THE ARZAWA LANDS. THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF IZMIR AND ITS ENVIRONS DURING LATE BRONZE AGE IN THE LIGHT OF NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

ARZAWA ÜLKELERİ. YENİ ARKEOLOJİK ARAŞTIRMALAR IŞIĞINDA İZMİR VE ÇEVRESİNİN GEÇ BRONZ ÇAĞINDAKİ TARİHSEL COĞRAFYASI

Makale Bilgisi | **Article Info**

Başvuru: 16 Mart 2020 | Received: March 16, 2020
Hakem Değerlendirmesi: 17 Mart 2020 | Peer Review: March 17, 2020
Kabul: 01 Aralık 2020 | Accepted: December 01, 2020

DOI : 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

Recep MERİÇ *

ABSTRACT

The core of Arzawa (Arzawa Minor) before Mursili II is defined as the maritime Ephesos/Apasa region extending from Mt. Arinnanda (Mykale), including also the inland settlement Puranda (Bademgediği Tepe).The boundaries of Arzawa Minor were actually laid out generally by S. Heinhold - Krahmer and D. J. Hawkins. Nevertheles some minor changes were undertaken in their schemes due to the discovery of new LBA sites and topographical observations in the area.

Kaystros river basin and northern foothills of Mt. Tmolos from Karabel pass to the east seemed to constitute the land of Mira which had a legitimate vassal kingdom after Mursili II and incorporated into Arzawa Minor. Considering the northern foothills of Mt. Tmolos (Boz Dağı) belonging to Mira we have then an important clue to locate the cities of Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa which were fortified and garrisoned by Mursili II on his way from Seha River land back to Mira, following a route from west to east. This was plausibly the same geographic order for the cities of Mira in the texts. Now it seems conceivable to locate these towns along the foothills of Mt. Tmolos (Boz Dağı) after the itinerary of Mursili II with the help of newly discovered LBA sites by the author or by other researchers.

* Prof. Dr., Yaşar Üniversitesi, Yarı Zamanlı Akademik Personel 656 sok. 5/1 Gaziemir, İzmir.,
e-posta: recepmeric104@gmail.com ORCID: 0000-0002-4943-2328
Dr. Z. Simon of Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich was so kind to read my manuscript and help me to provide current publications on the historical geography of Hittite Western Anatolia but also to enlighten and develop my textual, topographical and archaelogical as well as toponymic suggestions. Director of Excavation of Ancient Smyrna Doç. Dr. A. Ersoy has kindly provided all facilities in the "Centre for Archaeological Research and Publication of Izmir and it's Hinterland" to prepare this article for publication. All the maps were prepared and digitilized by T. Zeybek doctoral student at DEU (Dokuz Eylul University) Izmir after my historical and topographical references. The final proof reading of the manuscript has been kindly done by John Thompson from Yaşar University in İzmir.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

New evidence for revising the boundaries of Kuwaliya provided the site for Elmacık near Uşak. The classical site of Kaualia/Kabalia located at Elmacık is related to Kuwaliya. A prehistoric mound with LBA pottery discovered at Elmacık is a hint that the area between Elmacık, Banaz and Akarçay (Astarpa) constituted the upper part of Kuwaliya adjacent partly to the Siyanta River land in the North.

Consequently, this article contributes new information to the historical geography of İzmir and its surroundings in the light of recent archaeological and topographical research.

Keywords: Arzawa/Mira, Late Bronze Age, Mursili II, Seha River land, Kuwaliya

ÖZET

Mursili II öncesinde, Arinnanda dağı (Mykale yarımadası), Apasa/Ephesos'a uzanan kıyı şeridi ve Puranda'yı (Bademgediği Tepe) kapsayan bölgeyi, Büyük Arzawa'dan ayırmak için, kayıtlarda geçmese de olayların akışına göre Hititologlar Küçük Arzawa olarak tanımlarlar. Kaystros (Küçük Menderes) ırmak havzası ve Tmolos dağının (Boz Dağ), Karabel geçidinden başlayarak doğuya uzanan kuzey etekleri, Mursili II tarafından Mira vasal krallığı olarak kurulmuş ve Küçük Arzawa da Mira'nın bünyesine katılmıştır.

Mursili II öncesine ait "Küçük Arzawa" sınırlarını genelde S. Heinhold - Krahmer ve D. Hawkins belirlemişlerdir. Ancak Kaystros (K. Menderes) ovasının ve İç Mira'nın konumunda yeni arkeolojik buluntular ve topoğrafik gözlemlere dayalı olarak değişikliğe gidilmiştir

Mira vasal krallığına ait olasılıkla Tmolos dağının kuzey ve güney eteklerinde konumlanan Arsani, Sarawa, Impa ve Hapanuwa kentlerini Mursili II elden geçirerek düzene sokmuştur. Zira Mursili II Seha ırmak ülkesi dönüşünde Mira'ya varmış yukarıdaki kentleri (olasılıkla batıdan doğuya doğru ilerleyerek) tahkim etmiş ve asker yerleştirmiştir. Daha sonra da metinlerde değinildiği gibi Aura (Emirdağ) yönüne devam etmiş olmalıdır. Mursili II'nin izlediği bu rota coğrafi bir sıralamaya göre metinlere yazılmış ise, bu kentlerin lokalizasyonuna biraz daha yaklaşmış oluruz. Mursili II'nin ele alıp düzenlediği bu Mira kentlerini Hitit metinlerindeki olası coğrafi sıralamaya göre, yeni keşfedilen GTÇ yerleşimleri nedeniyle Tmolos (Boz Dağı) silsilesinin eteklerinde konumlandırması düşünülebilir.

Kuwaliya'nın konumunun ve sınırlarının belirlenmesine katkı sağlayacak bir kanıt ise Uşak yakınındaki Elmacık höyüğüdür. Elmacık'ta bulunmuş Roma dönemine ait yazıtlar, bu yerleşimin Kaualia/Kabalia olarak adlandırıldığını göstermiştir. Elmacık höyüğü GTÇ döneminde yerleşim görmüş ve olasılıkla bu döneme ait bir sur duvarı ile tahkim edilmiştir. Elmacık höyüğü ve etrafındaki yerleşimin Kaualia/Kabalia adını taşıması yörenin Kuwaliya ülkesinin bir parçası olabileceğini gösterir. Bu nedenle Kuwaliya ülkesinin Elmacık, Uşak, Banaz ve Akarçay'ı (Astarpa) içine aldığı ve olasılıkla kuzeyde Siyanta Irmak Ülkesi'ne komşu olduğu söylenebilir.

Sonuç olarak bu makalede yeni arkeolojik ve topoğrafik veriler ışığında İzmir ve çevresinin tarihsel coğrafyasına katkı sunulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arzawa/Mira, Geç Tunç Çağı, Mursili II, Seha Nehir ülkesi, Kuwaliya

INTRODUCTION

The relations between Arzawa and Hatti had begun already under Hattusili I ca. 1650-1620 and Mursili I 1620 - 1590 BC[1]. But it is obscure until Tudhaliya I-II 1400 - 1350 BC. After Suppiluliuma I we have gradually more information about the relations between Arzawa and Hatti. Arzawa consisted from the beginning of several geographic districts or official *lands* i.e. Arzawa Minor, Seha River land - Appawiya, Mira, Mira - Kuwaliya and Hapalla called inclusively Arzawa Major (Arzawa United)[2]. The frontiers of these lands might have been changed somewhat throughout the Arzawan or Hittite rule but presumably not so drastically as it happened after the Hittite invasion of Arzawa (Minor) by Mursili II.

The 14th century BC was the period of the Arzawan supremacy in Western Anatolia. Arzawa consisted of several local kingdoms in Central West Anatolia[3].

Mursili II ended the Arzawan reign towards the end of the 14th century BC and he assigned local kings for Seha River land with Appawiya, Mira and Kuwaliya, Hapalla with a treaty. His new order seems to persist towards the end of the 13th century BC without great change[4]. We learn that he fortified and garrisoned some cities in Mira called[5] Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa, but we don't encounter any more in the Hittite texts the names for example of Arzawa, Apasa and Puranda which were besieged by Mursili II.

It is attemped in this article to discuss the borders of the Arzawan lands before the conquest of Mursili II but also of newly constitued Seha River land and Appawiya, Mira and Kuwaliya and also to try to localize so far not securely identified cities of Mira i.e. Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa. It is also aimed to prepare a series of detailed historical maps with the help of Hittite texts, topographical features i.e. mountain passes, routes, harbours, quays across the rivers, natural frontiers LBA settlements, fortifications, location of lands and their frontiers.

It is hoped that the following historical - topographical and archaeological contribution with various maps may help to increase our understanding of the geography of Central West Anatolia during LBA within the frame work already achieved in Hittite historical documents. The research on the historical geography of Western Anatolia during the Hittite period gained remarkable accelaration among Hittitologists in recent years. This condition brought naturally various identification proposals of geographical names sometimes quite in contrast to each other.

The topography of the region with LBA sites, their distribution and the archaeological finds discovered in or around them were investigated as far as possible in order to evaulate the textual evidence. Especially valuable is the LBA settlement sites with local plain pottery and painted Mycenaean pottery discovered during surveys and excavations (Fig.4).

ARZAWA LANDS

ARZAWA, MIRA

Madduwatta (Fig. 1) was established by Tudhaliya I-II 1400-1350 BC in Siyanta River land[6]. He attacked Arzawa from Siyanta River land and took Arzawa land all for himself[7]. He took probably the route from Çavdarhisar or from Dumlupınar over Bagis (Güre) to Sardis.

Hawkins asserts that "Mira is an inland province near Pedassa Mahuirassa in Suppiluliuma's struggle to expel the Arzawans from the Lower Land and the western marches of the plateau is quite in accord with my scheme[8]". Heinhold-Krahmer[9] is more ongoing to interpret the events happened in the territory between Arzawa and Hatti: She avoids to use "near" for the distance of Mira from Pitassa but prefers "in the proximity of both Arzawa/Mira and Hatti/territory of Hatti". Not mentioning the Astarpa river, Walma, Siyanta river or Siyanta River land in this context may indicate that Pitassa was located further in the east of Aura (Emirdağ) towards Tuz Gölü as asserted by Hawkins[10]. It is therefore hard to imagine that Mira could be located "near" Pitassa quite away Seha river, Kuwaliya and the frontier between Arzawa and Hatti. On the contrary it is clearly recorded that Seha river and Mira were adjacent to each other as Mursili II came back from Seha river to Mira accepting local vassal rulers in both lands.

1 Bryce 2009: 74
2 Hawkins 2020: 348.
3 Hawkins 1998: AS, 48, pp. 1, 8, 14, 15 f.n. 60, 22, 23 and 24.
4 Hawkins 1998: 15.
5 Beckman et al. 2011: 43 AHT 1B § 12.
6 Hawkins 1998: 25 n. 152; Beckman et al. 2011: Madd AHT 3 § 21 (p.85).
7 Beckman et al. 2011: 87 AHT 3 § 22.
8 Hawkins 2020: 354; see also Hawkins 1998, 14 (DS frags 18-20); 22 n. 117.
9 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 66.
10 Hawkins 2020: 361.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

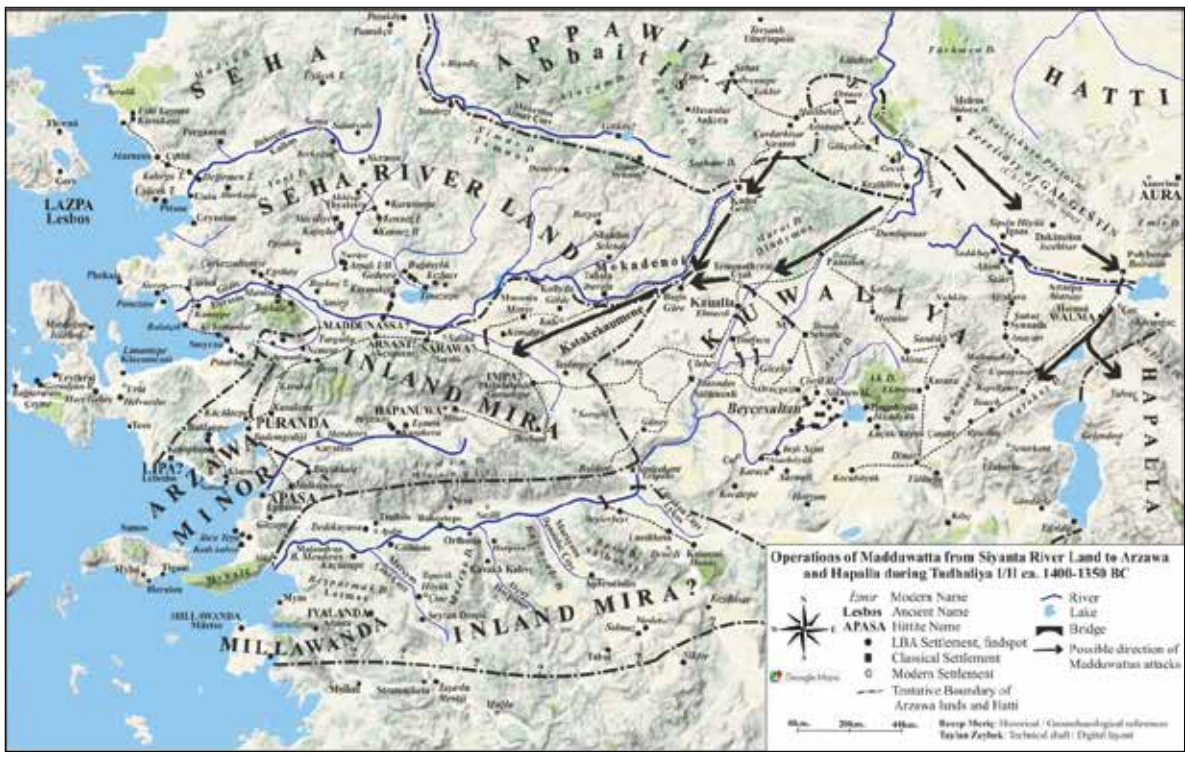


Figure 1: Operations of Madduwatta from Siyanta River Land to Arzawa and Hapalla during Tudhaliya I/II ca. 1400-1350 BC (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4). / *Tudhaliya I/II zamanında (1400-1350 M.Ö.) Madduwatta'nın Siyanta Nehir Ülkesinden Arzawa ve Hapalla'ya seferi.*

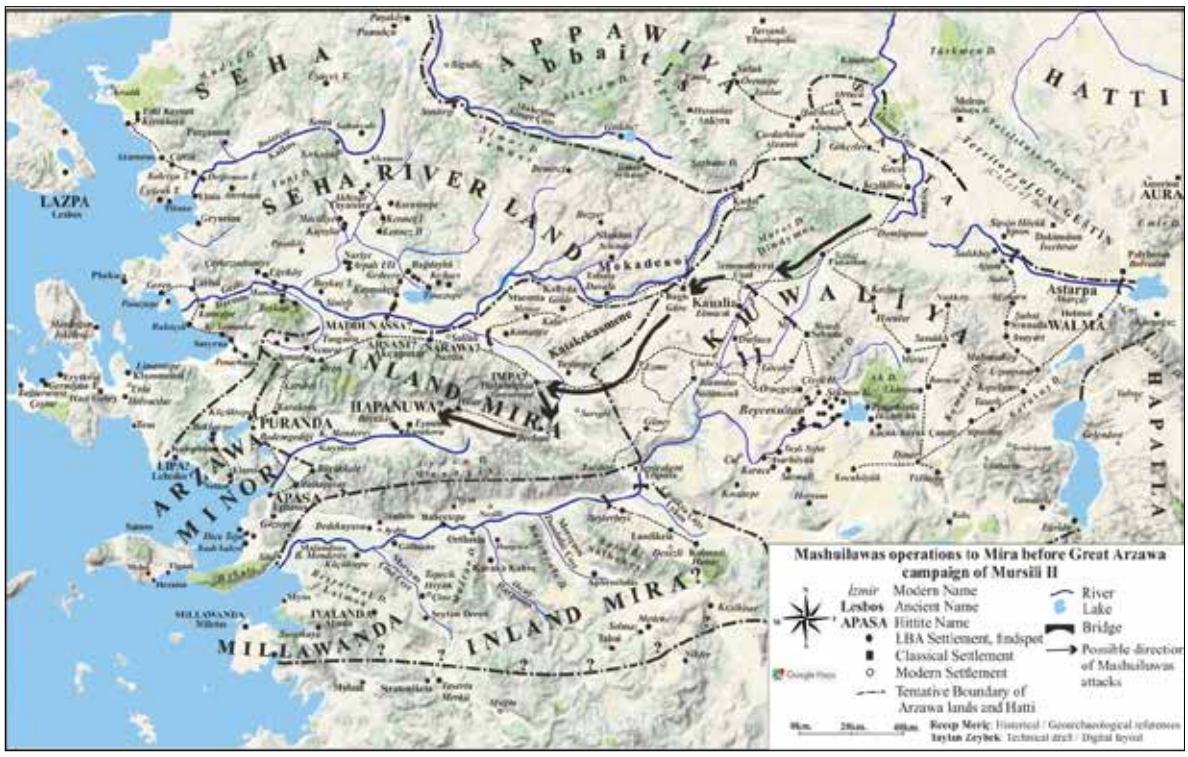


Figure 2: Mashuiluwas operations to Mira before Great Arzawa campaign of Mursili II (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4). / *Mursili II nin Büyük Arzawa'sından önce, Mashuiluwa'nın Mira'ya hareketi.*

Mashuiluwa was king in Mira - Kuwaliya during the reign of Mursili II and Suppiluliuma I had given his daughter Muwatti, sister of Mursili II, in marriage to him. After an attempt at revolt against the Great King he was first forced to flee and then sent off into exile[11]. He was replaced on throne by his adoptive son Kupanta-Kurunta. In the Mashuilawa affair Mira was mentioned among the Arzawa Lands. Mursili II comprised Arzawa Minor including probably the lower Maiandros river basin. Mashuiluwa had already started to fight in the region of *Mira* before the Arzawa expedition and defeated Piyama-Kurunta son of Uhhaziti in *Impa* and kept the city occupied. Mashuiluwa withdrew from *Impa* to *Hapanuwa*[12] as narrated by Mursili II himself. (Fig. 2).

