



III. LİKYA SEMPOZYUMU
07-10 KASIM 2005
ANTALYA

THE IIIrd SYMPOSIUM ON LYCIA
07-10 NOVEMBER 2005
ANTALYA

SEMPOZYUM SYMPOSIUM
BİLDİRİLERİ PROCEEDINGS

II. Cilt / Volume II



Suna – İnan Kır   Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Arařtırma Enstit  s  
Suna & İnan Kır   Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations



SUNA – İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

**III. Uluslararası Likya Sempozyumu
Sempozyum Bildirileri**

*The IIIrd International Symposium on Lycia
Symposium Proceedings*

Editörler / Editors

Kayhan DÖRTLÜK
Burhan VARKIVANÇ
Tarkan KAHYA
Jacques des COURTILS
Meltem DOĞAN ALPARSLAN
Remziye BOYRAZ

Çeviri / Translation

T. M. P. DUGGAN
İnci TÜRKOĞLU

ISBN 975-9123-23-1 (takım / set)
ISBN 975-9123-25-8 (2. Cilt / Vol. 2)

© Suna – İnan Kiraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2006

Bu kitapta yayınlanan bildirilerin yayım hakkı saklıdır. AKMED ve yazarlarının yazılı izni olmaksızın hiçbir yolla çoğaltılamaz, basılamaz, yayınlanamaz.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner without written permission from the AKMED and the authors.

Yazışma Adresi / Mailing Address

Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sok. No. 25
Kaleiçi 07100 ANTALYA – TÜRKİYE
Tel: (0242) 243 42 74 • Fax: (0242) 243 80 13
akmed@akmed.org.tr
www.akmed.org.tr

Yapım / Production

Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd.

Baskı / Print

Graphis Matbaa

The Kizzuwatna-Lukka Route in the Eastern Mediterranean Trade of the 2nd Millennium B.C.

Remzi YAĞCI*

When materials coming from recent excavations in the mounds in Cilicia Pedias such as Kinet Höyük, Soli Höyük and Kilisetepe, that provide artifacts dating to the 2nd millennium B.C. and those found during the excavations in the first half of the 20th century in Mersin Yumuktepe and at Tarsus Gözlükule are revisited, it can certainly be claimed that this region, called Kizzuwatna in the Hittite Period, was part of the international trade network in the Eastern Mediterranean. After the annexation of Kizzuwatna to the Hatti land as a semi-autonomous state in the 14th century B.C. during the reign of Tuthalia I/II or that of Suppiluliuma I¹, important changes in the socio-economic structure of the region occurred². These changes began to appear in the 13th century B.C., after the battle of Qadesh. The peace treaty with the Egyptians politically forced the Hittites to become a major power in Eastern Mediterranean trade and resulted in the Hittites' efforts to reach the Mediterranean coastline. Kizzuwatna, which can be understood to have formed a center of power in the Middle East due to its strategic position, its important cult centers such as Kumanni and Lavazantia, its cultural richness, its geographical situation suitable for trade, its natural resources, became a potential area for conquest by the Hittites, in order for the Hittites to become dominant in Mediterranean trade.

Kizzuwatna-Tarhuntassa and the Lukka lands in Eastern Mediterranean trade in the 13th century B.C., played an important role in the Hittite hinterland and they were also essential as a route for Eastern Mediterranean coastal trade, mostly controlled by the Hittites despite the fact that several revolts sometimes threatened Hittite authority. This entire coastline itinerary, which can be termed the "Kizzuwatna-Lukka route", has not been appropriately researched to date for a number of reasons including: the to date not located place names that are mentioned in the written sources, the lack of archaeological evidence dating from the 2nd millennium B.C in Lycia, the lack of evidence from silted-up harbors situated at the mouths of rivers and evidence of severe destruction. This paper will focus on the commercial and military routes in these three regions from the archaeological evidence and from the written sources.

* Doç. Dr. Remzi Yağcı, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Arkeoloji Bölümü, Tınaztepe Yerleşkesi, Buca, İzmir – TÜRKİYE.

E-mail: remzi.yagci@deu.edu.tr

¹ Jasink 2001, 53-4.

² Yakar 2001, 41-3.

