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978-0-521-50979-4 - From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic

Mary R. Bachvarova

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## From Hittite to Homer

This book provides a groundbreaking reassessment of the prehistory of Homeric epic. It argues that in the Early Iron Age bilingual poets transmitted to the Greeks a set of narrative traditions closely related to the one found at Bronze Age Hattusa, the Hittite capital. Key drivers for Near Eastern influence on the developing Homeric tradition were the shared practices of supralocal festivals and venerating divinized ancestors, and a shared interest in creating narratives about a legendary past using a few specific storylines: theogonies, genealogies connecting local polities, long-distance travel, destruction of a famous city because it refuses to release captives, and trying to overcome death when confronted with the loss of a dear companion. Professor Bachvarova concludes by providing a fresh explanation of the origins and significance of the Greco-Anatolian legend of Troy, thereby offering a new solution to the long-debated question of the historicity of the Trojan War.

MARY R. BACHVAROVA is Professor in the Department of Classical Studies at Willamette University, Oregon. She was trained both in classics and in the languages and cultures of Anatolia and the Near East. She is the co-editor, with B. J. Collins and I. C. Rutherford, of *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbours* (2005). She has also written a new translation of Hurro-Hittite narrative songs in the recently published *Ancient Mediterranean Myths: Primary Sources from Ancient Greece, Rome, and the Near East*, edited by C. López-Ruiz (2013).

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## The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic

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*To G. D. S. A.*

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The current monograph retains very little of the original PhD thesis unchanged, other than the basic point that the *Song of Release* shows striking parallels to the *Iliad* (also published in Bachvarova 2005a and 2008a). During the course of reworking my ideas into their current form I have incurred debts to various institutions: In 2009–10 I spent a sabbatical year in Cincinnati, using the libraries of the University of Cincinnati Classics Department and Hebrew Union College. Willamette University also gave me a generous semester of Junior Leave in 2007, and the Center of Ancient Studies and Archaeology at Willamette awarded me a fellowship in 2008 that allowed me a course reduction for one term. I continued to use the Oriental Institute Research Archives and the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago even after completing my degree. The electronic resources of the Hittitology Portal of Mainz University and the Oriental Institute Research Archives made it possible to stay abreast of the relevant bibliography. The staff at the Hatfield Library, especially in the Inter-Library Loan office, were extremely helpful, supplying me promptly with any books and articles I requested.

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This book is dedicated to my husband, Dr. Gregory D. S. Anderson, who has made many personal and professional sacrifices to support my career and take care of our family.



## Abbreviations

### ***Bibliographic Abbreviations***

Abbreviations of Greek authors follow the conventions of H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, and R. McKenzie, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (1996, Oxford), except as cited below. Latin authors are cited according to P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1982, Oxford).

<i>ABoT</i>	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> (1948). Istanbul.
<i>BAM</i>	F. Köcher (1916–80) <i>Die Babylonisch-assyriologische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> . Berlin.
<i>Brill’s New Pauly</i>	H. Cancik <i>et al.</i> (eds.) (2002–) <i>Brill’s New Pauly</i> . Leiden and Boston.
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (1964–2010). Chicago.
<i>CHD</i>	H. G. Güterbock, H. A. Hoffner, Jr., and T. P. J. van den Hout (1989–) <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago.
<i>CTH</i>	E. Laroche (1971) <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris. The <i>CTH</i> numbering of Hittite texts follows the electronic database KhT.
<i>EA</i>	J. A. Knudtzon (1964) <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . Aalen.
<i>Erg.</i>	<i>Ergänzungslieferung</i>
<i>ETCSL</i>	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature ( <a href="http://www-etcs.orient.ox.ac.uk/">www-etcs.orient.ox.ac.uk/</a> )
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.) (1923–58) <i>Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin and Leipzig.
<i>HED</i>	J. Puhvel (1984–) <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin.
<i>HEG</i>	J. Tischler (1983–2001) <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck.
<i>HFAC</i>	G. Beckman and J. Hoffner, Harry A. (1985) “Hittite Fragments in American Collections.” <i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> 37: 1–60.