Impa and Hapanuwa are the cities located in Mira to where later Mursili II came back from Seha River. He put order in Mira and then fortified and garrisoned these cities[13]. After defeating Piyama-Kurunta Mashuiluwa went even further to Hapanuwa. After that it is mentioned nearly "half of the land of Mira [supported] Mashuiluwa,…"[14] It is clear from these texts that there is a land in Arzawa named Mira with four cities known before Mursili II where Mashuiluwa defeated and attacked some of them. There upon nearly half of Mira [supported] him. This land of Mira apparently without any legitimacy during Arzawan reign was well known geographic territory which comprised the northern foothills of Mt. Tmolos extending from the Karabel pass to the east and also the Kaystros River basin adjacent to Arzawa Minor in the west. *Impa* was located in the easternmost part of Mira, which was presumably situated in the eastern part of the Kogamos valley, a tributary of Hermos, before ascending the Anatolian plateau at Gavurtepe Alaşehir.

ARZAWA MINOR (RUMP, CORE, PROPER, INDIVIDUAL ARZAWA, ARZAWA (IM ENGEREN SINN)

Heinhold-Krahmer[15] asserts that core Arzawa or Arzawa Minor (*Arzawa im engeren Sinne*) comprises the land ruled by Uhhaziti with its capital at Apasa and its environs near Mt. Arinnanda in the south and Puranda in the north. This distinction is valid before the Arzawa campaign of Mursili II (Fig. 3). Further she asserts that Arzawa Minor was still ruled by Uhhaziti, and it was the borderland of Mira at least during the Mursilis campaign. But the name of Arzawa, Apasa and Puranda were not mentioned anymore in the archives of Hattusa[16].

Bryce[17] defines that "Arzawa Minor" may have formed a kind of original nucleus of the western group. Bryce also discussed the location and relation of Arzawa Minor and Mira before and after the campaigns of Mursili II 1306-5 BC. He thinks clearly that Mira originally an inland state situated in the east of Seha River land and Appawiya and not close to the Aegean which doesn't fit my scheme. Mira is pushed too far to the north and to the east.

Starke wrote already useful notes on the Hittite history and geography of Western Anatolia in Late Bronze Age also considering archaeological results[18] generally agreeing with Gurstang - Gurney[19] and Hawkins placing Apasa at, Ephesos, Seha River land with Hermos (or also together with Kaikos) and Mira in the south of it[20].

Hawkins claims *core Arzawa* included the Kaystros river basin and *Mira* as an inland province of core Arzawa, centering in the basin of the Banaz river, in the area between Uşak, Alaşehir and Buldan[21], but the Banaz river basin as we understand now is more reliably in Kuwaliya because it is situated between Elmacık (*Kabalia/Kaualia<Kuwaliya*) and Akarçay (*Astarpa*) in the upper Maiandros basin. Only in the western part of his proposed area Alaşehir and Buldan area remains fit within Mira.

The northern part of Eşme, Uşak and Banaz i.e. the upper Hermos region belonged to the "Seha River land and Appawiya". Porsuk-Altıntaş Çay: basin, i.e. Siyanta river[22] (land) belonged to Mira-Kuwaliya land. The Siyanta river was hence the border between Hatti and Mira - Kuwaliya after Mursili II (Fig.4). There was apparently no separate king for Mira during the Arzawan period. Mashuiluwa from Mira was mentioned as an *Arzawa man* when he first came to the Hittite palace[23].

After this examination it may be suggested that Arzawa consisted of a) core Arzawa with its capital Apasa, extending from Mt. Arinnanda up to the north and the inland city of Puranda overlooking to the Karabel pass b) Mira was always an inland territory comprising the Kaystros River basin and the Mt. Tmolos from Karabel

[11] Houwink ten Cate, P. H. J. 1979: 274.

[12] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B § 2 (P. 29); Hawkins 1998: 24, n. 143; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 100, n. 26.

[13] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B § 12 (p. 43).

[14] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B § 2 (p. 29): Mashuiluwa occupied the town of Impa, Piyama ^{DKAL} [son] of Uhhaziti. … Mashuiluwa defeated and crushed him. … he indeed went further and [attacked] the town of Hapanuwa. … Half of the land of Mira [supported] Mashuiluwa, … And it became part of the land of Hatti.

[15] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 73, n. 42; Beckman et. al 2011: AHT 1A § 18, § 20.

[16] Heinhold-Krahmer 2004: 49.

[17] Bryce 2003: 40.

[18] Starke 2001: 37-38, 40.

[19] Garstang/Gurney 1959: 83-100.

[20] Starke 2001: 34, Fig. 41 (Map).

[21] Hawkins 2015: 26.

[22] Hawkins 2015: 26.

[23] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 273 and 188, 218.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

pass including the northern foothills extending to the east. My argument is based on the itinerary of Mursili II year 4: He comes from Puranda (Arzawa Minor) probably through Karabel pass to Seha River land. But he does not enter Seha because of the dramatic act of Manapatarhunda's mother and other elderly people, they cast themselves at his feet. For this reason he went back to Mira following an eastern route and fortified and garrisoned the cities of Arsani, Sarawa, Impa, Hapanuwa.

There is a group of LBA fortifications and settlements between Kadı Kalesi (cl. Anaia) and Kuştur including Ilıca Tepe. The capital Apasa was well defended by fortresses both on the coast and on strategic hilltops enclosing Apasa, i.e. Ilıca Tepe[24], Göztepe and Büyükkale.

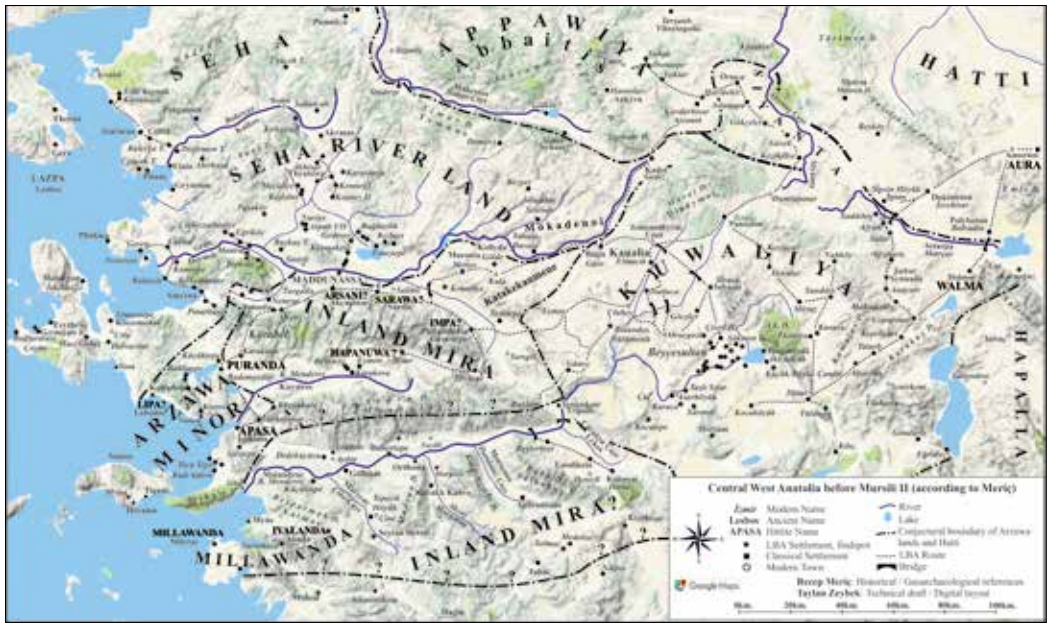


Figure 3: Central West Anatolia before Mursili II (according to Meriç) (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4) / *Meriç'e göre Mursili II 'den önce Orta Batı Anadolu.*

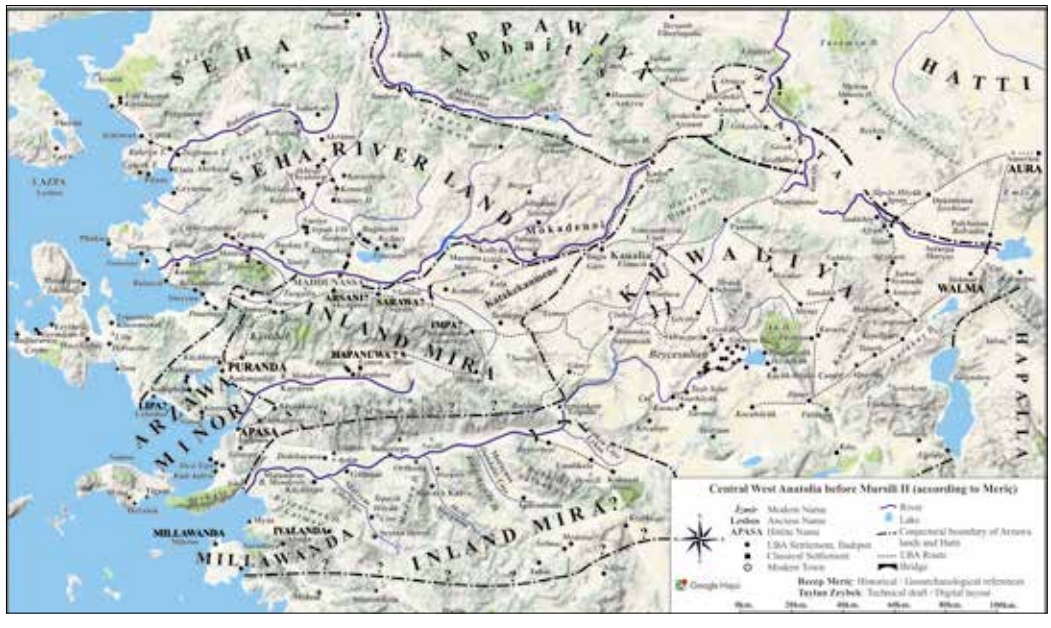


Figure 4: Central West Anatolia after Mursili II (according to Meriç) (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4). / *Meriç'e göre Mursili II 'den sonra Orta Batı Anadolu.*

[24] H. Lohmann suggests recently that the fortification of Ilıcatepe

Cities of Arzawa Minor

Apasa

The discovery of a Mycenaean tomb and stray finds of LH III A1-A2 pottery during excavations on the Ayasuluk hill besides the toponymic similarity of *Apasa>Ephesos,* led commonly to locate here Apasa, the capital of Arzawa. The annals of Mursili II gives some useful information about the king of Arzawa Uhhaziti and conquest of Apasa by the Hittite king:

Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 1A § 17 (p. 15)

…I (Mursili II) entered Apasa, city of Uhhaziti.

Uhhaziti did not offer me resistance but run away from me. He went accross the sea to the islands and remained there.

Garstang and Gurney described from the text above that Apasa, where, the king (Uhhaziti) was living, possessed a *harbour* on the coast of the Aegean Sea. Uhhaziti fled from Apasa accross the sea there he stayed[25]. From this interpretation it is clear to suggest that Apasa had a harbour apparently close to the site.

The possible expansion areas of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and LBA settlements of Apasa were treated and indicated by Konakçı[26] on the present plan of Ayasuluk. They have discovered so far LB III A2 and LH III C pottery. Another major problem at Ayasuluk is that so far they could not notice any clear LBA architectural remains and clear stratigraphy. Ceramics are generally stray finds. This difficulty is explained by excavators that the large area of LBA is totaly buried under the monumental remains of the Byzantine St. John's Basilica.

Puranda

The remains of a fortified LBA site Bademgediği Tepe was discovered and excavated by the author between 1999 and 2007[27]. (Fig. 5) The site was inhabited since the Late Neolithic period until the subgeometric period with intervals. The settlement shows three successive fortification walls. The LBA pottery reflects a flourishing era which corresponds to 14th century BC kingdom of Arzawa which corresponds Level III-V. The site might have played an important role during the expeditions of Mursili II to Arzawa.

Literary sources: Annals of Mursili II in year 3 and 4:

Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 1A § 18, 20, 21, 23

§18 All the land of Arzawa fled: some of the people went to Mt. Arinnanda; some of the people went to the town of Puranda and ensconced themselves in Puranda; and some of the people went across the sea with Uhhaziti….

§20 …Because all of Arzawa had gone up to Puranda […], Tapalazunawali went up to Puranda (too).

§21 When I had finished with the annual festival (at the Astarpa River), I went in battle to Puranda, and Tapalazunawali came down from Puranda, together with (his) infantry and chariotry. He came against me in battle, and he met me in battle on his own ground. …I defeated Tapalazunawali, together with his infantry and his chariotry, and I destroyed them. I pursued him and proceeded to invest Puranda. I bottled [it up] and cut off its water.

§23 I, sent [infantry] and chariotry after him. They hounded him on the road and captured his wife, children, and populace, and [brought] them back.

The traces of destruction on top of Level III in Bademgediği Tepe are related well with the siege of Puranda by Mursili II, which is described vividly and in great detail in his annals: "*He defeated the Arzawan prince Tapalazunawali who came down from Puranda with his infantry and chariotry, besieged Puranda and cut off the water"*.

The remains of the fortification wall, including an inner castle on the summit, rock cut-cut road with chariot wheel rut around the hill, supported with a cyclopean terrace wall built on the slope, similar in the style to the fortification wall of the citadel and rock-cut water channel in the eastern part, probably of the same age, fit rightly to the description of Mursili II (see above). (Fig. 6) A Roman aquaduct supplying water for cl. city Metropolis was just built along the eastern LBA road of Bademgediği . The remains of few rock cut channels are slightly above the roman aquaduct and the LBA road. All these remains related with water may indicate that they *maybe* part of a LBA water system with some sort of wooden installation to drain water from the river of Astraios (Çevlik Çay) from which the Roman aquaduct also supplied water- to a water reservoir or fountain? somewhere on the eastern slope of Bademgediği Tepe (Fig. 6).

belongs to the Chalcolithic Period: Lohmann 2019: 215

[25] Garstang/Gurney 1959: 88.

[26] Konakçı 2016: 142, Fig. 3.