Historical Geography

An understanding that is based on historical geography and on the written sources is fundamental for the explication of the Kizzuwatna-Tarhuntassa-Lukka route in the 2nd millennium B.C. The localization of some of the cities cited in the Hittite documents, especially in those related to military campaigns, should be taken into account, however controversial they remain. The Bronze Tablet and the Südburg, Yalburt and Emirgazi inscriptions are important sources of evidence on this issue. The Bronze Tablet records a frontier treaty between Kurunta, the king of Tarhuntassa and the Hittite king Tuthalia IV, and it provides important data concerning the southern and western borders and the military routes of the Hatti. The Bronze Tablet is an important source for the attempt to establish the location of cities in the Lukka and the Tarhuntassa lands. It establishes that the border of Tarhuntassa was on the river Kastaraya (Hitt., Kastaraya= Kestros in Classical times, Aksu today) and that Parha (Perge) was situated beyond the Tarhuntassa border. The frontier cities within this itinerary are grouped and this sequence most probably begins inland and continues in a non-linear fashion. Otten³ compared the names from KUB XXI 6+6a that are thought to be the annals of Hattusili III, listing the cities conquered in this itinerary. According to this interpretation the following cities are listed: KUR^{URU} *Walma*, KUR^{URU} *Watt* [a...], KUR^{URU} *Nahita*, KUR^{URU} *Sallusa*, KUR^{URU} [...], KUR^{URU} *Sanhata*, KUR^{URU} *Suri*[mma...], KUR^{URU} *Walwara*, KUR^{URU} *Hawaliy*[a...], KUR^{URU} *Inassara* and lastly (arrival at) *Kuwalapassa*. The Bronze Tablet locates the group of three cities, *Sallusa*, *Sanhata* and *Surimma*, on the coast. It is apparent that these three cities played a remarkable role on the Tarhuntassa-Lukka route in the reign of Hattusili III. *Walma* and *Nahita* are identified as the Classical cities of Holmoi and Nagidos in coastal Silifke. *Sallusa*, is identified as Selinus. The itinerary of the campaign begins from west of the Calycadnos mouth, inland up to Aksu, Walwara and Huwaliya and reaches Kuwalapassa (Classical Kolbasa, north of Lake Kestel)⁴, thus encompassing the lands beginning from the eastern border of the Lukka lands. What Hawkins asserts⁵ is a problem, is if Mata, Sanhata, Surimma, Saranduwa, Istapanna, Sallusa, Tata and Dasa, which are situated on the Pamphylian coast, can be described as located within the borders of the Hulaya river-land (the Çarşamba Çay today) according to the Bronze tablet (56-59). The question is if these cities are located within the borders of Tarhuntassa or not. Usaula, Hawaliya and Walma, are hypothetically located inland up the Aksu valley to Lake Eğirdir and north of this lake, i.e., within the Hulaya river-land. The Hulaya-river-land probably included Lake Beyşehir, the Çarşamba river system and the neighboring mountains. Within this context, one may think of the existence of well-established road networks from south of Lake Beyşehir to the coast. As is recorded on KUB XXI 6+6a, Lukka and the Tarhuntassa lands were highly populated and urbanized regions, reaching a high economic and military level during Hattusili III's reign.

The Südburg inscription is another written source to be employed in the investigation of the historical geography of the Lukka and Tarhuntassa lands, of southern and south-west Anatolia in the 2nd millennium B.C. The Südburg inscription is a geographical overview of south-west and southern Anatolia and of the Lukka and Tarhuntassa lands. In Conquest 1 (§§1-5) of this inscription, narrating one or more campaign(s), it is clearly stated that all the lands were conquered and especially names of *Wiyanawanda*, *Tamina*, *Masa*, *Luka*, *Ikuna* are cited as lying within the borders of Hatti. *Luka* and *Wiyanawanda* are also cited in Tuthalia's Yalburt inscriptions (9. block §§ 1-2). The names *Awarna*, *Pinali* and *Talawa* (Xanthos, Pinara and Tlos) are also mentioned

³ Otten 1988.

⁴ Hawkins 1995, 51-3.

⁵ Hawkins 1995, 53 n. 184.

in Conquest 1. Wiyanawanda is thought to correspond to Lycian Oenoanda. “Luka” may have been used in the sense of the Lukka lands corresponding to classical “Lycia”⁶. Masa and Lukka are thought to have been neighbors and these five cities were situated between Ikuna-Konya to the East and *Wiyawanda*-Oenoanda to the West. The Südburg inscription, together with information from the Bronze Tablet, shows the western border of Tarhuntassa was on the Kestros River by Perge. According to KUB XXI 6, it can be said the Lukka lands were mostly situated to the west of this river⁷. The Südburg §5 inscription comprehensively describes the annexation of the Lukka lands and the wide-ranging campaign, extending from Masa in the west of the Lukka lands, towards the south-west of Tarhuntassa in the south, during the course of a single campaign⁸.

The Yalburt inscription similarly describes the military campaign of Tudhaliya IV to Xanthos and Pinara (Hierog. Avarna and Pinali). During this campaign, Oeonanda (Wiyawanda), Tlos (Talawa) and some other unidentified cities were conquered. The Emirgazi block carries a similar narrative. Thus the Yalburt and Südburg inscriptions describe the campaigns of Tuthaliya IV and Suppiluliuma II to the Lukka lands.

Tarhuntassa is in a strategic position, both from land and sea, between the Kizzuwatna – Lukka route. Tarhuntassa’s eastern border is stated as being at Ura – Kalykadnos⁹ and Saliya¹⁰, and its western border, the Kastaraya (Kestros) river¹¹. Saliya, according to Sunassurra, is also known as a place on the Hatti-Kizzuwatna border¹². According to the Bronze Tablet, Tarhuntassa’s northern border was the Hatip Kaya inscription, its south western frontier was Perge and its western border was the Hulaya river-land (see Yağcı 2001: 161). As stated in the Südburg inscription, Tarhuntassa was annexed to the Hatti lands during the reign of Suppiluliuma II¹³.