<i>hHAp</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i>
<i>hHAphr</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite</i>
<i>HT</i>	L. W. King (1920) <i>Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character in the British Museum</i> . London.
<i>IBoT</i>	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tableteri(nden Seçme Metinler)</i> . Istanbul.
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig (1962–4) <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . Wiesbaden.
<i>KAR</i>	E. Ebeling (1919, 1923) <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I, II</i> . Leipzig.
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> . Leipzig, Berlin.
<i>KhT</i>	Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln ( <a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/">www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/</a> )
<i>KRI</i>	K. A. Kitchen (1993–2008) <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations</i> . Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.
<i>KTU</i>	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin (1995) <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places</i> . Münster.
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin.
<i>LKA</i>	E. Ebeling (1953) <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> . Berlin.
<i>NF</i>	<i>Neue Folge</i>
<i>RAC</i>	T. Klauser <i>et al.</i> (1950–) <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart.
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (1958–1978) <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart.
<i>RIA</i>	E. Ebeling <i>et al.</i> (1932–) <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin.
<i>StBoTB</i>	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft. Wiesbaden.
<i>TUAT</i>	O. Kaiser <i>et al.</i> (1982–) <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> . Gütersloh.
<i>VBoT</i>	A. Goetze (1930) <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg.
<i>YOS</i>	<i>Yale Oriental Series</i> . New Haven.

**Other Abbreviations**

A	Tablets in the Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
---	--

Aa	personnel tablets, textile workers
Ab	personnel tablets, textile workers
An	personnel tablets
Aq	personnel tablets
Av	personnel tablets, allocations of grain
BA	Bronze Age
BM	Museum siglum of the British Museum in London
Bo	Tablet siglum of (unpublished) texts from Boğazköy
bott.	bottom
col.	column
Cypr.	Cypriot
De	sheep tablets
E	grain tablets
EC	Early Cypriot
ED	Early Dynastic
EG	Early Geometric
EH	Early Helladic
EIA	Early Iron Age
EPG	Early Protogeometric
EM	Early Minoan
F	fragment
FF	fragments
Fn	rations/offerings/allocations of grain
Fp	rations/offerings/allocations of olive oil
Fq	rations/offerings/allocations of barley and flour
Fr	rations/offerings/allocations of olive oil
Ft	rations/offerings/allocations of olive oil
Ga	offerings (coriander)
Geo	Geometric
Gp	allocations of wine, barley flour, cyperus
HH	Hurro-Hittite
Hitt.	Hittite
HL	Hieroglyphic Luwian
Hurr.	Hurrian
IE	Indo-European
IM	Museum siglum of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad
K	Museum siglum of the British Museum in London (Küyünjik)
KN	Knossos
L	letter

LBA	Late Bronze Age
LC	Late Cypriot
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MB	Middle Babylonian
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MC	Middle Cypriot
MG	Middle Geometric
MH	Middle Helladic
MH	Middle Hittite
MS	Middle Script
Msk	Tablet siglum of texts from Meskene
MY	Mycenae
Myc	Mycenaean
NA	Neo-Assyrian
narr.	narrative
NE	Near Eastern
NH	New Hittite
NS	New Script
OB	Old Babylonian
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Script
PG	Protogeometric
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PY	Pylos
RS	Museum siglum of the Louvre and Damascus (Ras Shamra)
Sa	chariot and armor tablets
SB	Standard Babylonian
Sc	chariot and armor tablets
SM	Submycenaean
Σ	scholia
T	testimonium
TC	Tablet siglum of the Takahashi Collection
TH	Thebes
Tn	vessel tablets
TT	testimonia
trans.	translation
translit.	transliteration
Un	miscellaneous provisions tablets

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*Abbreviations*

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- V lists without ideograms  
VAT Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin  
(Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln)  
Wu sealings on nodules  
YHSS Yassihöyük Stratigraphic Sequence

## Notes on the text

There is much that the theorizing of Classical scholars can provide to Near Eastern scholars, and Classical scholars have not yet plumbed the depths of the material offered by Near Eastern texts. I intend this volume to serve as a research tool for students and scholars just moving into the field of comparative philology of the eastern Mediterranean area. Thus, I do not presume that readers are aware of the history of or current state of research on a particular question, or the controversies that I skim over in the main body of the text, and I make sure to provide the background scholarship throughout the notes. However, in order to reduce the size of the notes, I tend to refer to the most recent works and to works written in English.