[27] Meriç 2003: 84-89; Meriç 2007: 27-36; Meriç - Öz 2015: 609-626.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009



Figure 5: Aerial view of Bademgediği Tepe from east. (Photograph, Archive of Recep Meriç). / *Bademgediği Tepenin havadan görünüşü. (Fotoğraf Recep Meriç arşivi)*

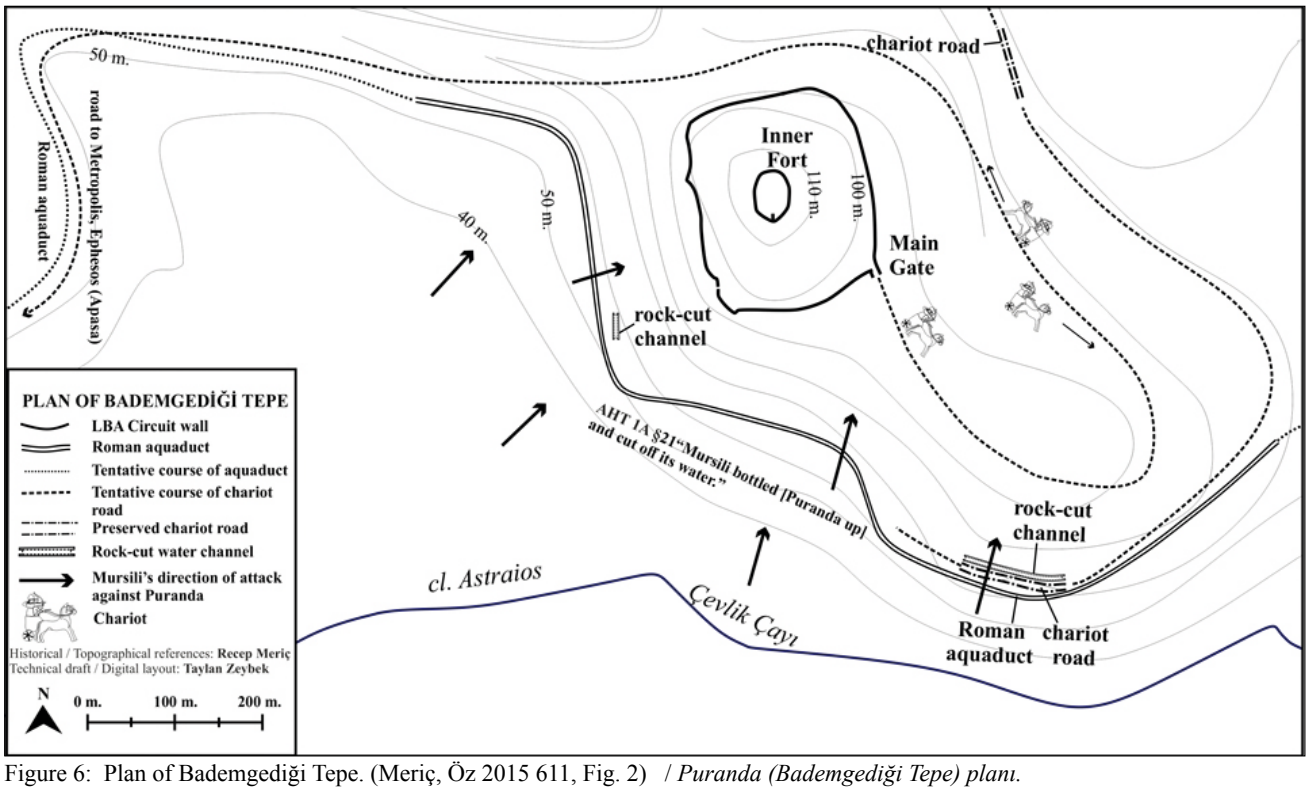


Figure 6: Plan of Bademgediği Tepe. (Meriç, Öz 2015 611, Fig. 2) / *Puranda (Bademgediği Tepe) planı.*

The dating of Level III between 1375 - 1300 BC is based on a LM III A2 fragment and pottery *comparanda* with Troy VIh (Fig.12:14) and Beycesultan III (Fig 12). Bademgediği Level III was ended apparently in some areas by a destructive fire, after which the inhabitants deserted the site ca. 1300 BC until the newcomers arrived ca. 1180/70 BC.

MIRA AFTER MURSILI II

The Arzawa expedition of Mursili II in year 4 (1305 BC) Puranda, Seha River land and Mira

Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 1B § 12 (p. 43):

"From the Seha River he came back to Mira to set it in order. He rebuilt the towns Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and fortified them and provided them with garrisons. He provided Hapanuwa with garrison"[28].

In ca. 1305 Mursili II came back to Mira from Seha River land to set it in order and he rebuilt the towns such as Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa. Mursili II divided Arzawa into three states and assigned vassal kings for each new state after he arrived at Aura: Seha River land with Appawiya, Mira and Kuwaliya and Hapalla. The region of Puranda, Apasa and rest of the Arzawa Minor he incorporated into the new vassal kingdom of Mira. (Fig. 4)

Northern Mira

I propose the whole mass of northern flank of Mt. Tmolos extending from Karabel to Alaşehir - Sarıgöl as northern Mira. In fact Mt. Tmolos as a whole is an obvious natural frontier as Hawkins also pointed out[29]. Mursili II has fortified and garrisoned the *existing* cities in Mira; he did not founded them from the beginning. These cities except Hapanuwa-it is located *further away* than Impa- are close to the Seha River land because he came back to Mira from there. Northern Mira along the northern foothills of Mt. Tmolos beginning from the Karabel pass and extending to the Kogamos (Alaşehir Çayı) basin in the east. The cities of Mira, Arsani, Sarawa, Impa which Mursili II fortified and garrisoned, were well located on the northern fringes of Mt. Tmolos except, Hapanuwa was probably located on the southern foothills of Mt. Tmolos in the Kaystros river.(Fig. 7)

Karabel Pass From Mira to Seha River Land

Several inscribed reliefs of Karabel pass, all with the name of a King of Mira and one of them was deciphered as Tarkasnawa by Hawkins which probably points to a frontier[30]. (Fig. 8) It seems that the whole mountain range of Mt. Tmolos with numerous passes opening to the Kaystros valley, constitued a natural border zone looking

[29] Hawkins 2020: 356.

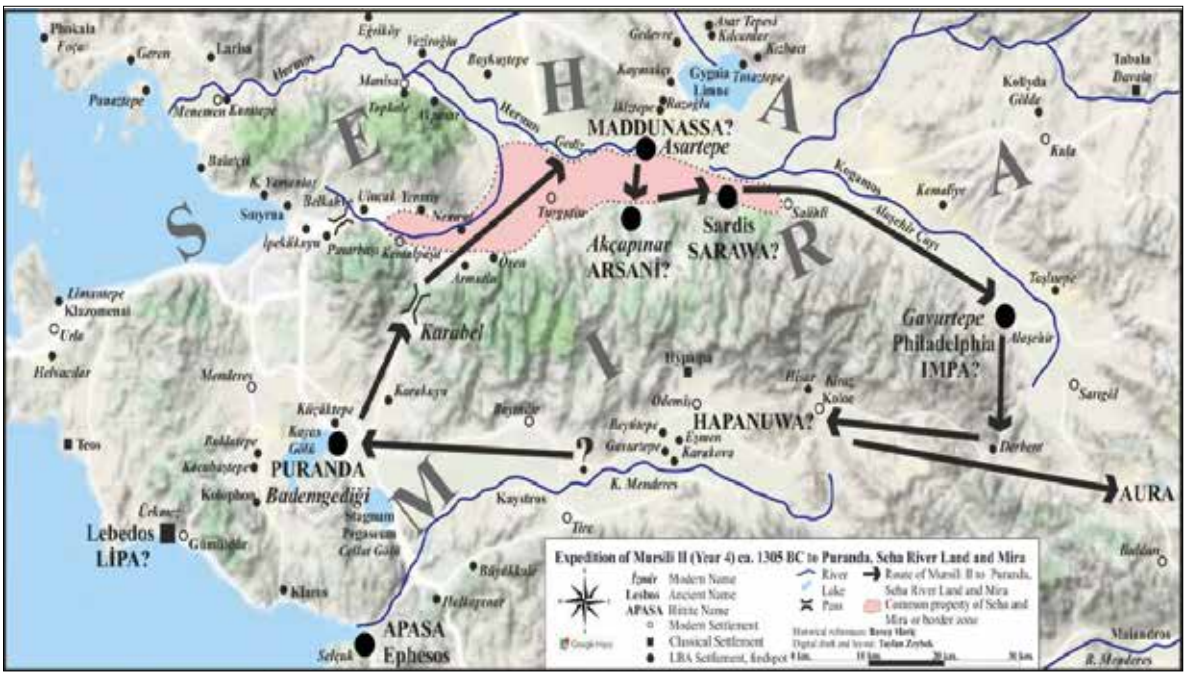


Figure 7: Expedition of Mursili II (Year 4) ca. 1305 BC Puranda, Seha River Land and Mira (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4). / *Mursili II'nin yaklaşık MÖ. 1305'de (4. Yılı) Puranda, Seha Nehir Ülkesi ve Mira'ya seferi.*

[28] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B § 12 (p. 43).

[30] Hawkins 1998: 2-10.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

from the north i.e. from the Seha River land. Hawkins considers further that the Karabel frontier of Mira was likely established by Mursili II, since the Mt. Tmolos (Bozdağları) range is such an obvius natural frontier[31]. In fact there are other mountain passes through Mt. Tmolos between the Kaystros river basin i.e between Ephesos and Lydia: Ephesos-Sardis over Hypaipa, Koloe (Kiraz)-Sardis, Koloe (Kiraz)-Derbent-Philadelphia (Alaşehir) (Fig.7). Apparently not only the Karabel frontier but the whole Mt. Tmolos range extending from Karabel to Alaşehir was designated as Mira already before the expeditions of Mursili II to Arzawa.

In the territory between the Karabel pass i.e. the foothills of the northern range of Mt. Tmolos and the Hermos river, there was probably a kind of *border territory* between Mira and Seha River land. Hawkins also remarked that "Mira was the power controlling the entire pass from the south rather than that which controlled the open terrain to the north"[32]. The main frontier of the Seha River land was in fact the river itself towards the north coming through this *border territory*. Nearly all settlements along the river were located in the north of Hermos because perhaps it was favourable in this way against floods. Asartepe near Urganlı is an exception which is located nearly adjacent to Hermos and founded apparently on a higher terrain in the south. This situation, among other things, caused disputes among these neighboring lands of Seha and Mira. Meanwhile Manapatarhunda of Seha was obliged to behave in a friendly and helpful manner towards Mashuiluwa of Mira. In the annals of Mursili II it is written that both kings "should not take away anything from each other, should not be angry towards each other, should be peaceful with each other etc[33]".

The cities of Mira fortified and garrisoned by Mursili II

Arsani

Arsani is the first city mentioned in the order of "Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa"[34] group which were fortified and garrisoned by Mursili II. *Arsani* was possibly located in the west of *Sarawa* and *Impa* while Mursili II came back from Seha to Mira and proceeded presumably to the east from *Arsani* fortifying these cities. A group of LBA höyük settlements discovered in the valley of Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa), Ulucak, Nemrut[35] or further east in Akçapınar[36] might be possible candidates for the location of Arsani. (Fig. 7)

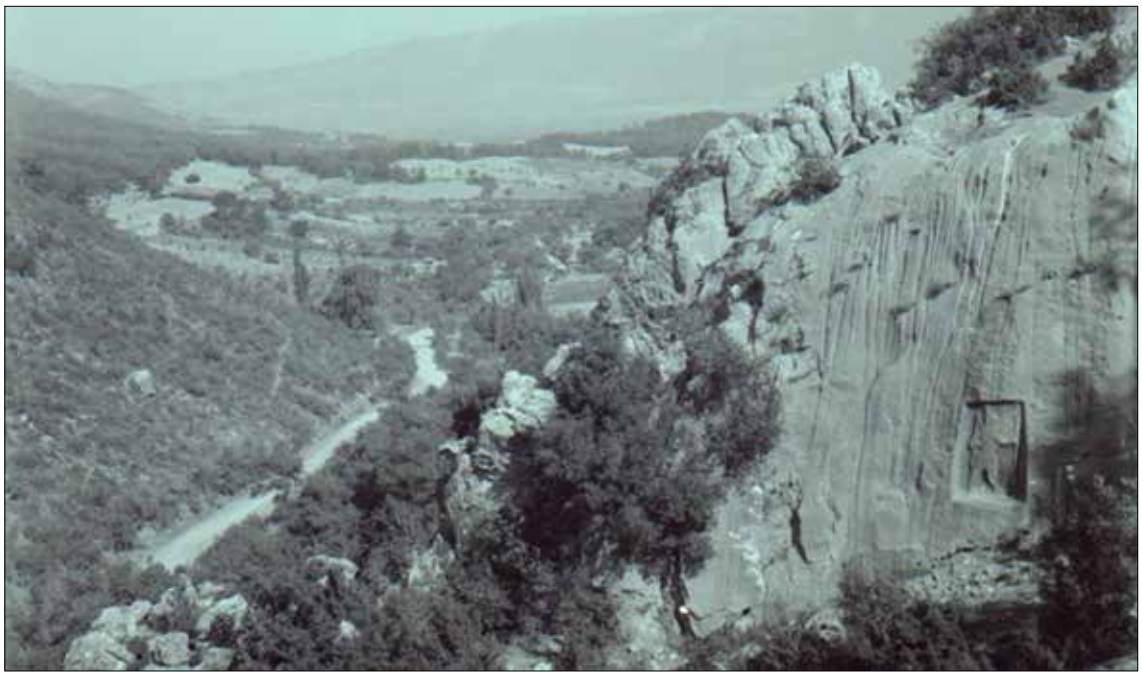


Figure 8: View of Karabel pass from south. The road at left leads to Seha from the frontier of Mira. Right Tarkasnawa ruler of Mira is depicted on the rock carving (Photograph, Archive of Recep Meriç) / *Güneyden Karabel geçidinin görünümü. Soldaki yol Mira sınırından Seha'ya çıkar. Sağ tarafta Mira kralı Tarkasnawa'nın kaya üzerine oyulmuş kabartması görülmektedir (Fotoğraf Recep Meriç arşivi).*

[31] Hawkins 2020: 356.
[32] Hawkins 1998: 24.
[33] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: (Man § 10 ff) 134-135, 180, 292-299.
[34] Hawkins 1998: 24, n. 143 (KUB XIV, 15 iv. 35-37).
[35] Meriç 2018: 112,113.
[36] Meriç 2018: 420, 421.

Sarawa

The next city after Arsani towards east would be expected to be Sarawa. The only secure LBA site (Fig. 12:10) proceeding to the east is Sardis, where new excavation for the research of the Lydian palace quarter of Croesus in Field 49 by Cahill[37], has indeed brought to light on the foothills of Mt. Tmolos intensive remains of prehistoric pottery, which might indicate the existence of an LBA settlement. Cahill also points out the fact that Field 49 has produced early Lydian pottery as in the rest of the Central Sardis and this area was developed much earlier than they believed.

This archaeological observation might help additionally to support the idea that Bronze Age remains in Field 49 are probably forerunners of the Lydian settlement. As would the development of the place name from *Sarawa-Sfarλ-Sfarda* to *Sardis*[38]. My starting point was that *Sardis* as a place name was written in the Lydian epichoric inscriptions in the dative locative as *Sfarλ,* also without the *-d-* consonant. This derivation may now be revised as follows.[39] Zgusta had already pointed out that *-d-* appears in the ethnicon *Sfarda-k* and adjective *Sfardeti-*[40]. Gusmani had tentatively suggested that the real stem of the city name was merely **Sfar-* or **Sfari-*[41]. Oreshko[42] has plausibly explained *Sfarda-* as the ethnicon < **Sfar(i)-ya-* with the suffix **-(i)yo-* (recte **-iyo-*), used not only of the inhabitants, but also with ellipsis for the city. This permits, though it cannot prove, a derivation from the ethnicon of *Šārawa-*, whose long first vowel provides independent support for accent on the first syllable: **Sárawiya-* > **Sáravida-* > **Sárvida-* > **Sárvda-*. All that is now required is a metathesis of **arv* > **var* (**sv* may easily assimilate to *sf*): **Sárvda-* > **Svárda-* > *Sfarda-*. Such a metathesis of VC and C is not common, but is certainly attested: Hittite shows *ḫaršanili-* > *ḫaššarnili-* and *ḫaršanant-* > *ḫaššarnant-*.43 The parallel is not precise, but one may offer a motivation for the Lydian metathesis: a cluster **-rvd-* is nowhere attested, but several native Lydian words show word-initial *sfV-* < **swV-*: e.g., *sfẽnda-* and *sfẽni-* 'property' < **swo-* 'one's own'.[44] Lydian speakers may have thus eliminated a difficult sequence by realigning **Sárvda-* to produce a phonetically salient word-initial cluster that their language already had.