In Kizzuwatna, in the 2nd millennium B.C., there were several centers which may have been used for harbors and the written sources indicate Ura, whose exact location is disputed, must have been the most important of these harbors. Moreover, it is difficult to identify those mounds with a harbor situation on the Cilician coastal belt with those cities named in the military itineraries. With the two exceptions where scholars agreed, the identification of Tarsa, an important administrative and cult center in the Kizzuwatna region with its temples and administrative buildings, as Tarsus and Adaniya to Adana¹⁴, all the other mounds in the Cilician region need to be excavated, to reveal written documents which almost certainly will be exposed in future excavation. For example there are several disputed assumptions concerning locations such as: Soli (Ellipra, Sallusa, Saliya), Ura (Olba, Hyria/Huria, Corycos, Kelenderis, Yumuktepe), Kelenderis (Saranduwa), Aruna (Olba), Yumuktepe (Pitura, Ura)¹⁵. Lamiya (Lamos) and Pitura, that are mentioned in the Sunassura Treaty and are located on the coast from its narration, are thought to have been

⁶ Bryce 1986, 26.

⁷ Hawkins 1995, 54 n. 194; Singer 2000, 27-8 n. 10.

⁸ Hawkins 1995, 61.

⁹ Jasink 2001, 51.

¹⁰ Symington 2001, 174.

¹¹ Jasink 2001, 51.

¹² Garstang - Gurney 1959, 56-61; Dinçol *et al.* 2000, 12.

¹³ Bryce 1998, 364; Jasink 2001, 54.

¹⁴ Yakar 2001, 40.

¹⁵ see Hawkins 1995, 56-7; Bryce 1998, 364; Ünal 2000, 57; Yağcı 2001, 161-2; Yakar 2001, 42 for further discussion see Dinçol *et al.* 2000, 14.

the important harbor cities of Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntassa¹⁶. However, Ura became important in the 13th century, especially from the reign of Hattusili III or earlier¹⁷. Ura, according to a letter sent from the Hittite court to the Ugaritic king Niqmaddu III or Ammurapi, was a large equipped harbor which could contain 2,000 kor of grain (c. 450 tones) that was transported from Mukis¹⁸. The large capacity of this harbor indicates Ura was one of the most important centers on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, as far as the distribution of goods especially where grains and minerals are concerned¹⁹. Furthermore, Lasti, where the name is known but the location is unknown, was a large harbor where more than 100 ships could dock²⁰, a harbor like Ura.

As is mentioned above, the information concerning the location and the commercial and economic potential of cities on the Lukka-Tarhuntassa- Kizzuwatna route is limited. The shipwrecks such as at Uluburun near Kaş and at Cape Gelidonya near Finike provide both detailed information and an overall summary of the international trade carried out on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. Lead isotope analysis of the metal ingots of varied shape from the Uluburun shipwreck, which is thought to have carried prestige goods, shows these ingots came from various sources. For example, it is reported the ingots of tin came from ores found in the Taurus mountains in southern Anatolia and also from Central Asia and that the lead weights, for fishing nets, came from ore working sites in the Taurus mountains and from Lavrion in Greece²¹. Such information, verifying the long-distance trade in goods has an important role in determining ancient trade routes, as well as showing the role of Kizzuwatna in international trade, particularly for the mining of rich metal ores. Despite the limited number of iron samples from the Hittite period, there is evidence they used iron, they controlled iron workings and industry and they stored the metal. Kizzuwatna was one of the storage centers, as according to KBo I 14, a letter written by Hattusili III, most probably to an Assyrian king, this is clearly indicated²². It is known that the Bolkar Mountains (*Zaparasna?* or *Sarlaimmi?*) situated between the Hatti land and Kizzuwatna, had rich ores of copper, silver and tin²³. Vineyards, herding, leather working and felt-making, carpentry and large scale ceramic manufacturing were amongst the important economic activities of the Hittite/Kizzuwatna region²⁴. The international port of Ura in the 13th century B.C. was a crucial entrepot for the grain trade on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, merchants from Ura, controlled by the state moreover, could sustain their maritime commercial activities. However, the perishable trade goods due to their very nature, will not be present amongst other archaeological finds.

The Identity of the Merchants

Who were these merchants? Merchants in the Late Bronze Age might have a dual mission. In addition to being traders (*tamkaru*), merchants had a diplomatic mission with the exchange of gifts between palaces; they were, thus, supported by states. Trade ships either followed a 'directional' route as it was case with the Uluburun shipwreck, or they might sail on free trade routes

¹⁶ Taffet 2001, 132; Yakar 2001, 42.

¹⁷ Hoffner 1967-1968, 37-38.

¹⁸ Bryce 1998, 365.

¹⁹ Yağcı 2001, 163.

²⁰ Lemaire 1993, 228; Taffet 2001, 133.

²¹ French 1993, 157; Pulak 2004, 81-2.

²² Muhly *et al.* 1985, 71.

²³ Dinçol *et al.* 2000, 13; Yakar 2001, 41.

²⁴ Gates 2001, 143.

as 'freelance' merchants as those of the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck did²⁵. Evidence of these two types is observable on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. Ura, on the other hand, is considered to have been one of the 'gateway communities'²⁶, an entrepot from where goods were distributed.