When quoting Hittite texts in the original, Hittite is written in lower-case italics, words that were written in Akkadian (but presumably pronounced in Hittite) are transliterated into upper-case italics, and words written with Sumerian logograms (Sumerograms) are transliterated into upper case. Square brackets indicate where signs have been lost because of damage to the tablet, while partial square brackets indicate partially legible signs. Raised Sumerograms are determinatives, written before (sometimes after) a noun in the Hittite tablets, indicating its class (divinity, male, female, wooden, stone, etc.). They were not pronounced aloud. I transliterate *ḫ* as “h” and *š* as “sh,” except when *š* is used in a Hittite and Hattic word, in which case I transliterate it as “s.” The divine name *Išhara* is thus spelled “Ishhara,” king *Pithana* as “Pithana,” and the town *Purušhanda* “Purushanda.” I follow conventional modern spellings with some widely recognized Near Eastern names, such as Alalakh. Similarly, I use Latinate spellings of commonly known Greek names. For texts from Hattusa, I cite column and line numbers. Single-column tablets are cited by obverse and reverse. The raised slash after numbers indicates that they occur after a break of indeterminate length; two raised slashes indicates the line numbering resumes after two breaks of indeterminate length, and so on. Different exemplars of the same text are distinguished by letters: A, B, C, etc.

For editions of Classical Greek texts, I refer to the editor’s last name after the text citation, if there are questions of fragment numbering or editing

the text. References to editions of Linear B texts can be found in *A Companion to Linear B: Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World, Vol. 1*, ed. Y. Duhoux and A. Morpurgo Davies (Leuven). I cite Hittite texts by their *CTH* number, but in practice the website Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln ([www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/](http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/)) is the proper source to find out more about a specific Hittite text, where they can be looked up by their *CTH* number, by their excavation number, or by their publication number. Although the *CTH* numbering groups texts by genres, readers who are not Hittitologists will not recognize the conventions. Thus, I take care to provide a title for each text. In addition, I refer specifically to the line numbers of fragments, rather than using the composite text line numbering often used in transliterations, because I feel it is important to respect variation that occurs between versions of a particular text. I then cite the transliteration (which may not cite the passage in the same way), and a specific translation if I do not translate the passage myself. This should make it easy to find the text citations, even if the reader does not know the language in question, although it adds to the bulk of the footnotes. Ugaritic texts from Ugarit are cited by their *KTU* number, but I also provide a concordance for the ritual texts with their excavation number. Texts from Ugarit in other languages are cited by their excavation number.

With regard to the terminology used to refer to groups of people, when I say “Anatolian,” I mean people living in Anatolia, but not including Greek-speakers. I thus group together people speaking various languages, not necessarily related. “Anatolian languages,” however, are a specific subgroup of Indo-European languages found in Anatolia. When I say “Greeks,” I mean speakers of Greek, without intending to imply a sense of belonging to a national group. When I say “Mycenaean,” I mean people participating in the culture we label Mycenaean, without intending to imply that they spoke Greek.

Finally, I provide two aids for those struggling with the many unfamiliar names: Table 1 is a synchronistic chart of the Bronze Age rulers referred to in the text, and Table 2 provides the correspondences among Near Eastern and Greek gods.

Table 1. *Bronze Age chronology: Greece and the Near East*

Greece (periods) <sup>1</sup>	Greece (pottery sequences) <sup>2</sup>	Cyprus <sup>3</sup>	Troy <sup>4</sup>	Miletus <sup>5</sup>	Arzawa <sup>6</sup>	Central Anatolia
EBA 1	EH I 3000–2650		I 3000–2550			
EBA 2	EH II 2650–2250		II 2550–2300	II 3rd mill.		Anatolian EBA III Alaca Höyük <sup>10</sup> Royal Graves 2400–2100
EBA 3	EH III 2250–2100/ 2050	EC I–II 2250–2000	III 2300–2200			
			IV 2200–2000			
MBA	MH 2100/ 2050–1700					
	MH I					
		EC III – MC I–II 2000–1750/00	V 2000–1750	III 2000–1800		Kanesh <sup>11</sup> II 1970–1835
	MH II					Ib 1835–late 18th cent.
						Hurmeli ?–1790
						Inar 1790–1775