My toponymic proposal of *Sardis* does not in any case depend solely on the *Gleichklang* with *Sarawa* but also on the itinerary of Mursili II who came from Seha to Mira land and the recent archaeological research undertaken at Sardis (see above).

Impa

Impa was already mentioned as the city where Mashuiluwa defeated Piyama-Kurunta son of Uhhaziti and kept the city occupied[45] before Mursili's great Arzawa campaign. It seems that Impa was the easternmost city of Mira having direct access to the Hittite controlled lands i.e. Kuwaliya. The marching route of Mursili in the east of Sarawa. The fortified hilltop of Gavurtepe is an appropriate candidate for the site of Impa. (Fig. 7)

The LBA fortification of Gavurtepe consisted of a citadel on the summit with a monumental megaron supported and surrounded with cyclopean walls (Fig. 9). The lower part of the mound seems to be also fortified with cyclopean walls as it was detected in some trenches[46]. The topographical survey of the mound permits to postulate that the circuit wall seems to surround the lower settlement along the western edge of the mound. Huge limestone orthostat blocks were discovered at the bottom of the mound nearly in the middle of the supposed circuit wall. Besides diagnostic LBA local pottery (Fig. 12:2, 6, 11, 16, 18), Mycenaean pottery of LH III A2 (Fig. 10) has been unearthed in the megaron.

Mira in Kaystros river basin:

Hapanuwa

Hapanuwa was mentioned earlier in the time of Suppiluliuma I in relation to Mashuiluwa's defeat of Impa. He has apparently withdrawn from Impa to Hapanuwa[47]. The city was also mentioned together with other cities fortified and garrisoned by Mursili II[48] after he returned to Mira from Seha River land. Hapanuwa was reachable from Impa but you had to go further. It means perhaps Hapanuwa was not located further in the east of Impa then ıt would not to be difficult [to attack] it. Apparently Hapanuwa was located in the Kaystros valley on the road leading to Apasa (Ephesos). Koloe and Hypaipa are two cl. cities in Kaystros valley located on the road to Ephesos were also inhabited during LBA. (Fig.7)

37 Cahill 2018: Figs. 5-8.
38 Meriç 2018: 35, n. 39.
39 With assistance from Craig Melchert and Andrew Garrett (personal communication).
40 Zgusta 1984: 542; see also Gusmani 1964: 201 ff.
41 Gusmani 1964: 201 ff.
42 Oreshko 2019b: 198-199. For present purposes it does not matter whether the letter "d" represents a yod [j], as per Oreshko, or some kind of voiced dental spirant, as per the standard view.
43 Melchert 1994: 170.
44 Gusmani 1964: 204-205.
45 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 100.214, notes 26, 315.
46 Meriç 1989: 180,182 see plan.
47 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 100, n. 26.
48 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 120.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

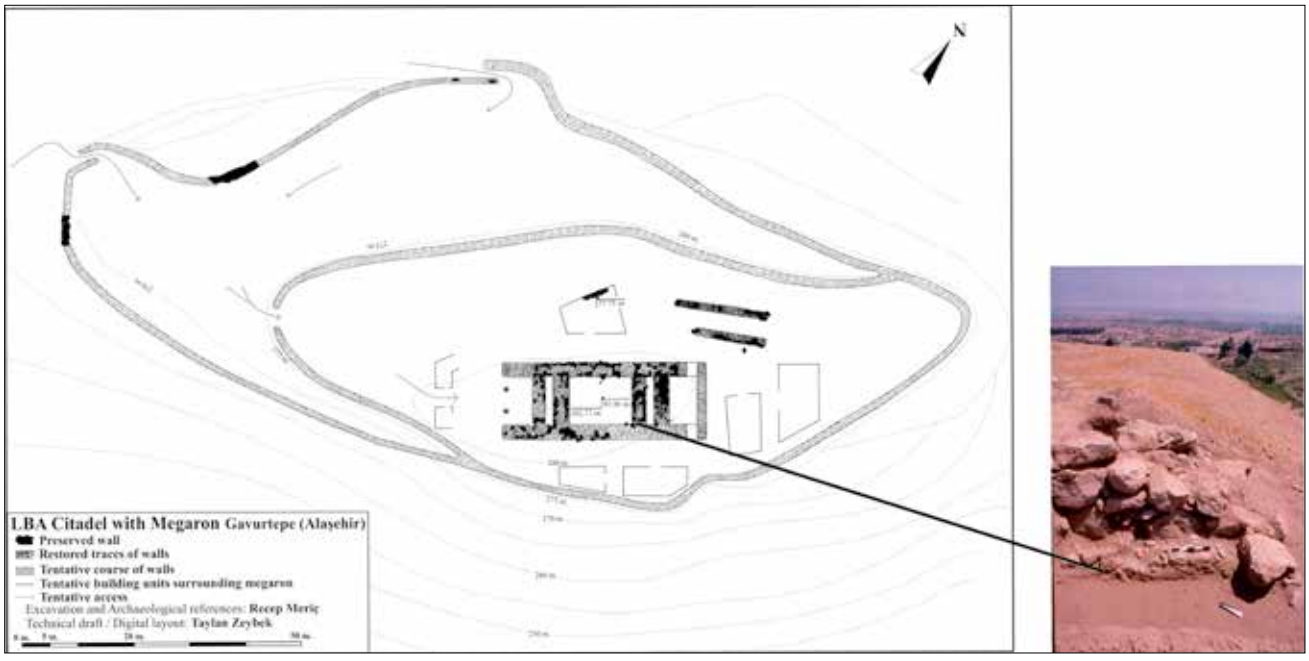


Figure 9: Gavurtepe (Alaşehir). Meriç 1989 Fig. 1, Modified LBA megaron and circuit wall. Modified by R. Meriç and T. Zeybek. Gavurtepe Megaron NE - corner of the main room with sitting platform. / *Gavurtepe (Alaşehir) megaron ve çevre duvarının modifiye edilmiş planı. Gavurtepe megaronunun kuzey doğu yönünden ana oda ve oturma platformunun görünümü.*

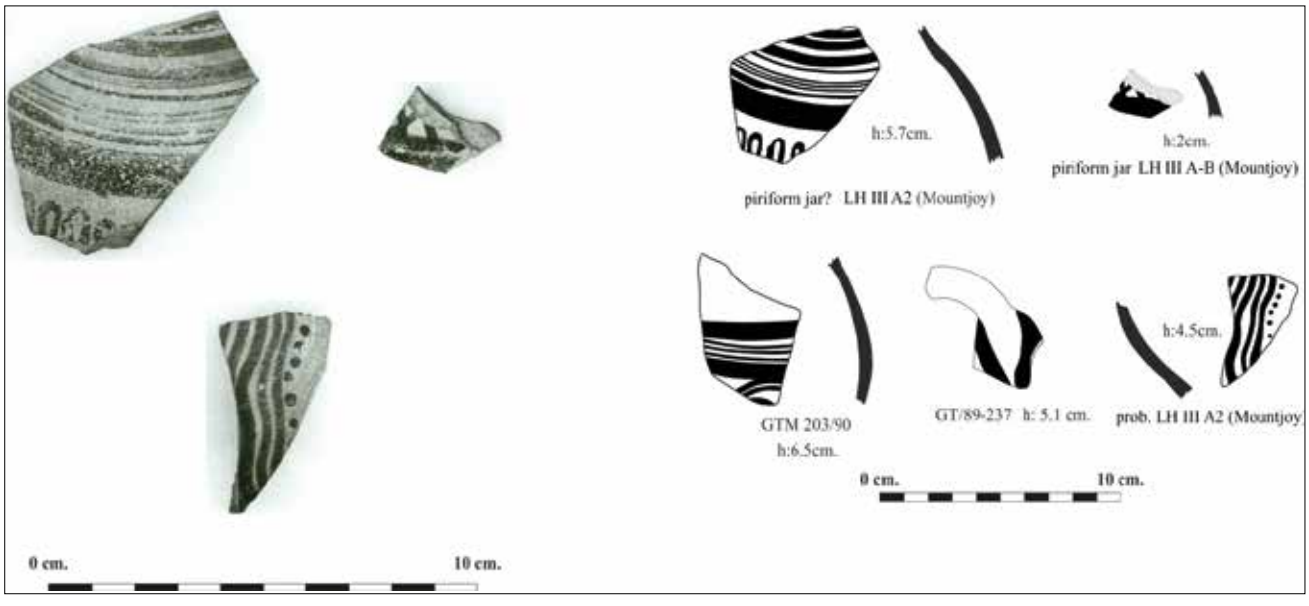


Figure 10: Mycenaean pottery from Gavurtepe (Alaşehir) (LH III A2) (Photograph, Archive of Recep Meriç). / *Gavurtepe'den (Alaşehir) Miken seramiği (Fotoğraf Recep Meriç arşivi).*

Kaystros River Basin

Stele From Karakuyu Near Torbalı

Karakuyu lies 8 km. to the south of Karabel. Tekoğlu reads the name on the king stele as *probably* Tarkasnawa[49]. Oreshko does not accept this reading of Tekoğlu and proposes a dating of the inscriptions ca. 1250-1150 BC[50]. Recently Müller - Karpe[51] revised the Luwian inscription on the stele from Karakuyu:

"*... der Wet]tergott (und) die Götter [des Lande]s Mira sollen Prozessgegner sein!*"

[49] Işık et al. 2011: 24, 29.

[50] Oreshko 2013: 374, 386.

[51] Müller-Karpe 2019: 312.

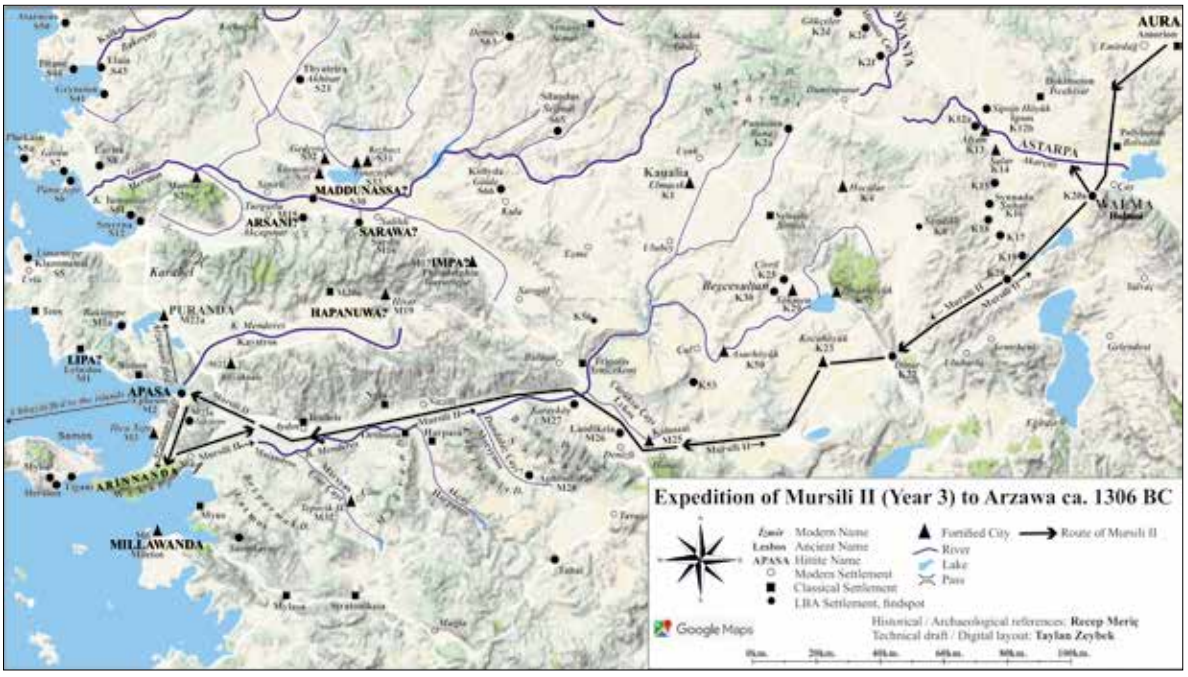


Figure 11: Expedition of Mursili II (Year 3) to Arzawa ca. 1306 BC (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.2809007,28.8631108,8z/data=!5m1!1e4) / *Mursili II'nin yaklaşık MÖ. 1306'da (3. Yılı) Arzawa'ya seferi.*

He emphasized: "*Die Hauptbedeutung der Inschrift ist jedoch die Erw*ähnung des Landes Mira. Sie bietet damit eine willkommene Bestätigung des Lokalisierungsvorschlags von D. Hawkins mit all seinen Konsequenzen für die gesamte Geographie Westanatoliens."[52] He rejected with it clearly other arguments against the location of Mira in other parts of Western Anatolia, which I also support.

Karakuyu is located in the east of Fetrek Çayı (cl. Phyrites) and has its sources at the entrance of Karabel pass. This Hittite stele shows also a possible location of a road ascending along the Fetrek Çayı to the Mt. Tmolos which was also possible boundary between Kaystros valley ie Mira and former Puranda (Bademgediği Tepe) region ie Arzawa Minor (Fig. 7).

Southern Mira (Maiandros River Basin)

Hawkins postulates that the spine of the kingdom of Mira - Arzawa must have been the Maiandros valley, the main highway from the plateau to the west[53], which can be clearly followed on the map (Fig. 11) showing the route of Arzawa expedition of Mursili II in year 3 (1306 BC) coming from Aura going through lower Maiandros to Apasa. (Fig.4) Southern Mira is located in the lower Maiandros river basin including Miletos (Millawanda), Iyalanda (Alinda), Çine - Tepecik in the west and enclosing the Mt. Latmos and Mt. Salbakos fringes and probably extended to Tabai (Kale). From Apasa down to Mykale i.e. former Arzawa Minor and part of lower Maiandros river i.e. territory of Aydın (cl. Tralleis) including the region of Bahçetepe may have also been presumably incorporated by Mursili to Mira.

Çine - Tepecik is close to Miletos (Millawanda). The excavations directed by S. Günel brought to light in Level II 1 well preserved regular fortification walls with towers and Mycenaean pottery LH III B-C[54]. Lack of LH III A2 pottery may point out a dating of the fortification post Mursili II period under Hittite influence. S. Günel discovered two seal impressions dating to the period of Hittite Empire in Çine - Tepecik which she published together with S. Herbordt. One of the seals bears the imprint of a Hittite seal with hierogliyphic characters which reads [Tark]asnaya and Pisurali or [Tark]asna-piya and Su+ra/i-lix. This name Tarkasna (i.e. ass) was brought in relation with King Tarkasnawa of the land of Mira[55]. For this reason they considered that Çine -

Tepecik was also located in Mira. She published another seal impression with S. Herbordt. It is dated also in the Hittite Empire period (1350-1200 BC) and belonged to a Hittite prince. They think this seal provides some evidence that Çine - Tepecik being an important trade center was located in the Land of Mira under the Hittite

[52] Müller-Karpe 2019: 313.

[53] Hawkins 1998: 1.

[54] Günel 2015: 629-632.

[55] Günel and Herbordt 2010: 5, 6, figs. 4-6; see also S. Günel in Nostoi 2015: 638-639, 627-646.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

vassal rule[56]. The survey pottery published by Günel[57] from the settlements in the territory of Aydın show similarities with the ones rom the region of Ephesos and Bademgediği Tepe. Aphrodisias (Fig. 12:7,19), Sarayköy and Laodiceia (Asopos) on the Lykos basin define an interior zone in the east of southern Mira which represents probably a transitional region between Mira and Kuwaliya.

