Panaztepe ise, yakınındaki Buruncuk üzerinde yerleşmiş, klasik adıyla Larissa olarak bildiğimiz GTÇ yerleşimindeki bir yöneticinin izni veya davetiyle kurulmuş bir emporio görünümündedir. Bu da Akha ticari stratejisinin ikinci ayağı olan "ticari koloniler" yaklaşımının bir örneği olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Anaia/Kadikalesi ise sunduğu malzeme karakterinden anlaşıldığı üzere, hemen her üretim merkezinden malzemenin ticaret yoluyla toplandığı ve her türlü tüccarın birbiriyle etkileşime girdiği bir nevi serbest ticaret merkezi niteliği gösterir gibidir. Kültürlerin direkt temasından ziyade tüccarların temasına sahne olan bu tür merkezlerde ise Akha unsurlarının büyük donanma ve yaygın üretim hacmi avantajlarını kullanarak pazarda dominant bir oyuncu olmayı tercih ettikleri gözlenmektedir. İthal-imitasyon-yerel formülüne oturtulduğunda özellikle Troia malzemesi kusursuzca bu formülün içine yerleşmekte, Panaztepe'de ise ticaret kolonisi gibi görece izole bir yöntemin tercih edilmesi formülün ikinci aşamada tıkanmasına neden olmuş gibi görünmektedir. Anaia için ise durum biraz farklıdır. Burada yabancı veya yerel iki kültürden ziyade birden fazla yabancı kültürün birlikte varlık gösterdikleri ve dolayısıyla da formülün ancak birinci aşamada kaldığı gözlenmektedir.

Bu veriler görece açık bir resim ortaya koymak için yeterlidir. Bağımsız ve düzensiz kent devletleri, derebeylikler olarak bilinen Akhalar, son derece iyi organize edilmiş bir ticaret stratejisinin uygulayıcıları gibi görünmektedirler. Bu stratejik organizasyon üç ayak üzerinde yükselmektedir: Birincisi, görsellik ve ucuzlukla öne çıkan mallarıyla yerel güç merkezlerinde faaliyet gösteren yabancı tüccarlar; ikincisi, yerel bir yöneticinin izni ve/veya davetiyle kurulan ticari koloniler; üçüncüsü ise serbest ticaret bölgelerini güçlü bir donanma ve yaygın bir üretim hacmi ile domine etmek... Bu üç ayak aynı zamanda ithal-imitasyon-yerel formülünün her üç aşaması için de birer stratejik zemin hazırlamaktadırlar. İlk aşamanın ötesine geçememek, ikinci aşamada tıkanmak veya her üç aşamayı da başarılı bir şekilde uygulayabilmek için her duruma yönelik adaptif çözümler ortaya konmuş gibidir.

Bu tür bir ticari network oluşturmak bir karar alma mekanizmasına, bir şekilde bir organizasyona gereksinim duymaktadır. Herhangi bir dönemde ve herhangi bir şekilde merkezi bir devlet kurmadıkları bilinen Akha feodal beyleri, belki politik olarak böyle bir konfederasyon altında birleşmiş olmasalar da bu organizasyon siyasi ayağı olmayan ticari bir oluşum olarak düşünülebilir. Bu veriler ışığında bir Akha Ticaret Konfederasyonu'nun varlığını iddia etmek, belki cesur bir söylem olabilir; ama asla absürt olmayacaktır.