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## Bronze Age chronology

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East Anatolia, North Syria, North Mesopotamia				Babylon	Assyria	Egypt
Ebla/Tell Mardikh <sup>7</sup> IIa	3000– 2400		Urkesh <sup>8</sup>  āpi built	Gilgamesh of Uruk <sup>9</sup> 2600		
IIb1	2400– 2300			<b>Akkade</b> Sargon 2340– 2285		
IIb2	2300– 2000		Tupkish  Tishatal ?  Isharkinum	Rimush 2284– 2276 Manishtushu 2275– 2261 Naram-Sin 2260– 2224  Sharkalisharri 2223– 2199 (six more kings) 2198– 2160 Gudea of Lagash 2130– 2110/ 2115 Utu-hegal of Ur 2119– 2113 <b>Ur III</b> Ur-Namma 2112– 2095  Shulgi 2094– 2047 Amar-Sin 2046– 2038 Shu-Sin 2037– 2029 Ibbi-Sin 2028– 2004		
IIIa Ibbit-Lim	2000– 1800				<b>Old Assyrian empire</b> Puzur-Assur from Ishalim- ahum 2025  Ilushuma  Irishum I 1974–1935 Ikunum 1934–1921 Sargon I 1920–1881 Puzur-Asur II 1880–1873	
IIIb	1800– 1600	<b>Mari</b> Yahdum-Lim 1815– 1799 after 1798 Yasmah-Addu	<b>Aleppo</b>  Sumu-Epuh 1810– 1780	<b>1st Dynasty of Babylon</b> 1894– 1750  Hammurapi 1792– 1750	Naram-Sin 1872–? Shamshi- Adad I 1833– 1776	

Table 1. (cont.)

Greece (periods) <sup>1</sup>	Greece (pottery sequences) <sup>2</sup>	Cyprus <sup>3</sup>	Troy <sup>4</sup>	Miletus <sup>5</sup>	Arzawa <sup>6</sup>	Central Anatolia
						Warsama 1775–1750
	MH III		VIa	1750–1300	IV 1800–1450	Anumhirbi of Hassu 1750–1725
						Pithana of Kussara Anitta of Kussara 1725–?
LBA 1	LH I 1700/1675–1635/00	MC III–LC I	VIb/c			Zuzu of Alahzina ?–1650
	LH IIA 1635/00–1480/70		VI d			<b>Hattusa</b> <sup>13</sup> 1650–1620
	Santorini eruption ca.1642–1612					<b>Hattusili I</b> 1620–1590
						Mursili I 1590–1560
						Hantili I 1560–1525
						Zidanta I 1525–1500
			VI e			Ammuna Huzziya I 1500–1400
LBA 2	LH IIB 1480/70–1420/10					Telipinu 1500–1400
						Alluwamna 1500–1400
						Tahurwaili Hantili II Zidanta II
		LC IIA–IIC Early 1450–1300	VI f	V 1450–1315		Huzziya II Muwattalli I
LBA 3	LH IIIA1 1420/10–1390/70		VI g			Huzziya II Muwattalli I
	LH IIIA2 1390/70–Attarisiya 1330/15		VI h			Tudhaliya I/II 1400–1350
					Assuwa Confederation Kupanta-Kurunta of Arzawa Madduwatta Kupanta-Kurunta of Arzawa	Arnuwanda I
						Hattusili II?
					Tarhuntaradu of Arzawa	Tudhaliya III

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East Anatolia, North Syria, North Mesopotamia			Babylon		Assyria	Egypt			
Mari	Zimri-Lim	1776– 1761	<b>Aleppo</b> Yarim-lim I	1780– 1765	<b>Old Babylonian Kingdom</b> Samsuiluna	1762–1675			
	<b>Alalakh</b> <sup>12</sup>	VII Yarim-Lim I	1720– 1670	Abba-AN I		1745–?	1749– 1712		
				Yarim-Lim II		1710	Abi-eshuh	1711– 1684	
	Ammiqatum	1670– 1625	Niqmi-Epuh	1670		Ammisaduqa	1646– 1626		
	Hammurapi	VI	16th cent.	Irkabtum			1645	1626– 1595	
				Yarim-Lim III			1635	<b>Mitanni</b>	1630– 1233
	Kizzuwatna <sup>14</sup> Pariyawatri Ispudahsu	V	early 15th cent.	Hammurapi		VI	16th cent.		Thutmose I
								Thutmose II	1492– 1479
								Hashepsut	1479/73– 1458/57
	Eheya Paddatisu Pilliya	IV	mid. 15th – 14th cent.	Idrimi		1490– 1460	Parattarna I	Thutmose III	1479– 1425
Talzu				Niqmepa	1460–?	Shaushtatar		Amenhotep II	1428– 1397
Sunassura	Ilimilimma II <sup>7</sup>	1420	Parattarna I	1490– 1460	Parattarna II	Thutmose IV	1397– 1388		
			Talzu	Niqmepa			1460–?	Shaushtatar	Amenhotep III
Sunassura	Ilimilimma II <sup>7</sup>	1420	Artatama I	1420	Shuttarna II	Kurigalzu I	1374– 1360		
			Shuttarna II	Kadashman- Enlil I				1374– 1360	