SEHA RIVER LAND

History and Geography

The discovery of the location of Seha River land was partially owed to cl. tribal name Abbaitis[58] lived in the upper Makestos river (Simav Çayı) a cl. toponym which was descended from Appawiya the part of Seha River land[59]. Muwawalwi reigned as a vassal king in Seha River land in the time of Suppiluliuma I[60]. Both

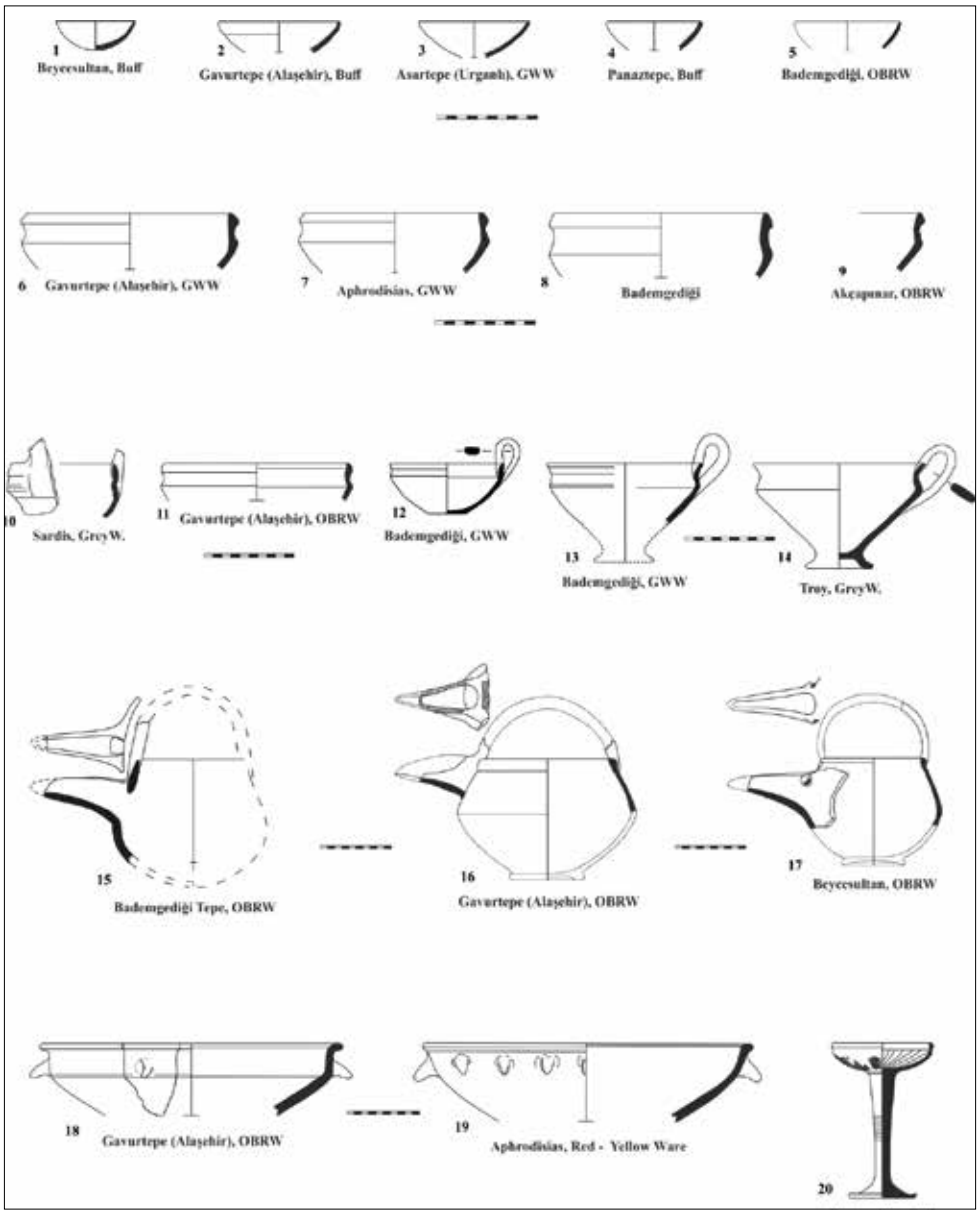


Figure 12: Pottery shapes from Arzawa Minor (before Mursili II), Mira, Seha, Kuwaliya and Wilusa.
/ *Çekirdek Arzawa, Mira, Seha, Kuwaliya ve Wilusa'dan Mursili II öncesi seramik şekilleri*

[56] Günel and Herbordt 2014: 8-11.
[57] Günel 2004:3-4.
[58] Habicht 1975: 72.
[59] Garstang/Gourney 1959: 97.
[60] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 75 f notes 48-50; Bryce 2005: 304 n. 50.

in the time of Arnuwandas II and Mursili II was Seha River land mentioned always together with Appawiya[61]. Another evidence for the placing of Seha River land is sought in its proximity to Lazpa / Lesbos attested in the Manapatarhunda letter. It is mentioned that "Lazpa" was an island "across the sea". Seha River land was probably covering both the Hermos and Kaikos river valleys and also considered to be a land of supremacy over the island Lazpa / Lesbos[62]. Its proximity to Mira is clearly attested

from the itinerary of Mursili II in his fourth year i.e. 1305 BC that he came back from Seha to Mira fortifying and garrisoning the cities Arsani, Sarawa, Impa and Hapanuwa[63].

Mursili II came back as suggested[64] by Hawkins to the land of Seha after his defeat of Puranda (AHT 1A § 24) ca. 1305 BC (after Beal) and accepted Manapatarhunda and the land of Seha River land into vassalage (AHT 1A § 26). He did not make war Manapatarhunda because he had compassion on his mother and old women who cast themselves at his feet. This might have taken place at the exit of the Karabel pass towards Seha as Hawkins[65] thought or a little further to the north before the city gates of Maddunassa i.e. (Asartepe) before crossing over the Seha River on the border between Mira. Mursili II plausibly did not go again into Seha River land and came back to Mira. He gave the land of Mira to Mashuiluwa, Seha River to Manapatarhunda and the land of Hapalla to Targasnalli (AHT 1A § 27).

Seha River land may be divided into two parts (Fig. 11): Northern Seha is related with the Kaikos river basin because of its proximity due to the island of Lesbos (*Lazpa*)[66], which was mentioned to be occupied by Seha land. Wilusa seems to be located in cl. Troas above Northern Seha. Southern Seha covers up to the Hermos river basin and probably also including the peninsula of Mimas with Çeşme, Klazomenai and the gulf of Smyrna. But Appawiya was an inland, remote and mainly mountainous country in the eastern extension in cl. Abbaitis.

Seha River land was a country more oriented to the west to the Aegean Sea[67]. The coast of Southern Aeolis and southern coast of Lesbos with the city of Mytilene opposite Dikili on the Anatolian coast formed together as a maritime unity connected with the interior of Anatolia and with the two major river valleys of Hermos and Kaikos. The coastal sites between Erythrai and Çeşme opposite the island of Khios[68] seems that they had easy contact with Phocaea, the harbour town Panaztepe (Fig. 7, Fig.12:4) which was then an island[69] near the delta of the Hermos valley. Other harbour towns were with LBA pottery K. Yamanlar[70], Smyrna[71], Limantepe[72], Mordoğan[73] and finally Çeşme[74]. The vassal king Tarhundaradu's revolt against Tudhaliya IV? was accused by Hittite King with the complaint that he "relied on the king of Ahhiyawa"[75]. This evidence might show that Seha River land had harbours, naval forces and other facilities to cooperate with the maritime kingdom of Ahhiyawa against the Hittites.

The mound of Tepekule the site of old Smyrna seems to be the main peninsula settlement with an adequate harbour in the gulf of İzmir. The site was presumably fortified during LBA as the later well preserved Iron Age fortification may indicate. Both old and new excavations[76] yielded noteworthy pottery belonging to MBA and LBA. There are also some other sites i.e. K. Yamanlar, İpeklikuyu (Bornova), Pınarbaşı around Bayraklı (Tepekule). But still Tepekule seems to be the major site in LBA.

Settlements along the river Hermos (Seha)

Kumtepe

The relatively small settlement of Kumtepe on the foothills of Yamanlar-Dağı near Gediz river yielded a rich repertory of LBA pottery including Mycenaean LH III A2, B and C. (Fig. 13) Apparently this site was an important road station being on the Gediz (Seha) river basin between Aeolis and Lydia which passed through the Menemen pass. This pass gets so narrow in some places so that the river, railroad and motorway share the pass side by side.

[61] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 219.

[62] Garstang/Gourney 1959: 96-97; Hawkins 1998: 23-24 n. 137, 139; Heinbold-Krahmer 2004: 51; Starke 2001 (Seha): 345, 347.

[63] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B §12 (p.43).

[64] Hawkins 2020: 340, 342.

[65] Hawkins 1998: 24.

[66] Garstang/Gourney 1959: 96-97; Hawkins 1998: 23-24 n. 137, 139; Hawkins 2015: 28; Heinbold-Krahmer 2004: 51; Starke 2001 (Seha): 345, 347.

[67] See also historical view by Hawkins: Hawkins 2015: 28.

[68] Hood 1982: 579, 580. In Chios there is mainly LH III C settlement and only little, sporadic LH III B finds as reported. A close look at the local pottery of second Millenium BC might have been evaluated belonging to LH III A2 period (Nos. 2614, 2616, 2617, 2625, 2634, 2636, 2637,2816-2820, 2887, 2888, 2895-2897).

[69] Erkanal 2006: 53.

[70] Meriç 2018: 82,90

[71] Erdem 2016: 417-426.

[72] Erkanal 2008: 91-100.

[73] Caymaz 2008: 1-41.

[74] Şahoğlu 2015:594-607

[75] Hawkins 1998: 20, n. 95; Güterbock 1992: 242-243.

[76] Erdem 2016: 421.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

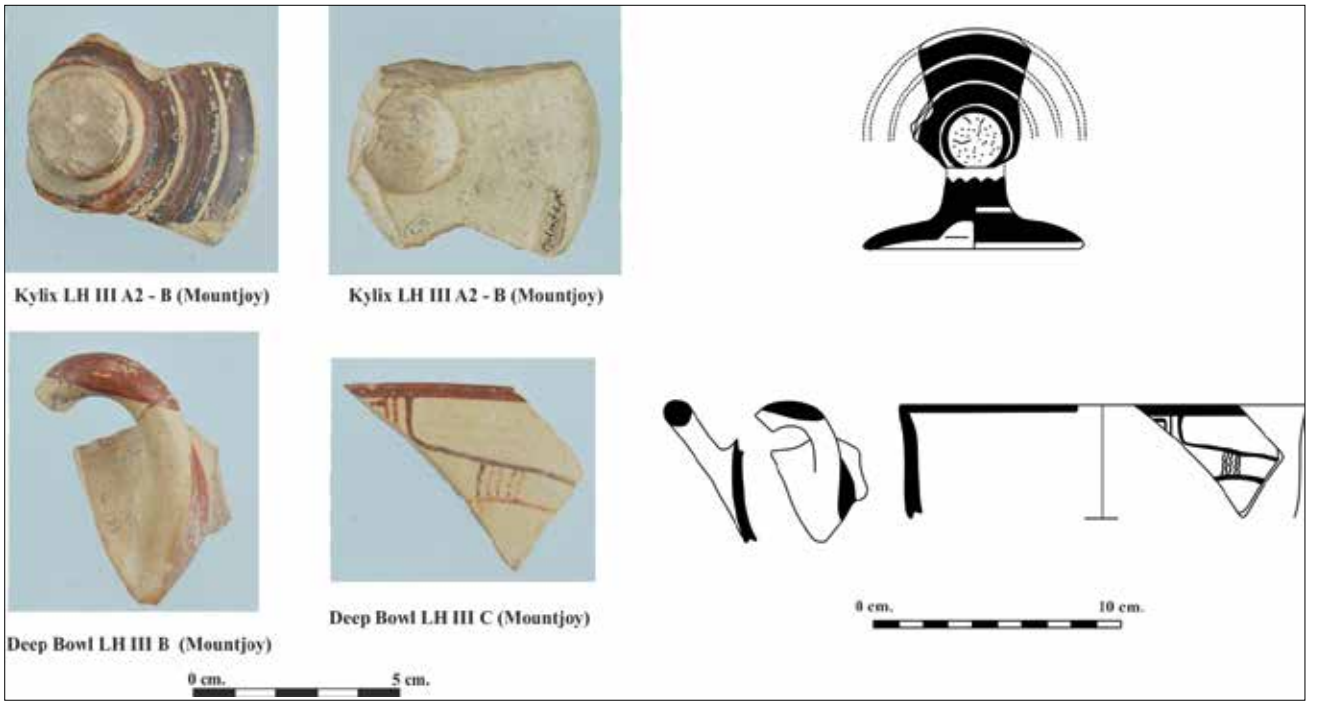


Figure 13: Mycenaean pottery from Kumtepe (Menemen) (Photograph, Archive of Recep Meriç). / *Kumtepe (Menemen) Miken seramiği (Fotoğraf Recep Meriç arşivi).*

Sipylos Group

Sipylos was a mountain range extending along the river Seha (Gediz) towards the west and framing the gulf of Smyrna. Magnesia (Manisa) is situated on the foothills of Sipylos of which the rocky cliffs rise in the background in a picturesque way. The northern side overlooks the fertile Gediz (Seha) River basin, whereas the southern flanks of Mt. Sipylos surround and isolate the site of Magnesia from the Cryios (Nif Çayı) basin of tributary of Hermos. (Fig. 7)

Remains of cyclopean walls and a limited amount of ceramics found on the site called Topkale recorded by M.U. Doğan[77], indicate a fortified citadel used in LBA. Oreshko defines at Akpınar a pair of hieroglyphic inscriptions found to the right of the large relief statue probably of a divinity carved on the slope of Mt Sipylos overlooking the Gediz (Seha) River. In the first inscription he agrees with the current translation as follows: "*Zuwani palace attendant of the river lord*". If his interpretation is correct, then Zuwani, as an attendant of the river lord, might have a duty related with the Seha River, located only a few km. in the north.

Maddunassa

Maddunassa is the only city known by name in the Seha River land restored by Howink ten Gate, apparently a frontier town with Mira[78]. Another reference is the treaty of Mursili II with Kupanta-Kurunta (Kup § 9) in the context fixing the frontiers of Mira/Kuwaliya[79]. The Hittite great king dictates to him "*in the direction of the town of Maddunassa on this side, the fortified camp of Tudhaliya shall be your frontier"*[80]. I suggested that Maddunassa was probably located on the huge mound Asartepe on the river Hermos near Urganlı[81] as supported with a rich LBA repertory of survey pottery (Fig. 12:3). Asartepe is situated in the south of the river and definitely on the frontier of Seha river but also situated in the *border territory* that is between river Hermos and the northern fringes of Mt. Tmolos which was presumably shared by both states of Mira and Seha River land (Fig. 7)as a common zone. Otherwise it is meaningless to take a frontier line of Mira from Maddunassa unless it is situated on the border of Seha River land with Mira. If my proposal locating Maddunassa on the Gediz river, at Asartepe near Urganlı is correct, it is easier to conceive the placing Maddunassa for determining the borders of Mira.

Marmara (Gygean) Lake Basin

Another important district of Seha River land was the Marmara (Gygean) Lake basin which is close but not directly situated along the river Hermos. A group of

[77] Meriç 2018: 116, notes 373-374.

[78] Hawkins 1998: 24, n. 141.
[79] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: Kup §9f, 201-203.
[80] Beckman 1996: 71.
[81] Meriç 2018: 125.

citadels were discovered around the Gygean Lake[82]. Recently Roosevelt thinks that the group of fortified hilltops or lowland settlements around the Gygean lake constitued a forgotten or historically unknown kingdom[83]. Furthermore Roosevelt[84] suggests Kaymakçı: "*as the heartland of the Gediz River valley (i.e. the Marmara Lake basin and its network of second - millenium B.C.E. sites) as a strong candidate for the core of the Seha River land. At this time Kaymakçı is the best candidate for its capital*".