The identity of the merchants and their affiliations in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the merchants on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, remain disputed. There was an increase in the circulation of commercial goods related to increases in both the population and settlements during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.²⁷. Bass rejects the arguments put forward by H. Kantor in *"The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium B.C."*, arguing that the primary sources were not utilized and there was a Minoan-Mycenaean bias to the argument as Kantor had asserted that Mycenaean craftsmen, merchants and seamen were the sole actors in East-West trade. While commenting on these commercial activities, Bass lists the names of the goods transported (for instance, resin, copper, tin, glass, ivory) and he claims that Canaanite pottery for resin were transported to Egypt by Syrians. Frescoes and Egyptian relief's provide evidence for this claim while the depictions of Aegean traders are limited to only six tombs depicting Minoans from the reigns of Hatshepshut, Thutmosis III and Amenthop II. The recently excavated frescoes (Aegean and Cycladic) at Tell el-Daba'a/Avaris²⁸, together with the frescoes of Tel Kabri, also depict Minoans. These artifacts illustrate the relationship of the Cretan temple-palaces with the East, covering the Euphrates-Tigris region, the Levant and the Egypt²⁹, however the Mycenaeans are invisible in trade. In the Amarna letters and in the records that relate commercial activity, the names of Egyptians, Hittites, Babylonians and of other Near Eastern princes and the King of Alasiya are cited but there is however, no trace of any king of Mycenae nor of his representative. Whatever the identity of these merchants might be, it is obvious that craftsmen were circulating in the Levant, Egypt, along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route and in the Aegean region. Bass claims that the merchants active on the East-West commercial route were of Syrian origin and supports his argument by reference to the Semites depicted by Homer as seamen merchants and blacksmiths³⁰. Within this framework, the written sources seem to strengthen the proposition that merchants plying the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route were affiliated to the Hittites (for instance at Ura) and to the Ugarit Kingdom, the vassal of the Hittites. The Uluburun wreck from the 13th century B.C. (after 1305 B.C.) and the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck from the 12th century B.C. (most probably from the end of the 13th century) indicates the importance of the coastal route in this itinerary. According to Bass, these wrecks provide us with many important details concerning trade, metallurgy, glass, writing, music, metrology, literature and ship building in the Late Bronze Age. There are many claims as to the starting points and routes taken by these ships as these ships are understood to have begun their journeys from ports in Syria-Palestine or from Cyprus³¹.

The lack of evidence of any wreck between Gazipaşa and the Syrian frontier along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route illuminating the role of the region should not obscure, from an archaeological perspective, the commercial importance at that time of this route. There has been only limited research on shipwrecks off the Kizzuwatna coast. However, finds from excavations in the mounds dated to the 2nd millennium B.C. in Cilicia Pedias can be understood to indicate the

²⁵ Cline 1994, 85-88.

²⁶ Cline 1994, 87.

²⁷ Bass 1998, 183.

²⁸ Knapp 1998, 197.

²⁹ Niemeier - Niemeier 1998, 78 ff. 93, 96.

³⁰ Bass 1998, 189.

³¹ Bass 1998, 188.

commercial activity of the region. The only evidence of maritime trade along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route is the Aydıncık wreck and the anchor found in the depths of Yılanlı Ada³² which is comparable to the Uluburun examples.

Ugarit/Mukis is the most important center, which can be considered the landing mark of the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route within the Eastern Mediterranean. Ugarit was a vassal kingdom under Hittite rule, protecting the southern border-coast of the Hittite empire, which was annexed to the imperial territory following the battle of Qadesh at the beginning of the 13th century. The campaigns of Tuthalia IV and Suppiluliuma II to Alasiya (Cyprus) are the consequence of Hittite ambition and their policy of expansion³³ and this is also directly related to the famine, which made Ura indispensable, for the import of grain for bread. In the 13th century, grain became extremely scarce throughout the Hittite empire and this scarcity began during the reign of Hattusili III. We know that Hattusili sent his prince Hesmi/Hismi Sarumma to Egypt to procure grain³⁴. The inscription of Merneptah at Karnak that records his victory over the Libyans and Meryre, clearly states that an ample quantity of grain was sent to the Hittite land³⁵.

The Lukka people are noteworthy amongst the allies of the Libyans who attacked Egypt during Merneptah's reign. The Lukka people were looters and their posture seems to have affected the Hittite demand for grain from Egypt. The Lukka people were most probably threatening the ships transporting grain from both Egypt and the Levant along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. KUB XXI 6+6a, Hattusili's annals, can be read as indicating the hostility of the Lukka people. It is apparent that daring enemies were marching from the East to the West i.e., from the mouth of the Kalykadnos to Pamphylia and then inland to Kuwalapassa (*Colbasa*). This route covers a large area including the Tarhuntassa and Lukka coasts. On the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route in the Mediterranean region there were two forces which seem to have been controlled by the Hittites: the loyal Ugarit fleets and the unreliable Lukka fleets. During the 13th century the Hittites used the Ugarit fleets as a substitute for their army and the main reason for this was Hittite economic problems. The Hittite, Egyptian, Cypriot and Ugarit people were collaborating in economic and commercial fields³⁶.

The importance of the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route reached its apogee in the 13th century BC, when the Hittite army was replaced by naval forces. The Hittites did not tolerate any foreign forces on the route Egypt-Ugarit/ Mukis-Ura that would have interfered with Hittite access to grain supplies. The last Hittite King, Suppiluliuma II, fought against numerous enemies (the Sea People/the Lukka looters) on the Mediterranean coast and this was a defensive policy, requiring to some extent, collaboration with Ugarit³⁷.