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*Bronze Age chronology*Table 1. (*cont.*)

Greece (pottery periods) <sup>1</sup>	Greece (pottery sequences) <sup>2</sup>	Cyprus <sup>3</sup>	Troy <sup>4</sup>	Miletus <sup>5</sup>	Arzawa <sup>6</sup>	Central Anatolia
			Kukkuḫni			Suppiluliuma I 1350–1322
LH III B	1330/15 –1200/ 1190					Arnuwanda II 1322–1321
					Uhhaziti of Arzawa Mashuiluwa of Mira Kupanta- Kurunta of Mira	Mursili II 1321–1295
		LC IIC Late T– IIIA	1300– 1125/00 VIIa	1300–1180 VI	1315–1200	
Tawagalawa			Alaksandu			Muwatali II 1295–1272
				Atpa	Piyamaradu Masduri of Seha River Land	Mursili III 1272–1267 Hattusili III 1267–1237
			Walmu		Alantalli of Mira Tarkasnawa of Mira Tarhunnaradu of Seha River Land	Tudhaliya IV 1237–1209

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## Bronze Age chronology

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East Anatolia, North Syria, North Mesopotamia			Babylon	Assyria	Egypt				
			<b>Mitanni</b> Artashshumara	Burna-Buriash II	1359–1333	<b>Middle Assyrian Kingdom</b> <sup>15</sup> Assur-uballit I	1353–1056		
	<b>Carchemish</b> <sup>16</sup>		Tushratta				1353–1318	Amenhotep IV/ Akhenaten	1351–1334
	Sharrikushuh	ca. 1340	Shattiwaza					Smenkhare	1337–1333
				Kurigalzu II	1332–1308			Tutankhamun Ay	1333–1323
	Sahurma					Enlil-nerari	1317–1308		
				Nazimaruttash	1308–1282	Arik-den-ili	1307–1296	Ramses I	1306–1304 or 1292–1290
	<b>Amurru</b> Benteshina					Adad-nerari I	1295–1264	Sethos I	1304–1290 or 1290–1279
	Shapili			Kadashman-Turgu	1282–1264			Ramses II	1290–1224 or 1279–1213
	Benteshina restored			Kadashman-Enlil II	1264–1255	Shalmaneser I	1263–1234		
				Kudur-Enlil	1255–1246				
				Shagarkti-Shuriash	1246–1233				
<b>Tarhuntassa</b> <sup>17</sup> Kurunta	Shawushkamuwu			Kashtiliash IV	1232–1225	Tukulti-Ninurta I	1233–1197		
			<b>Ugarit</b> Niqmaddu III	1215–1200				Merneptah	1224–1205 or 1213–1204/3

Table 1. (cont.)

Greece (pottery periods) <sup>1</sup>		Cyprus <sup>3</sup>		Troy <sup>4</sup>		Miletus <sup>5</sup>		Arzawa <sup>6</sup>		Central Anatolia	
										Arnuwanda III	1209–1207
		Eshuvara								Suppiluliuma II	1207–?
LH IIIC	1200/ 1190– 1050			VIIIb1	1180–1130	VII	begins 1200				
		LC IIIB	1125/00– 1050	VIIIb2	1130–1050						