APPAWIYA

The cl. regions of *Katakekaumene* and of *Mokadeni* in the upper Hermos are situated in the south of *Abbaitis* (*Appawiya*) which consists of a mountainous region where the Hermos flows through a beautiful landscape of volcanic geological formation near Burgaz-Kula[85]. The region of *Mokadeni* which was situated below the land of *Abbaitis*[86] bordered the cl. site *Kabalia (Kaualia)* at Elmacık[87] which I equated with a survival from Kuwaliya.(Fig. 2)

Appawiya (*cl. Abbaitis*) seems to be mainly a rural area between Simav (Synaos?), Ancyra (Hasanlar) and Tavşanlı (Tiberiopolis?) in West Phrygia i.e. neighbours with cl. *Mokadeni.* Part of this region is defined by Mellaart as Tavşanlı group different with is pottery from that of South West Anatolia[88]. The settlements Ören, Işıklar and Subak are aligned along the mountain pass between Emet and Çavdarhisar (Aizanoi). Ören and Işıklar are defined as 2nd millenium BC settlements and Subak is defined as a LBA site with cyclopean masonry on top of the mound[89].

KUWALIYA UNDER MURSILI II

Kuwaliya was added to the rule of Mira after the Arzawa expedition of Mursili II. Kuwaliya extended from the cl. town of *Kaualia/Kabalia*[90] near Elmacık due to the toponymic similarity in the south of Uşak, and to Astarpa river (Akarçay), region of Afyon and probably region of Çay and Walma[91] as a forerunner of cl. Holmoi near Karamık Karacaören in the southwest of Çay. (Fig. 14)

Tekoğlu[92] published recently a hieroglyphic stele found between Çay and Sultandağı (21 km.) in Afyon province. Recently Oreshko[93] revised this inscription from *Kocaoğuz*. He translated the hieroglyphic inscription as follows: "*(Thanks to) the Storm-God of Walma, Tarba-Zunauli, prince, conquered/holds/sway over the city of… -hwa/i-li. This stele to the Storm-God of Walma Tarba-Zunauli, prince, is dedicated.*" If his translation is correct, the Storm-God of Walma indicates the location of the inscription being in Kuwaliya.

Kuwaliya is well surveyed as it is understood from the high number of settlements discovered. They are mainly located along the river valleys. Beycesultan and Çivril groups are by far the largest ones in Kuwaliya along the upper Maiandros[94]. No doubt Beycesultan was the center of lower Kuwaliya due to its great size[95] if not the whole of it. The settlements between Afyon and Şuhut are neatly aligned along a route in north-south direction at the foothills of a mountain Kumalar overlooking towards Akarçay valley (Astarpa) and Walma (Fig. 4, 14). Some of the settlements were probably fortified like Salar Höyük (K14). This area had a great strategic importance as we know from the sources: War near Walma and prohibitions of Mursili II to the vassal kings of Mira and Kuwaliya that they are not allowed to cross over Astarpa and Siyanta rivers and not allowed to found cities in the eastern part of these rivers[96]. In a similar way five settlements (K2b-2f) were aligned along the western side of Porsuk river - Altıntaş Çayı (Siyanta?) probably along the main road in direction to Kütahya, besides to prevent attacks coming from the east or defending the river to be crossed over from the east. The pottery of Kuwaliya is very well represented during LBA (Fig. 12:1, 17). Especially Beycesultan III-II tall chalices, goblets and fruitstands[97] are remarkable and representative for central Kuwaliya (Fig. 12:20).

Kabalia/Kaualia at Elmacık Near Uşak

It has been already suggested that the cl. Name *Kaualia*/*Kabalia* of the site at Elmacık near Uşak is related with the Hittite land name *Kuwaliya*[98]. The prehistoric mound near Elmacık was already discovered by Mellaart and mentioned and pointed out by him in his regional map of South West Anatolia[99]. But unfortunately he did not illustrate any drawings of pot sherds from the site which mislead me realizing the discovery of Elmacık as an

82 Roosevelt 2017: 129-137.
83 Roosevelt and Luke 2017: 140.
84 Roosevelt et al. 2018: 648.
85 Şen et al. 2014: 220-245.
86 Hermann 1981: TAM V, 1 see also folded map.
87 see below Habicht 1975: 76.
88 Mellaart/Murray 1995: 107, 103 Map 3.
89 Efe 1994: 574.
90 Meriç 2018: 35-36, n. 40 Fig. 10 (map); Habicht 1975: 76.
91 Garstang/Gurney 1959: 86, 92.
92 Tekoğlu 2003: 543-544.
93 Oreshko 2013: 400.
94 Mellaart/Murray 1995: 99-109; Abay 2011: 26-28.
95 Hawkins 1998: 24.
96 Beckman 1996: 71
97 Mellaart/Murray 1995: 103, map 3.
98 Meriç 2018: 35, 36, 185.
99 Mellaart/Murray 1995: 105, Maps 1, 2, 4.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

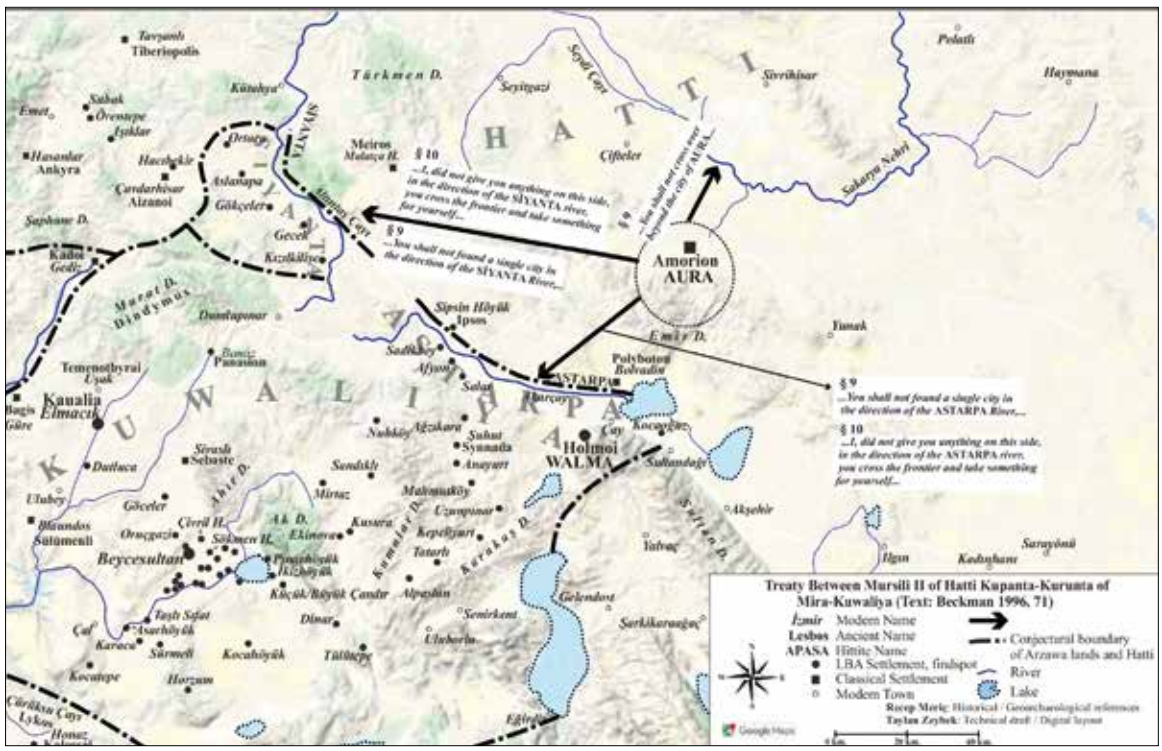


Figure 14: Treaty and frontiers between Mursili II of Hatti and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya ca. 1298 BC (https://www.google.com/maps/@38.6256161,30.2983266,8.25z/data=!5m1!1e4). / *M.Ö. 1298, Hatti kralı 2. Mursili ile Mira-Kuwaliya kralı Kupanta-Kurunta arasındaki antlaşma ve sınırlar.*

LBA site[100]. The western part of Kuwaliya is secured with Elmacık (K1) and cl. *Kaualia* which still keeps the Hittite place name *Kuwaliya*.(Fig. 14)

Lebas-Waddington (1676) published an inscription found at Elmacık near Uşak with a place name: "ἐν τῇ Καυαληνῶν κατοικίᾳ"[101]; the name of the settlement was *Kaualia*. Furthermore, Habicht published an inscription about the Assizes of Asia under the Flavians and determined that the same ethnic group appeared as *Kabala* under the *conventus* of Sardis. Habicht confirms the location of *Kabala* at Elmacık (Uşak) since the other ethnic groups preceded from Apollonoshieron to Tabai, Mysotmolos and Blaundos points exactly to the location of Cabala at Elmacık[102]. *Kabala* emerged also in Lykaonia as the name of a byz. fortified town in the Ikonion preserved as *Kevele*[103]. But this site produced no LBA remains and it is too far away from Kuwaliya i.e. Afyon, Uşak region.

Czichon mentions recently in Uşak region two LBA sites at Elmacık and Banaz in relation with Arzawa expeditions of Hittite kings. He suggests that Elmacık mound due to its large size and appropriate location could have been a road station (caravanserai) on the way from Hatti to Arzawa. He also asserts that the gold and silver mines in the region of Sardis and Uşak which might have attracted the Hittite kings to undertake expeditions to Arzawa[104].

Rivers of Astarpa and Siyanta:

Under Mursili II ca. 1306 BC river Astarpa was the official border between Mira-Kuwaliya and Hatti. Kupanta-Kurunta the new vassal king was prohibited from crossing the river Astarpa and come over to the town of Aura (Fig. 14). Kupanta-Kurunta was not given anything on the Hatti side of the river Astarpa and the river Siyanta, ordered him Mursili II. Further Kupanta-Kurunta should not found a single city beyond the river Astarpa and river Siyanta[105].

Siyanta River Land and Its Location

Siyanta River land was under the hegemony of Tudhaliya I-II ca. 1400-1350 BC and the Hittite king established Madduwatta as vassal king there. Madduwatta, attacked Arzawa from Siyanta River land and took all the Arzawa land for himself[106]. Siyanta River land was then located

[100] Meriç 2018: 36. Mellaart mentioned about the excavation at Gavurtepe (Alaşehir) but without giving any reference!
[101] IGR4: 624.
[102] Habicht 1975: 76.
[103] Zgusta 1984: 211, 396.
[104] Czichon 2017: 42 - 43.
[105] Beckman 1996 : 71§ 9, 10; Hawkins 1998: 15 f.
[106] Beckman et al. 2011: Madd. § 21, 22-23 (p. 85, 87); Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 261; Hawkins 1998: 25.

along the Altıntaş Çayı of Porsuk as suggested by Hawkins[107] as far as the outskirts of Kütahya in the north. It seems that the river basin from Kızılkilise extending to Ortaca offered an appropriate area from which to organize attacks towards Arzawa and Hapalla. The arrangement of LBA settlements and citadels especially from Ortaca and Kızılkilise are roughly a similar distance from each other situated parallel to the river. Between Dumlupınar and Gediz, Murat Dağı (Dindymos) forms a natural barrier against west, at the same time when it is not part of Siyanta land itself it is then the boundary of Siyanta River land between Seha-Appawiya and Kuwaliya. (Fig. 14) There are two possible routes from Siyanta River land to Arzawa: 1. Kızılkilise, Dumlupınar, Banaz, Bagis (Güre), Kula and Alaşehir and 2. Ortaca, Aizanoi (Çavdarhisar), Kadoi (Gediz), Bagis (Güre), Kula, Maeonia (Menye) and Sardis. Madduwatta might have used one of these routes for his Arzawa attack (Fig. 1).

The settlements K2b - f which exist along Porsuk-Altıntaş çayı (Siyanta) could have been considered as the extension of Kuwaliya towards the north which formed a strategic battle line (barrier) between Arzawa / Hatti together with the river Astarpa and the line of settlements K12a - K20 (Fig. 4). The main concentration of settlements is situated in Beycesultan - Çivril region. Two remote settlements in Güney (K56) and Kocatepe (K53) may be considered the westernmost settlements of Kuwaliya.

Hawkins and Heinhold - Krahmer assume that Siyanta River land vaguely corresponds to the location of Mira which is first attested after Suppiluliuma I, and which existed earlier along with the kingdom of Arzawa[108]. Hawkins is inclined to identify the region of *Siyanta* river land as inland *Mira* i.e. also from a similar place name *Meiros* attested in a Byzantine inscription found near Malatça Höyük ca. 20 km. in the east of Porsuk-Altıntaş çayı. T. Efe has surveyed the site and he reports that the surface of Malatça mound is covered with Iron age pottery. Early Bronze Age (EBA) II and EBA III pottery was also discovered on the western slope of the mound[109]. But he doesn't mention any pottery or remains from the 2nd millenium BC. Hawkins[110] gives up his former proposal about Malatça Höyük that it is not necessarily related with city of Mira on the similar argument that Strobel denies the presence of MBA - LBA pottery on the site[111].

In any case this region of both rivers, Porsuk-Altıntaş (Siyanta) and Akarçay (Astarpa) have been highly strategic places well throughout their history. The famous war at Ipsos in 301 BC between Antigonos and Seleucos took place near the mound Sipsin (Çayırbağ) on Akarçay (Astarpa) river. Ipsos preserved its name as Sipsin Höyük which was also inhabited during the Hittite period. The Hittite name *Wibassa* as suggested by Forlanini[112] suits Ipsos well. Çayırbağ, the site of Ipsos was also inhabited during the Hittite period[113]. The main frontier of Hatti and Arzawa has been marked by the rivers Astarpa and Siyanta between Afyon and Kütahya. This area was also the scene of the Turkish liberation war which took place in 1922 against the invasion of Greek forces who were defeated and pushed out of Anatolia following this historical route through Afyon, Dumlupınar, Uşak, Alaşehir and Izmir.

ADDENDA

Responses To Critics

Gander's counter choice: Is Seha Maiandros River?

Gander denies the identification of Hermos river with Seha. He prefers for the location of Seha river the Maiandros[114]. He thinks cl. Hermos river valley i.e. Central Lydia is a suitable place for Arzawa with capital Apasa based on the petrographic analysis of the clay of Amarna Letter EA 32 apparently indicating a provenance in Aiolis i.e. Kyme or Larisa[115]. But unfortunately in both places neither Kyme or Larisa has produced no LBA pottery so far[116]. The painted pottery from Kyme is dated at the earliest from the 8th century BC, so far no protogeometric or early geometric has been reported117. Hertel[118] mentiones a LH III C Mycenaean skyphos of 12th century BC. It seems that all samples which were analyzed from these two sites belonged to the Iron Age. For a secure analysis of such an important object such as the royal marriage correspondence between the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III and Arzawan king Tarhundaradu one needs to find a site with an adequate LBA settlement providing samples to be analyzed from diagnostic local LBA pottery fragments. Meanwhile Mommsen[119] who has done NAA measures of Aeolic samples wrote to me in an e – mail 13 November 2019 note: "*Die Daten*

[107] Hawkins 2020: 344.
[108] Hawkins 1998: 25; Hawkins 2015: 26, 28; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004: 49.
[109] Efe 1994: 575.
[110] Hawkins 2020: 341.
[111] Strobel 2008: n. 128.
[112] Forlanini 2007: 290; see Oreshko 2019a: 171.
[113] http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=3975&html=ages_detail_t.html&layout=web
[114] Gander 2017 a: 272, n. 139.
[115] Gander 2017 b: 166-167 nos. 35, 47. Larisa produced MBA pottery but not diagnostic pottery of LBA 1- LBA 3B i.e. 1600-1200 BC but some LBA 3C of LH III C of 1200-1030 BC which is quite late for our purpose! (see Hertel 2007: 104, Fig. 6, n.28)
[116] Hertel 2007: 104, Fig. 6, n.28.
[117] see Hertel 2007: 104, n.29.
[118] see Hertel 2007: 104, Fig. 6, n.28.
[119] H. Mommsen, e-mail of 13 November 2019 kindly send to me.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

von EA 32, gemessen in Berkeley, sind unserer Gruppe, jetzt AiolG, alt SmyG oder G genannt, sehr ähnlich und weisen auf die Aiolis als Herkunft. Aber auch hier gibt es ein aber: Man muss annehmen, dass der Datenvergleich zwischen Berkeley und Bonn gut ist, was ich glaube. Lieber würde ich EA 32 selbst messen, um ganz sicher zu sein. Läßt man diese "aber" unberücksichtigt, spricht manches für Gander's Ansicht".