Fleets

Fleets are one of the most important issues concerning the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. The Hittites were not seafarers and they might have become interested in fleets following their annexation of Kizzuwatna or after they had become suzerain of Ugarit, as it was a center of international trade. For the Hittites, who had to depend on the Ugarit fleet, the ships used for military and

³² Evrin 2003, 117.

³³ Bryce 1998, 356-7.

³⁴ Bryce 1998, 357.

³⁵ Bryce 1998, 365.

³⁶ Singer 2000, 22-4.

³⁷ Singer 2000, 27.

other purposes were never of a sufficient number. A noteworthy source of Ugarit origin includes the list of ships that belonged to King Karkamis. These ships were of poor quality such that they could not even embark. In this inscription, 14 ships from Ugarit harbor, as well as their captains, a Sidonian and a man of Akko and their owners are listed. Written sources report that Ugarit ships carried cargoes of grain. A letter written by the King of Karkamis to the Queen of Ugarit states that the Hittites wanted the Ugarit ships to be always ready to sail and that they permitted them to sail to more distant places.

As can clearly be seen, as far as maritime activities, crew and fleet centers were concerned; the Canaanite centers and merchants were of primary importance in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, inscriptions provide written evidence for the presence of merchants from Ura, private or under the control of the Hittites, who stayed at Ugarit for at least 6 months and with their large capacity for goods threatened the King of Ugarit³⁸. On the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route in the 13th century B.C. another maritime force was the Lukka people who were indirectly helping the Hittites on the Mediterranean coast against their enemies. However, the Lukka people were considered to be untrustworthy allies by the Hittites³⁹. It is known that Lukka ships attacked Alasiya and the Egyptian coasts and the Lukka people were cited amongst the Sea People i.e., Shardana, Ekwesh, Teresh, Shekelesh, the allies of the Libyans who attacked Egypt in ca.1220 B.C. Correspondence between Hammurabi, King of Ugarit and the King of Alasiya report that Ugarit was attacked and destroyed by their enemies whilst the Ugarit ships were in Lukka. Most probably the Ugarit fleets, allies of the Hittites, were on a campaign to Arzawa and the Lukka shores to protect the Hatti lands which were menaced, but this alliance failed since their own countries were also attacked⁴⁰.

Another document concerning the Lukka fleets records the conquest of Cyprus. The semi-autonomous king of South-Western Anatolia, Madduwatta, a contemporary of Tuthalia IV and Annuvanda III, conquered Alasiya with the help of Attarsiya, the king of Ahhiyawa and the men of Piggaya and in the letter he wrote, he recorded that Alasiya belonged to him and that they were exhorted to pay tribute to him⁴¹.

Embargoes

There is evidence of trade embargoes established by the Hittites during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. For example, the letter written by Tuthalia IV to the Ammurite King Saugamuwa is an order. Tuthalia IV in this letter had an authoritarian attitude, establishing an embargo without any flexibility.

“As the king of Assyria is the enemy of My Sun, so must he also be your enemy. No merchant of yours is to go to the Land of Assyria, and you must allow no merchant of Assyria to enter your land or pass through your land. If, however an Assyrian merchant comes to your land, seize him and send him to My Sun. Let this be your obligation under divine oath! And because I, My Sun, am at war with the king of Assyria, when I call up troops and chariotry you must do likewise (Tuthalia: Saugamuwa Treaty, IV 12-20)⁴².

³⁸ Lemaire 1998, 228-30.

³⁹ Sandars 1985, 140.

⁴⁰ Sandars 1985, 142-3.

⁴¹ Bryce 1998, 147.

⁴² Bryce 1998, 350.

It is also claimed that the Hittites had a similar kind of embargo which prohibited the circulation of Aegean products in Cilicia and Northern Assyria/Syria⁴³. Within this framework, an embargo was placed upon the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route.

Archaeological Evidence

The shores of the Levant had experienced the transfers of people, of commercial goods and of ideas before these relationships were established with the Aegean. In front of them was a large sea full of adventures without a single island and behind them were forces such as those of Ebla, Mitanni and Babylon. The balance of forces was reversed when Mursili I (1620-1595 B.C.) invaded Babylon towards the end of the 17th century B.C. Alalah, Ugarit and the North of the Levant were then controlled by the Hittites. Hankey provides detailed information on the trade goods, explaining the relationship of the Levant with both Cyprus and the Aegean. According to the archaeological evidence of Levant commercial relationships, although not very regular, relations began with the Minoans in the Middle Bronze Age and in LMIB and LHIIA, new efforts were made. Aegean products first effectively entered the Levant market in LHIIIA1. Trade developed in LHIIIA2 and continued into LH/LMIIB. This commercial activity was primarily a Mycenaean initiative and products were mainly exported to Cyprus. Cyprus had a much older relationship to the Levant than she had with the Aegean. Aegean ceramics in the Levant were mostly accompanied by LCI and LCII, but are slightly less in number. Aegean ceramics in the Levant were found in palaces or in official contexts and they were mostly excavated from official warehouses and from temples. Aegean and Cypriot cups were amongst the most popular grave offerings and Late Cypriot base rings, white slips, shaved ware were *à la mode* ⁴⁴.

The transportation of these products increased during the 13th century B.C. and the distribution of LHIIIB ceramics and Cypriot cups became possible through the Cilician harbours and examples were found in both the Uluburun and the Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route⁴⁵.