<sup>1</sup> This chart follows the Aegean high chronology and the Near Eastern high middle chronology. Periodization of the Bronze Age is only given for Greece, as the classification varies for different parts of the Near East. The Aegean high chronology is based on radiocarbon dating of the Santorini eruption to sometime between 1642 and 1612 BCE (Manning and Kromer 2011). The Middle Bronze Age Near Eastern chronology comes from astronomical information, the *Kanesh Eponym Lists* best preserved in copies from Kanesh 1b (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012), the radiocarbon dating of wood from the Warsama palace at Kanesh (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012 : 28–35, with earlier refs.), and some synchronisms internal to the Near East, e.g., the death of Shamshi-Adad I in the eighteenth year of Hammurabi's reign and the destruction of Babylon, under the rule of Samsuditana, by Mursili I. The fall of Babylon is conventionally dated to 1595 BCE by the high middle chronology. Our current knowledge would also allow for the low middle chronology with dates for the key Middle Bronze Age events eight years later (fall of Babylon 1587 BCE). The choice between the high middle and low middle chronologies hinges on which eight-year Venus cycle one chooses to link to the "Year of the Golden Throne," the eighth year of Ammisuqa of Babylon in the omen compendium *Enuma Anu Enlil*, Tablet 63, omen No. 10. See Nahm (2013) and T. de Jong (2012–2013), arguing for the low middle chronology, based on the mention of a solar eclipse in the year after the birth of Shamshi-Adad I in the *Mari Eponym Chronicle*, which T. de Jong associates with an eclipse he calculates to have occurred in 1838 BCE, Nahm to an eclipse of 1833, and atmospheric effects from the Santorini eruption that de Jong argues are alluded to in the Babylonian Venus observations for years 12 and 13 of Ammisuqa, thus fixing the Santorini eruption at 1628/7 (T. de Jong and Foertmeyer 2010). The arguments of Nahm and de Jong are plausible, but I have chosen to adhere to the high middle chronology here because the eight-year difference does not impact any of the synchronisms between Greece and the Near East, and because the high middle chronology is well-known and will allow readers outside the field the ability to correlate the dates mentioned here with those that have been widely cited, while those who are well-versed in the chronological issues can adjust as necessary. Readers interested in the disputes about Middle Bronze Age chronology will find earlier references in T. de Jong (2012–2013) and Manning and Kromer (2011). If references are not given, dates come from *Brill's New Pauly*, Supplement 1: *Chronologies of the Ancient World: Names, Dates, and Dynasties* (ed. W. Eder and J. Renger, 2007). When kings' reigns are determined solely by a synchronism with another king, I normally do not give dates. I do not take into account the results of radiocarbon dating in the Egyptian dates, which suggest the dates are some twenty years too low (see Shortland and Bronk Ramsey 2013). Finally, I do not give entire dynasties, but focus on the kings who are mentioned in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> BA Greece dates from Manning (2010).

<sup>3</sup> Cyprus dates from Knapp (2013: 27, with earlier references).

<sup>4</sup> Troy dates from Jablonka and Rose (2011), Rose (2014); subdivisions and dates for Troy VI from Pavúk (2007).

<sup>5</sup> Miletus dates from Niemeier (2007a; 2009).

<sup>6</sup> Synchronisms from Bryce (2005) and Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011).

<sup>7</sup> Ebla dates from Matthiae (2008).

<sup>8</sup> Urkesh dates from Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati (2009).

<sup>9</sup> Date based on synchronism with Enmebaragesi of Kish, a historical connection that George (2003: 103–4) makes clear should be taken with a grain of salt.

<sup>10</sup> Dating from Sagona and Zimansky (2009: 213–16).

<sup>11</sup> Kanesh dates from Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen (2012, esp. p. 4, fig. 13).

<sup>12</sup> Rough dates of Alalakh levels from Mullins (2010: 61–3).

<sup>13</sup> Hittite dates and reigns from Bryce (2005: xv), omitting Kurunta.

<sup>14</sup> Synchronisms with Hittite kings follow Bryce (2005).

<sup>15</sup> The Middle Assyrian Kingdom dates cited differ by ten years in the different recensions of the *Assyrian King List*. I use the later dates here, as they match the Hittite chronology better (synchronism between Suppiluliuma II and Tukulti-Ninurta I).

<sup>16</sup> Carchemish reigns from Bryce (2005; 2012: 84–6).

<sup>17</sup> Synchronisms with Hittite kings follow Bryce (2005), with rough approximation of Hartapu's reign based on Hawkins (2000: 429) and Bryce (2005: 352–3).

<sup>18</sup> Malatya reigns from Bryce (2012: 101–4).