Another serious obstacle in the argument of Gander is that if we transfer the location of core Arzawa to the Hermos river in the north, what should we do then about the classical location of Ephesos on the mouth of Kaystros river! Shall we give up the generally accepted "Gleichklang" between Ephesos < Apasa or transfer solely the classical location of Ephesos back to Ionia in the south and leave Apasa in the north? Hawkins[120] suggestion that Tarhundaradu may have stationed temporarily in Aeolis during the correspondence with Pharaoh is another possibility. This town should be even then securely attested as an LBA site in Aeolis.

Answer to Oreshko's critic Bademgediği Tepe - Puranda identification

Oreshko[121] finds my proposal about Bademgediği Tepe "is purely speculative"; he further critizes me that I immediately proposed to identify Bademgediği Tepe with Puranda, because I was so sure about it, in the same year 1999 I had started the excavation. Apparently Oreshko didn't read my 1999 conference text which was published in 2007[122] at Güzelçamlı Symposium or ignored it. I repeat it once more briefly:

"Historischen Quellen über Puranda

Die Quellen erwähnen neben der Hauptstadt Apasas eine weitere hochgelegene Stadt, Puranda, im Kerngebiet von Arzawa, die von Mursili II bei seinem zweiten Feldzung nach Arzawa belagert und erobert wurde. Die Stadt wurde won dem Arzawa - Prinz Tapalazunawalis verteidigt, der tapfer mit Truppen und Wagen-Kämpfern gegen Mursili kämpfte, allerdings unterlag. Mursili hat danach die Stadt belagert, die Wasserzufuhr abgeschnitten. (see present; Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 1A § 21 (p. 21).

Schluss

Bademgediği Tepe besaß eine Umfassungsmauer, deren Länge 750 m. mißt (Abb. 2). Der Weg mit Radspuren von Pferdewagen, der mit kyklopischen Blöcken terrassiert wurde und zum im Norden liegenden Haupttor führte, beweist wohl den dichten Verkehr u.a. der Kampfwagen, die in den Quellen oft erwähnt werden. Die Festung war groß genug (35.000 m2), um im Notfall die ca. 16.000 Menschen aufnehmen zu können, die nach der Belagerung von Mursili II. gefangen genommen wurden. Wasser war wohl auch für eine so große Zahl der Bevölkerung reichlich vorhanden, da es von der relativ nahe liegenden Quelle in Ayrancılar hergeleitet werden konnte, dessen in römischer Zeit gebauter Aquadukt am Fuße des Hügels noch aufrecht steht. Weiter erfahren wir einige charakteristische Merkmale über das Aussehen der Stadt Puranda. Die Stadt ist hoch gelegen und befestigt und mit einer Wasser zufuhr versorgt gewesen. Nach diesen Hinweisen scheint der Bademgediği Tepe bei Metropolis diese topographischen Bedingungen erfüllt zu haben. Es empfiehlt sich im Moment, die früheste spätbronzezeitliche Bauschicht IV über der mittelbronzezeitliche Schicht V mit dem Feldzug Mursili II. see Lokale Keramik aus der Sondage Schicht IV". (Meriç 2007: 32 - 35)"

In 1999 I focused on the features of Puranda especially "*the water supply of the city was cut off by Mursili II*"[123] and the fortified town was accessible with chariotry. *"Tapalazunawali came down from Puranda with chariotry"* mentioned in the Ten-Year Annals (see Fig. 6).

The proposal of Oreshko that Pryndos < Puranda with the location of the acropolis of Knidos (Tekir) is from the view of topography and archaeology inconsistent and inadequate. He doesn't submit any clear material evidence indicating an LBA fortified town where "Tapalazunawali came down from Puranda with chariotry" i.e. parts of a rock-cut roads with chariot wheels, or other traces on the rocky terrain, abundance of local LBA pottery besides some dubious as so far not adequately published Mycenaean sherds which were excavated below in the lower classical town of Knidos. Love[124] reports some sherds from the 1968 excavations at Knidos but provides no additional data[125].

Oreshko explains that Mursili managed somehow to cut off (arha da-, lit. take away) water from Puranda. Further he writes that it is not clear what Mursili meant when saying that he "*has taken away the water from Puranda*" whether he simply blocked the access to the spring or that there existed a sort of aquaduct which he cut off. In either case, Oreshko explained the situation saying that the besieged Arzawans had to rely solely on the water

[120] Hawkins 2020: 362.
[121] Oreshko 2020: 550.
[122] Meriç 2007: 32 - 35.
[123] Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 113 ff: (my preliminary literary source in 1999); Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1A §21.
[124] Love 1969: 18.
[125] Kelder 2004-2005: 63.

cisterns which must have existed on the acropolis. After all there is no trace belonging to something similar to that of an aquaduct or water installation below the fortress i.e. the acropolis at Knidos, which can be *taken away* or *cut off* by Mursili II. Oreshko tries to explain the water supply but he has apparent difficulties to suit the topographical situation in Tekir (Knidos) with the Hittite text.

Oreshko pressed too much again inconsistently for the Puranda/Pyrindos toponymic similarity against the existing topographical and archaeological circumstances. But apparently without any convincing evidence.

Attempt of the location of Mt. Sipylos with Mt. Zippasla by Oreshko

Oreshko proposes that Central Lydia matches the land of Madduwatta if Mt. Sipylos is identified as Mt. Zippasla because of the similarity of both mountain names. But all other textual and topographical evidence is against it. Oreshko[126] relates the "land" mentioned in the beginning of the indictment of Madduwatta at once with Mt. Zippasla.

Madduwatta text (Beckman *et al.* 2011, AHT 3 §1, (p.71)):

"Attarissiya, the ruler of Ahhiya, chased [you], Madduwatta, out of your land. [Then] he harassed you and kept chasing you……Madduwatta, fled to the father [of My Majesty], and he saved you from death." (Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 3 §1, (p.71)).

Madduwata was "chased" and [then] "harassed" by Attarissiya *out of his land* i.e. Arzawa, Mira etc. but not *out of* Zippasla or another land given to him by the Hittite King since he was being chased by Attarissiya he fled finally to Hatti. Madduwatta's reason to flee from his own land near the coast of Arzawa, Mira is to seek refuge with the Hittite king in Hatti so as not to be killed by Attarissiya.

Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 3 §4 (p.73)

Hittite King made Madduwatta a sword ally.

Hittite King dictated him to be a partisan of Hittite King and of Hatti.

Hittite King gave Madduwatta Mt. Zippasla.

The development of events shows clearly that Madduwatta received Mt. Zippasla at the final stage of his adventure from home until he came to the court of Hatti. It is clear from these events above that Madduwatta was chased out of his *land* and harassed by Attarissiya. This *land* was by no means Mt. Zippasla because Mt. Zippasla is given to him at the end of the events i.e. being a sword ally, to be a partisan of the Hittite king and of Hatti.

Is Siyanta river classical Hermos as suggested by Oreshko?

Beckman et al. 2011, AHT 3 §21 (p. 85, 87):

"The father of His Majesty has now given the Land of Siyanta River to you Madduwatta."

Beckman 1996, No. 11 §9, §10 (p.71) Treaty between Mursili II of Hatti and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya:

§9

"On this side, in the direction of the Astarpa River, The land of Kuwaliya shall be your frontier. This land shall be yours, protect it! You shall not found a single city in the direction of the Astarpa river, or in that of the Siyanta River. If you do found even a single city, you will have transgressed the oath, and I will come as an enemy and attack it."

§10

"Or if because I, My Majesty, did not give you anything on this side, in the direction of the Astarpa River and the Siyanta River, you cross the frontier and take something for yourself, you will have offended against the oath, and have transgressed the oath. The oath gods shall pursue you unrelentingly."

The proposal of Oreshko of the equation of Siyanta river with cl. Hermos is another difficult choice. Siyanta river is nearly always mentioned together with Astarpa (see above) and topographically close to eachother; they are described as being juxtaposed[127] together with the frontier of Hatti lands and with Arzawan lands. In this case the location of Astarpa with Akarçay will be questioned and a new place will be sought inevitably close to the Aegean coast! All these attempts are dubious and inconsistent for the Aegean Hittite political geography.

A. Ünal identifies Puranda with Priene:

Although the equation of Mt. Arinnanda by A. Ünal with Mt. Mykale is generally accepted, his proposal about Puranda being cl. Priene is not compatible with the texts, the topography and archaeological results.

[126] Oreshko 2019a: 155.

[127] Hawkins 2015: 23.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

He insists locating Puranda on the southern foothills of Mt. Arinnanda (Mykale), even if he would not use the similarity of toponyms Puranda=Priene as a proof:

"…Priene ile Puranda isimleri arasındaki aşırı fonetik benzerliğe de dayanarak Puranda=Priene görüşümde ısrar ediyorum. Ama fonetik benzerliği kanıtlamada bir delil olarak kullanmıyor, sadece bir tesadüf olduğunu düşünüyorum. Yani eğer Priene diye bir kent olmasa dahi, Puranda'yı Samsun Dağı'nın güney eteklerinde bir yerlere koyabilirdim.[128]"

From the point of archaeological finds from Bademgediği Tepe which is a fortified settlement during LBA represented with various Minoan pottery LM I A (level V-VI), LM III A2 (level III-V), besides diagnostic local pottery related with Troy VIh (Fig. 12:14) and Beycesultan III (Fig. 12:17) and 800 fragments of Mycenaean pottery LH III C (level II) pottery. A. Ünal[129] claims that we have only some sporadic Mycenaean pottery and rock-cut water channels dating to the Roman period. In addition he criticized my stratigraphic remarks about the level corresponding to Mursili's siege and destruction of Puranda[130].

A. Ünal is inclined to underestimate the archaeological results which have been so far attained. We have no Roman traces on Bademgediği Tepe except the aquaduct built on the foothills in the Roman period which supplied water from Ayrancılar to cl. Metropolis. A short section of this aquaduct was built along the foothills of Bademgediği Tepe in the east. The rock-cut channels were discovered above the chariot road and the aquaduct. I don't agree with him that these rock-cut water channels are Roman. I expressed the view that they *maybe* part of a LBA water system with some sort of wooden installation to drain water from the river of Astraios (Çevlik Çay) to a fountain on the eastern slope of Bademgediği Tepe (Fig. 6). Çevlik Çay is still flowing despite pollution with the water of rich springs at Ayrancılar. I described how Mursili II cut off such a water system which supplied the fountain(s) of the people of Puranda which are probably located slightly above the chariot road and the Roman aquaduct[131].

Ünal asserts that Puranda must have been founded on the slopes or on top of the a mountain and topographically this is surely not the case for Bademgediği Tepe or Metropolis. Because texts mention twice that "Tapalazunawali came down from Puranda (underlined by A. Ünal) with infantry and chariotry" [132] (Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1A §21) and "…Tapalazunawali son of Uhhaziti who was up in Puranda took fright and fled by night down from Puranda…" (Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1A §22). He insists that Puranda was located on the slopes or on top of Mt. Arinnanda (Mykale) because Mursili[133] emphasizes especially twice the act of "coming down"[134] or fleeing down from Puranda[135].

"Buna karşın Puranda kenti yüksekçe bir yerdedir, yani Arinnanda/Dilek Dağı'nın böğründedir, çünkü Mursili ilgili metininde Tapalazunawali'nin askerleri ve savaş arabalarıyla birlikte Puranda kentinden aşağıya indiğini (AHT 1A §21 p.21) (underlined by A. Ünal) ve gece karanlığından da yararlanarak Puranda'dan aşağıya koştuğunu yani kaçtığını (AHT 1A §22 p. 21) (underlined by A. Ünal)…"

A. Ünal expressed above clearly that Puranda is *definitely* situated on the belly (*böğründe*) of Mt. Arinnanda and it is "*suitable for the descent of infantry and chariotry*." But on the contrary Mursili specified that:

"This Mt. Arinnanda is very inaccessible. It stretches out into the sea and furthermore is very high and thickly wooded. Finally, it is rocky and not suitable for the ascent of chariotry. ...And because it was not suitable for the ascent of chariotry. I (Mursili) went up Mt. Arinnanda on foot.[136]"

A. Ünal did not mention at all concerning the LBA chariot roads we discovered in Bademgediği Tepe. The deep traces of chariot wheels are evidenced in several parts of the chariot road which ascends to the main entrance gate of the citadel (Fig. 6). All this topographical and archaeological evidence clearly supports the text of Mursili about Puranda which suits the site of Bademgediği Tepe[137].

CONCLUSION

Hopefully one step forward has been achieved in Central West Anatolia to enlighten well preserved texts of Mursili II and other Hittite sources from the view of archaeology and historical geography. Thanks to various surveys excavations and researches we are able to analyse LBA settlements, pottery, citadels and help to interprete the Hittite texts better. We have now more evidence for the location of *Arzawa Minor* and *Mira* before and after Mursili II. Arzawa Minor is located by Hawkins[138] on the coastal strip down to Mt. Arinnanda

[128] Ünal 2017: 32.
[129] Ünal 2017: 30.
[130] see above, p. (Puranda)7, 8, 9.
[131] see above, p. (Puranda)7, 8, 9; Meriç 2015, 617.
[132] Ünal 2017: 31.
[133] Ünal 2017: 30, 31 n. 25.
[134] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1A §21 (p. 21).
[135] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1A §22 (p. 21).
[136] Beckman et al. 2011: AHT 1B §9, (p. 35, 37).
[137] see above, p. (Puranda) 7, 8, 9
[138] Hawkins 2015: 26.

(Mykale) and up to the north to Puranda the inland city, including the Kaystros river basin Mira was considered by him as an inland province of Arzawa Minor centering in the basin of Banaz river, in the area between Uşak, Alaşehir and Buldan. My proposal (Fig. 3) about Arzawa Minor differs from that of Hawkins: The Kaystros (K.Menderes) river basin and Mt. Tmolos (Bozdağları) range constitue together the area of inland Mira. Alaşehir and Buldan remain correctly in Mira as frontier towns towards east to Kuwaliya. Uşak and Banaz are excluded from inland Mira while they remain possibly in Kuwaliya due to their proximity to Beycesultan and Afyon Region. Hawkins[139] considers that the Karabel frontier of Mira was likely established by Mursili II, since the Mt. Tmolos (Bozdağları) range is such an obvious natural frontier. Apparently not only the Karabel frontier but the whole Mt. Tmolos range extending from Karabel to Alaşehir belonged to Mira (Fig. 7) already before the expeditions of Mursili II to Arzawa.

Mursili II came back to Mira from Seha River land. In Mira he rebuilt the towns Arsani, Sarawa, and Impa and fortified them. He provided them with garrisons. He provided Hapanuwa with a garrison. He further proceeded to Aura (Emirdağ) towards east (Fig 7).

Arsani was the first of these cities, from hereon one expects him to go to the east from the spot he came from the Seha River land which might have been located somehere between Karabel pass and the river Hermos. The strip between cl. Magnesia (Manisa) and Urganlı-Asartepe on Hermos seems to be a possible area. But Magnesia is considered already being in the Seha River land. In this case Arsani should be located somewhere closer to Asartepe and to Akçapınar on the foothill of Mt. Tmolos.

Sarawa is then the next city after Arsani towards east. The only secure LBA site along the foothills of Mount Tmolos proceeding to the east is Sardis (see Fig. 7), where the new excavations of the Lydian palace quarter in Central Sardis by Cahill brought to light intensive remains of prehistoric pottery, which might indicate the existence of a LBA settlement. Meanwhile my proposal a derivation of the Lydian name Sardis, Sfarda– from Sarawa is now revised with the kind assistance of C. Melchert and A. Garrett. This toponymic proposal of Sardis does not in any case depend solely on the *Gleicklang* with Sarawa but also on the itinerary of Mursili II who came from Seha to Mira Land and the recent archaeological research undertaken at Sardis.

Impa was already mentioned as the city where Mashuiluwa defeated Piyama-Kurunta son of Uhhaziti and kept the city occupied before Mursili's great Arzawa campaign. It seems that Impa was the easternmost city of Mira having direct access to the Hittite controlled lands i.e. Kuwaliya. The fortified hilltop of Gavurtepe near Alaşehir with a huge megaron with LH III A2/B Mycenaean and local pottery (Fig. 9, 10, 12: 2, 6, 11, 16, 18) may be probably defined as a possible site for Impa.