Cypriot wares are among the most important archaeological finds indicating the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route in Cilicia Pedias. WSII milk bowls, the repertoire of spindle bottles, the pilgrim flask with lentoid body and the arm shaped cups termed RLWM ware were distributed through the whole of the Levant and they were common on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route⁴⁶. WSII cups were excavated at Mersin (Yumuktepe, Soli-Pompeiopolis) and Kinet Höyük in Cilicia and from the Uluburun shipwreck on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route⁴⁷. RLWM ware was amongst the most popular ceramics in international trade⁴⁸ and it was common throughout the whole Mediterranean and especially in Cyprus and Assyria. Although Eriksson's publications⁴⁹ claim that their place of manufacture was Cyprus, petrographic and chemical analyses of examples from Kilisetepe suggest that Cilicia Trachea (Ovacık, Anamur) may well have been one of the production centers⁵⁰.

⁴³ Cline 1994, 72-3.

⁴⁴ Hankey 1993, 101-8.

⁴⁵ French 1975, 155-6 fig. 1; Yakar 2001, 42.

⁴⁶ For distribution see Todd 2001, 204.

⁴⁷ Karageorghis 2002, 32.

⁴⁸ Todd 2001, fig. 1.

⁴⁹ Eriksson 1991; Eriksson 1993.

⁵⁰ Symington 2001, 170.

Another pottery type, probably transported along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route was monochrome “drab ware”, a common type of kitchen ware, with bird leg potmarks. Gates states that this kind of “drab ware” was mass produced under state control both at the center and at the periphery during Hittite rule. These pots with varied bird leg potmarks (grooves, triangles and other stamped marks) incised before firing may be considered as being amongst the other products which were exchanged commercially along the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. Different types of pottery with potmarks have been widely excavated from the Late Bronze Age levels of several coastal cities such as Kinet Höyük⁵¹, Tarsus⁵² and Soli⁵³ in Cilicia and at Milet (on a pithos) in the West⁵⁴.

LHIIC Period

After the attacks of the Sea People and the natural disaster a new period began. The populations of Troy, Miletus and Tarsus increased during the 12th century B.C.⁵⁵. 875 sherds of LHIIC ceramics were excavated at Tarsus from the LHIIB level. This is a significant number and it indicates a new era had begun in Cilicia in the Post-Hittite period⁵⁶. The Carian and Lukka people menacing the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route played an important role in this change⁵⁷. All the palaces of the LBA were destroyed at the same time as those of Ugarit and then Mycenaean IIIC ceramics spread all over the Eastern Mediterranean from Cilicia towards Palestine and Cyprus. The presence of Mycenaean IIIC ceramics, although there were no new settlers in the region, provides evidence to show the end of the Hittite embargo. A transition period then begins in ceramics from the monochrome type to bichrome pottery⁵⁸.

LHIIC provides the most remarkable archaeological material illustrating the commercial relationships of Kizzuwatna with Crete, Cyprus, the Levant, the Eastern Aegean and the Western Anatolian coasts, with Cyprus the most important partner in these relationships. According to Mountjoy’s detailed account of the Mycenaean pottery excavated from the LBAII b level at Tarsus, samples of LHIIC from Tarsus have many parallels with those from Attica and the Argolid as local products⁵⁹. Mycenaean IIIC samples from Soli may also be classified in this same group⁶⁰. The period of LHIIC may thus be considered a liberated one, when Hittite control and Hittite trade embargoes were lifted.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route can be analyzed from both military and commercial perspectives. The inland regions of the Hulaya River land, Lukka, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna may be considered the center. In the 14th and 13th centuries the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route was

⁵¹ Gates 2001, 137.

⁵² Goldman 1956, fig. 319.

⁵³ Yağcı 2003.

⁵⁴ Niemeier 1998, 37 fig. 14.

⁵⁵ Drews 1993, 44-5.

⁵⁶ Mee 1998, 145.

⁵⁷ Sandars 1985, 153.

⁵⁸ Singer 2000, 24.

⁵⁹ Mountjoy 2005, 85-6.

⁶⁰ Yağcı 2006.

under Hittite-Tarhuntassa control⁶¹. There were embargoes established against the Assyrians and the Ahhiyawa people. Despite the increase in the local populations due to the socio-economic policies of the Hittites in the Kizzuwatna region in the 14th and 13th centuries, the Hittites failed to control the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, along which the Ugarit-Mukis fleets at one end and Lukka's forces at the other, played an important role. In this failure to control this route, the Lukka people (including Lycanoia, Pisidia and Lycia) generally labeled as rebellious invaders, pirates and looters, who sometimes co-operated with the Ahhiyawa people, had a crucial role and, in the Egyptian sources, the Lukka people are cited amongst the Sea Peoples.

The Südburg and Nişantaş inscriptions successively narrate, in a self conscious manner, the campaigns of Suppiluliuma to Western Anatolia in the last years of the Hittite period. The problem with these inscriptions is, I think, not their reliability but rather their content. It is difficult to determine whether the Hittites attacked Tarhuntassa as a consequence of an internal conflict, or did they aim to prevent the Lukka People from moving inland⁶²? Singer (2000: 27) asserts that this latter suggestion is the more appropriate and he compares the battle of the Hittites to Rameses III's battle against the Sea people, narrated in the Medinet Habu inscriptions.

I suppose that the failure of Hatti and Ugarit, although they were co-operating against enemies coming from the sea, was directly related to the rebellion of a rooted ethnic community in Anatolia, i.e., Lukka-Luwi people, on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route. This campaign mentioned above, continued after the triumph of Tarhuntassa, towards the inner areas of Kizzuwatna⁶³. Although the Kizzuwatna region mainly contained an ethnic population of Hurrians and Luwians, the revolts of the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups of Luwian origin without a regular governmental structure and speaking Luwian, who were spread over Classical Lycia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia and Cilicia to the East⁶⁴, can be understood as being the essential reason for this campaign. This was an expected result from the new southern policy, including the whole Kizzuwatna-Lukka route as well as a measure taken against the Luwi-Lukka problem. In the Sunassura Treaty, the Kizzuwatna people are described as Hittite cattle:

*"Now the people of the Land of Kizzuwadna are Hittite cattle and choose their stable. From the Hurrian they separated and shifted allegiance to My Sun. The Hurrians sinned against the Land of Hatti, but against the Land of Kizzuwadna he sinned particularly. The Land of Kizzuwadna rejoices very much indeed over its liberation. Now the Land of Hatti and the Land of Kizzuwadna are free from their obligations. Now I, my Sun, have restored the land of Kizzuwadna to its independence"*⁶⁵.

The disturbance of Hittite policies persisted in the region during the reign of Hattusili III. The transportation of 7000 Hittite people under the leadership of Piyaramadu from the Lukka land to the Ahhiyawa land, recorded in the Tawagalawa letter (KUB XIV 3 iii 7-17), can be cited amongst the evidence for this⁶⁶. Within this framework, it is obvious that this Hittite southern strategy did not work on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, particularly in the Lukka region.

The rebellion of the Lukka lands is seen as a revolt against colonization⁶⁷. If we take into consideration the fact that Tarhuntassa was a Luwian state founded by Muwatalli II in the early

⁶¹ Hawkins 1995, 52.

⁶² Hoffner 1992, 49-51.

⁶³ Singer 2000, 27.

⁶⁴ Bryce 1986, 4; Bryce 2003, 31-2.

⁶⁵ Goetze 1940, 39.

⁶⁶ Bryce 2003, 85.

⁶⁷ Bryce 1998, 320-1.

13th century⁶⁸, the role played by the Lukka people as one of the sea tribes in the collapse of the Hittite Empire can be contextualized.

The attacks of Suppiluliuma on Tarhuntassa and Alasiya should in fact have been a breakthrough in ensuring protection against an ever growing menace. It may be also considered as the decomposition of the ethnic elements that constituted the Hittite community, shaken by the revolts in the southern, central and western buffer zones (Assuwa, Lukka, Tarhuntassa, Kizzuwatna). In brief, the rebellions of the Luwian people situated in the eastern part of the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route, spread to the central government of the Hittites and caused the Empire to collapse and then the dark ages began in Anatolia.

When the archaeological evidence excavated from the Kizzuwatna region is combined with the cargoes from the Uluburun and Gelidonya shipwrecks, we may assert that RLWM cups, LHI-IIB/C, Cypriot ware and stamped local ceramics and minerals (especially lead and tin according to finds from the Uluburun wreck) were trade goods. In addition, goods such as oil, perfume flasks, grains and livestock were also transported. For instance, a few decades prior to the attacks of the Sea People and the Ahhiyawa, at the end of the 13th century, goods such as gold, copper, gayatum (probably a kind of grain) and some cups, as well as harnesses, horse equipments and linen etc were extracted from Alasiya by the Hittites⁶⁹ and this list of goods can be understood as indicating the flow of goods between Cyprus and Cilicia and represents a parallel to the cargoes from the Cape Gelidonya and the Uluburun shipwrecks. Furthermore, Minoan frescoes excavated in the Near East reveal traces of the circulation of skilled craftsmen as well.

There are several assumptions for trade models in the Eastern Mediterranean region and the Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks also provide information concerning this issue. We may claim the existence of trade models such as free (*Cape Gelidonya*) and gateway (entrepot) communities (*Uluburun*) on the Kizzuwatna-Lukka route.

⁶⁸ Bryce 2003, 32.

⁶⁹ Knapp 1980, 46.