Hapanuwa was mentioned earlier in the time of Suppiluliuma I in relation to Mashuiluwa's defeat of Impa. He has probably drawn from Impa to Hapanuwa. ….he indeed went further and (attacked) the town of Hapanuwa. It is narrated above that Mashuiluwa had to go further probably down to Kaystros valley which was geographically speaking constitued another part of Mira. Apparently Hapanuwa was located in the Kaystros valley coming from Impa (Alaşehir, cl. Philadelphia) through the Derbent pass, between Koloe (Kiraz) and Hypaipa (Ödemiş) on the road to Apasa (Ephesos).The city was also mentioned together with other cities fortified and garrisoned by Mursili II.

Additional evidence for revising the boundaries of Kuwaliya provided the site at Elmacık near Uşak. The classical site of *Kaualia*/*Kabalia* located at Elmacık is related as a toponym with Kuwaliya. The prehistoric mound with LBA pottery at Elmacık is a hint that the area between Elmacık, Uşak, Banaz and Akarçay (*Astarpa*) constitued the northern part of Kuwaliya probably adjacent to Siyanta River land (Fig. 14).

The revival of Ionian, Lydian and Phrygian civizilation in former Seha, Mira and Kuwaliya lands and the revival of famous cl. cities Ephesos and Miletos owe their importance to their LBA forerunners Apasa and Millawanda. It is also important to remember that the great cities of antiquity in Central West Anatolia Pergamon, Phokaia, Smyrna, Klazomenai, Philadelphia, Aphrodisias, Laodikeia, Hieropolis, Amorion and Apameia have certainly profited a lot from their LBA past.

[139] Hawkins 2020: 356.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

ABBREVIATIONS

AHT Ahhiyawa Texts

BGK Bademgediği Tepe Kazısı

EBA Early Bronze Age

GT Gavurtepe

GTÇ Geç Tunç Çağı

KBO Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy

LB Late Bronze

LBA Late Bronze Age

LH Late Helladic

LM Late Minoan

MBA Middle Bronze Age

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABAY, E. 2011.
"Preliminary Report on the Survey Project of Çivril Baklan and Çal Plains in the Upper Meander Basin Southwest Anatolia", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies Vol. 5*: 1-87.

BECKMAN, G. 1996.
"Hittite Diplomatic Texts", *Society of Biblical Scholars*. Atlanta.
BECKMAN, et all. 2011.

BECKMAN, G./BRYCE, T./CLİNE, E.
"The Ahhiyawa Texts, Writings from the Ancient World", İn: (Ed.T. J. Lewis), Number 28. Atlanta.

BRYCE, T. R. 2003.
"History in: "The Luwians" in: (Ed. H. Craig Melchert), *Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East Vol. 68*: 27-127.

BRYCE, T. R. 2009.
"The Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia", Routledge, New York.

CAHİLL, N. 2018.
"Archaeological Exploration of Sardis", *Second Newsletter from Sardis 2017*.

CAYMAZ, T. 2008.
"Urla Yarımadası Prehistorik Yerleşimleri", *Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 2008/1: 1-41.

CZİCHON, R. M. 2017.
"Hititlerin Batı Sınırı ve Uşak", in: *Yüzey Araştırmaları ve Kazılar Işığında Uşak*, in: (Edts. R. M. Czichon, Ş. Söyler, B. Can, İ. Çavuş). Uşak Müzesi Müdürlüğü, İstanbul.

EFE, T. 1994.
"1994 - 1992 Yılında Kütahya, Bilecik ve Eskişehir İllerinde Yapılan Yüzey Araştırmaları", *11. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 571-592, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, Ankara.

ERDEM, A. Ü. 2016.
"Izmir Bayraklı Höyüğü 2015 Yılı Tunç Çağı Çalışmaları", *38. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Volume 2*. Ankara: 417-426.

ERKANAL, A. 2006.
"Yeni Buluntular Işığında Panaztepe Kazısı", *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi I*. Ankara: 53-59.

ERKANAL, H. 2008.
"Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Liman Tepe, Batı Anadolu ve Doğu Akdeniz Geç Tunç Çağı Kültürleri Üzerine Yeni Araştırmalar", Hacettepe Üniversitesi: 91-100.

FORLANİNİ, M. 2007.
"Happuriya, Eine Hauptstadt von Arzawa", *Festschrift in Honor of Belkıs Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*. İstanbul: 285-298.

FORLANİNİ, M 2012.
"The Historical Geography of Western Anatolia in the Bronze Age: Still an Open Question", *Or NS 81*: 133-140.

GANDER, M. 2014.
"Tlos, Oinoanda and the Hittite Invasion of the Lukka Lands. Some Thoughts on the History of North-Western Lycia in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages", *Klio 96.2*: 369-415.

GANDER, M. 2017a.
"The West: Philology, Hittite Landscape and Geography", in: (Edts. M. Weeden, L. Z. Ullmann). Leiden/ Boston: 262-280.

GANDER, M. 2017b.
"An Alternative View on the Location of Arzawa and the Arzawa Lands", *L'Hittitologie aujourd'hui: Études sur l'Anatolie hittite et néo-hittite à l'occasion du centenaire de la naissance d'Emmanuel Laroche*, in: (Ed. A. Mouton). 21-22 Nov. 2014. Istanbul: 163-190.

GARSTANG, J./GURNEY, O. R. 1959.
"Geography of the Hittite Empire", *BIAA Occasional Monograph Series Vol. 5*, British Institute at Ankara.

GUSMANİ, R. 1964.
"Lydisches Wörterbuch", *mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung*, (Ed. C. Winter). Heidelberg.

GÜNEL, S. 2004.
"Yüzey Araştırmaları Işığında Aydın Yöresi Kültürel Gelişiminde Erken Dönemler", Türk Etnografya ve Arkeoloji Dergisi 2004, 4: 1-12.

GÜNEL, S. 2015.
"Çine-Tepecik: New Contributions on Late Bronze Age Cultures in Western Anatolia", Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in the Aegean Island and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Koç University Resarch Center for Anatolian Civilization, in: *Nostoi*, in: (Edts. N. C. Stampolidis - Ç. Maner - K. Kopanias). Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları. İstanbul: 627-646.

GÜNEL, S./HERBORDT, S. 2010.
"Ein hethitischer Siegelabdruck aus Cine-Tepecik" Archäologischer Anzeiger, München: 1-11.

GÜNEL, S./HERBORDT, S. 2014.
"Mykenische Kraterfragmente mit figürlichen Darstellungen und ein Siegelabdruck eines hethitischen Prinzen aus der spätbronzezeitlichen Siedlung von Çine-Tepecik", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, *2014/1*, 1-14.

GÜTERBOCK, H. G. 1992.
"A New Look at One Ahhiyawa Text", in: *Festschrift für Sedat Alp, Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, in: (Edts. H. Otten, E. Akurgal, H. Ertem, A. Süel), 235-243.

HABİCHT, C. 1975.
"New Evidence on the Province of Asia", *JRS 65*: 64-91.

HAWKİNS, J. D. 1998.
"Tarkasnawa King of Mira "Tarkondemos", Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel", *Anatolian Studies Vol.48*: 1-31.

HAWKİNS, J. D. 2006.
"Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie", *Band 11, s. v. Puranda.* Berlin - New York: 115 - 116.

HAWKİNS, J. D. 2015.
"The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)", Indigenous Culture, Migration and İntegration in the Aegean Island and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age and Early İron Age, Koç University Resarch Center for Anatolian Civilization, in: *Nostoi*, in: (Edts. N. C. Stampolidis - Ç. Maner - K. Kopanias). Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları. İstanbul:15-36.

HAWKİNS, J. D. 2020.
"TAWAGALAWA: The Topography [with Addenda]", *Der Tawagalawa-Brief*, (Edts. S. Heinhold-Krahmer, E. Rieken). Berlin/Boston: 338-365.

HEİNHOLD-KRAHMER, S. 1977.
"Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen". Heidelberg.

HEİNHOLD-KRAHMER, S. 2004.
"Ist die Identitat von Ilios mit Wilusa endgültig erwiesen?", *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (SMEA) 46/1*: 29-57.

HERBORDT, S 2019.
"Die Felsinchrift vom Suratkaya-Latmos" in: Feldforschungen in Latmos 2. Forschungen in Umland von Herakleia am Latmos, (Ed. H. Lohmann), *Asia Minor Studien 93,*Bonn: 129-151.

HERMANN, P. 1981.
"Tituli Asiae Minoris", *Vol. V Fasc. I*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien.

HERTEL, D. 2007.
"Der aiolische Siedlungsraun (Aiolis) am Übergang von der Bronze zur Eisenzeit", (Edts. J. Cobet, W.-D. Niemeier, V. von Graeve, K. Zimmerman), *Milesische Forschungen Band 5*: 97-124.

HOOD, S. 1982.
"Excavations in Chios 1938-1955: Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala", *Vol. II.* London.

HOUWİNK ten CATE, P. H. J., 1979.
"The Mashuiluwa Affair: a Join (KBo XIX 46), and a Duplicate(KBo IX 77), to Mursilis's Comprehensive Annals (12th year of his reign)", Fs Meriggi, 267–292

IŞIK, F. M./ATICI, Ş./TEKOĞLU, R. 2011.
"Die nachhethitische Königsstele von Karakuyu beim Karabel-Pass. Zur kulturellen Kontinuität vom bronzezeitlichen Mira zum eisenzeitlichen Ionia", in: (Ed. E. Schwertheim), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien VII. Asia Minor Studien 66.* Münster: 1-33.

JOUKOWSKY, M. 1986.
"Prehistoric Aphrodisias. An account of the Excavations and Artefact Studies, Louvain, 1986.

KELDER, J. M. 2004-2005.
"Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia", *Talanta XXXVI-XXXVII*: 49-85.

DOI: 10.22520/tubaar.2020.27.009

KOÇYİĞİT, O. 2009.
"Amorium'da Bulunan Yeni Veriler Işığında Bizans Dünyası'nda Şarap Üretimi", *Ortaçağ Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu 13*: 393-402.

KONAKÇI, E. 2015.
"Laodikeia Asopos Tepesi Geç Tunç Çağı Seramiği" 30. Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı: 223-236.

KONAKÇI, E. 2016.
"Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Ayasuluk Tepesi", *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimleri Enstitüsü Dergisi Sayı 25/1*: 135-165.

LOHMANN, H. 2019.
"Frühe Karische Befestigungen im Latmos und verwandte Anlangen" in: Feldforschungen in Latmos 2. Forschungen in Umland von Herakleia am Latmos, (Ed. H. Lohmann), *Asia Minor Studien 93,*Bonn: 155-281.

LOVE, I. C. 1969.
"Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey: Knidos 1968", in: (Ed. M. Mellink), *Anatolian Studies Vol: 19*: 5-26.

MELCHERT, H.C. 1994.
"Anatolian Historical Phonology". Amsterdam-Atlanta GA.

MELLAART J./MURRAY, A. 1995.
"Beycesultan, Late Bronze Age and Phrygian Pottery and Middle and Late Bronze Age Small Objects", *British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara No:12*. Ankara.

MERİÇ, R. 1989.
"1988 Yılı Alaşehir Kazısı", *XI. Kazı Sonuçları toplantısı Volume 1*. Ankara: 179-190.

MERİÇ, R. 2003.
"Bademgediği Tepe (Puranda) 1999-2002", *Ist.Mitt. 53:* 84-89

MERİÇ, R. 2007.
"Ein Vorbericht über eine spätbronzezeitliche befestigte Höhensiedlung bei Metropolis in Ionien: Die Arzawa Stadt Puranda?", *Milesische Forschungen Band 5*, (Edts. J. Cobet, W.-D. Niemeier, V. von Graeve, K. Zimmerman). 27-36.

MERİÇ, R. 2009.
"Das Hinterland von Ephesos archäologisch-topographische Forschungen im Kaystros-Tal", *Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahresheften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes Heft 12*. Wien.

MERİÇ, R. 2018.
"Hermus (Gediz) Valley in Western Turkey Results of an Archaeological and Historical Survey", *Publications of Ancient Smyrna Excavations: 11,* (Ed. A. Ersoy). İstanbul.

MERİÇ, R./ÖZ, A. K. 2015.
"Bademgediği Tepe (Puranda) Near Metropolis", Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in the Aegean Island and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Koç University Resarch Center for Anatolian Civilization, in: *Nostoi*, in: (Edts. N. C. Stampolidis - Ç. Maner - K. Kopanias). Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları. İstanbul: 609-626.

MOUNTJOY, P. A. 1999.
P. A. Mountjoy, The destruction of Troia VIh, Studia Troica 9, 1999, 253-293.

MÜLLER-KARPE, A. 2019.
"Herodot und die Hethiter Die Reliefs von Karabel und Karakuyu - Torbalı", *MDOG 151*: 295-321.

ORESHKO, R. 2013.
"Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia: Long Arm of the Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?", *Luwian Identities CHANE 64*: 345-420.

ORESHKO, R. 2019a.
"Geography of the Western Fringes: Gar(a)giša/ Gargiya and the Lands of the Late Bronze Age Caria", KARIA ARKHAIA, in: (Edts. O.Henry, K. Konuk), 4èmes RENCONTRES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE L'IFÉA, Istanbul 14-16 novembre 2013, 139-189.

ORESHKO, R. 2019b.
"Phonetic Value Lydian Letter <d> Revisited and the Development of PIE **d* in Lydian", *Wekwos 4*: 191-262.

ORESHKO, R. 2020.
"The Last Foothold of Arzawa: The Location of Puranda and Mount Arinnanda Revisited", *Brill Vol: 107*: 544-570.

RAMAGE, A. 1994.
"Early Iron Age Sardis and Its Neighbours" in: Anatolian Iron Ages 3. III. Anadolu Demir Çağları Sempozyumu Bildirileri, Monograph No. 16, (Edts. Çilingiroğlu A., French D. H.): 163-172.

ROOSEVELT, C. H. 2017.
"Lydia Arkeolojisi: Gyges'ten Büyük Iskender'e", Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları.

ROOSEVELT C. H./LUKE, C. 2017.
"The story of a forgotten Kingdom? Survey archaeology and the historical geography of Central Western Anatolia in the Second Millenium BC", *European Journal of Archaeology 20 (1)*: 120-147.

ROOSEVELT, C. H./LUKE, C./ÜNLÜSOY, S./ ÇAKIRLAR, C./MARSTON, J. M./O'GRADY, C.R./ PAVUK, P./ PİENİĄŻEK, M./ MOKRİŠOVÁ, J./ SCOTT, C. B./SHIN, N./SLIM, G. 2018.
"Exploring Space, Economy, and Interregional Interaction at a Second-Millennium B.C.E. Citadel in Central Western Anatolia: 2014–2017 Research at Kaymakçı", *American Journal of Archaeology Vol. 122 No:4,* 645-688.

STARKE, F. (SEHA) 2001.
"Starke, s.v. Seha", *Der Neue Pauly Band 11*: 345-347.

STARKE, F. 2001.
"Troia im Machtgefüge des zweiten Jahrtausends vor Christus. Die Geschichte des Landes Wilusa, in: Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit. Ausstellungskatalog. Stuttgart: 34-46.

STROBEL, K. 2008.
"Neues zur Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Anatolien. Eine Einführung mit einem Beitrag zur hethitischen Geographie des westlichen Anatolien", in: (Ed. K. Strobel), *New Perspectives on the Historical Geography and Topography of Anatolia in the II and I Millennium B.C.* Florenz: 9–61.

ŞEN, E./AYDAR, E./BAYHAN, E./GOUGAUD, A. 2014.
"Alkali Bazalt ve Piroklastik Çökellerin Volkanolojik Özellikleri", Kula Volkanları, Batı Anadolu *Yerbilimleri 35 (3)*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yerbilimleri Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Bülteni. Ankara: 219-252.

TEKOĞLU, R. 2003.
"A hieroglyphic Stele from Afyon archaeological Museum", *Estratto da Athenaeum. Studi Letteratura dell Antichita, vol. XCI Fasc. II*: 540-545.

ÜNAL, A. 2017
"Arinnanda-Mykale Dağı ve Puranda-Priene Eşitlemesi Üzerine" *Prof. Dr. Recep Yıldırım'a Armağan,* (Edts. Pınarcık P., Gökçe B., Erkek M. S., Kandal S. C.). Ankara:19-35.

ZGUSTA, L. 1984.
"Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen. Winter.