Bibliography

- Bass 1998 G. F. Bass, "Sailing between the Aegean and the Orient" in: Cline 1998, 183-191.
- Bryce 1986 T. R. Bryce, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources* (1986).
- Bryce 1998 T. R. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (1998).
- Bryce 2003 T. R. Bryce, "History", in: Melchert 2003, 27-127.
- Cline 1994 E. H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea. International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. BAR International Series 591 (1994).
- Cline 1998 E. H. Cline - D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium. Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium Cincinnati, 18-20 April 1997* (1998).
- Dinçol *et al.* 2000 A. Dinçol - J. Yakar - B. Dinçol - A. Taffet, "The Borders of the Appanage Kingdom of Tarhuntašša - A Geographical and Archaeological Assesement", *Anatolica* XXVI, 2000, 1-29
- Drews 1993 R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age. Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200* (1993).
- Eriksson 1991 O. K. Eriksson, "Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: A Product of Late Bronze Age Cyprus", in: J. A. Barlow *et al.* (eds.) *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record* (1991) 81-96.
- Eriksson 1993 O. K. Eriksson, "Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology CIII (1993).
- Evrin 2003 V. Evrin, "Kilikia Korsanları", *Atlas* 118, 2003, 108-120.
- French 1975 E. French, "A reassesment of mycenaean pottery at Tarsus", *AnatSt* XXV, 1975, 53-75.
- French 1993 E. French, "Turkey and the East Aegean", in: Zerner *et al.* 1993, 155-58.
- Garstang - Gurney 1959 J. Garstang - O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959).
- Gates 2001 M. H. Gates, "Potmarks at Kinet Höyük and the Hittite Ceramic Industry", in: Jean *et al.* 2001, 137-157.
- Goetze 1940 A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (1940).
- Hankey 1993 V. Hankey, "Pottery as Evidence for Trade", in: Zerner *et al.* 1993, 101-108.
- Hawkins 1995 J. D. Hawkins, "The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)", *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 3 (1995).
- Hoffner 1992 H. A. Hoffner, "The Last Days of Khattusha", in: W. A. Ward *et al.* (eds.), *The Crisis Years: The 12th Century B.C. - From Beyond the Danube to the Tigris* (1992) 46-52.
- Hoffner 1967-1968 H. A. Hoffner, "A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (1967-1968).
- Jasink 2001 M. Jasink, "Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntašša", in: Jean *et al.* 2001, 47-56.
- Jean *et al.* 2001 E. Jean - A. M. Dinçol - S. Durugönül (eds.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et Pouvoirs Locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.C. - 4^e siècle ap. J.C.)*, *Actes de la Table Ronde International d'Istanbul 2-5 novembre 1999* (2001).
- Karageorghis 2002 V. Karageorghis, *Early Cyprus. Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (2002).
- Knapp 1980 A. B. Knapp, "KBo 1 26: Alašiya and Ḫatti", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1980, 43-7.
- Knapp 1998 A. B. Knapp, "Mediterranean Bronze Age Trade", in: Cline 1998, 193-205.
- Lemaire 1993 A. Lemaire, "Ougarit, Oura et Cilicie vers la Fin du XIII^e s. Av. J.-C.", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 25, 1993, 227-236.
- Mee 1998 C. Mee, "Anatolia and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age", in: Cline 1998, 137-146.
- Melchert 2003 H. C. Melchert (ed.), *The Luwians* (2003).
- Mountjoy 2005 P. A. Mountjoy, "The Mycenaean Pottery from the 1934-39 Excavation at Tarsus", in: Özyar 2005, 83-134.
- Muhly *et al.* 1985 J. D. Muhly - R. Maddin - T. Stech - E. Özgen, "Iron in Anatolia and the Nature of the Hittite Iron Industry", *AnatSt* XXXV, 1985, 67-84.
- Niemeier 1998 W. D. Niemeier, "The Mycenaeans", in: G. Seymour *et al.* (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE* (1998) 17-61.
- Niemeier - Niemeier 1998 A. Niemeier - W.-D. Niemeier, "Minoan Frescoes in the Eastern Mediterranean", in: Cline 1998, 69-99.

- Oren 2000 D. Oren, *The Sea People and Their World*. Monograph 108 (2000).
- Otten 1988 H. Otten, "Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV", *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, Beiheft 1 (1988).
- Özyar 2005 A. Özyar (ed.), *Field Seasons 2001-3 of the Tarsus-Gözlükule Interdisciplinary Research Project* (2005).
- Pulak 2004 C. Pulak, "İhtiyar Akdeniz. Uluburun Batığı", *Arkeo-Atlas* 3, 2004, 78-89.
- Sandars 1985 N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean* (rev. ed.) (1985).
- Singer 2000 I. Singer, "New Evidence on the End of the Hittite Empire", Oren (2000) 21-33.
- Symington 2001 D. Symington, "Hittites at Kilisetepe", in: Jean *et al.* 2001, 167-184.
- Taffet 2001 A. Taffet, "The Likely Locations of Middle and Late Bronze Age Harbors in Cilicia", in: Jean *et al.* 2001, 127-135.
- Todd 2001 I. A. Todd, "Early Connections of Cyprus with Anatolia", in: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus* (2001) 203-213.
- Ünal 2000 A. Ünal, "Çukurova'nın Antik Devirlerde Taşıdığı İsimler ile Fiziki ve Tarihi Coğrafyası", in: E. Artun *et al.* (haz.), *Efsane'den Tarihe, Tarihten Bugüne Adana: Köprü Başı* (2000) 19-41.
- Yağcı 2001 R. Yağcı, "The Importance of Soli in the Archaeology of Cilicia in the Second Millenium B.C.", in: Jean 2001, 159-165.
- Yağcı 2003 R. Yağcı, "The Stratigraphy of Cyprus WS II & Mycenaean Cups in Soli Höyük Excavations", in: B. Fischer *et al.* (eds.) *Identifying Changes: The Transition from Bronze to Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions*. Proceedings of the International Workshop Istanbul, November 8-9, 2002 (2003) 93-106.
- Yağcı 2006 R. Yağcı, "Soli (Kilikia) Miken IIIC Kapları", *Studies Presented to C. Özgünel* (2000) (forthcoming).
- Zerner *et al.* 1993 C. Zerner *et al.* (eds.), "The Levant from the Orontes to Egypt", *Proceedings of the International Conference Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age* (1993).