

THE LUWIAN HIEROGLYPHIC CONTRIBUTION TO ANATOLIAN GEOGRAPHY

Fred C. Woudhuizen

The reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia during the Hittite Empire period has been a hotly disputed subject, with widely differing views being ventilated in the course of time. It is true that the identification of place names like *Millawanda* and *Apaša* with classical *Miletos* and *Ephesos*, respectively, goes back to the days of Bedrich HroznýTM (1929)¹ and John Garstang & Oliver Gurney (1959), but nonetheless Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer wrote her in-depth study of the western country, and later province, Arzawa (1977) without attempting to draw it on a map. A major step forward in the reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia, producing unimpeachable identifications, was achieved by Heinrich Otten with the publication in 1988 of a treaty between greatking Tudhaliyas IV and his vassal-king Kuruntas of Tarhuntassa on a bronze tablet from Boğazköy-Hattusa. In this treaty the boundaries of the province of Tarhuntassa are meticulously described; as far as the western border is concerned, it is stipulated that in the region of the city of *Parha* this is formed by the river *Kaštaraya*—two names convincingly identified by Otten as classical *Perge* along the *Kestros* in Pamphylia.² As a side remark, it is added that the greatking is planning a military campaign against *Parha* and that, after it has been conquered, it will become part of the province of Tarhuntassa.³

A second milestone in the reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia, and the first one provided by Luwian hieroglyphic sources, we owe to the merit of Massimo Poetto. In his publication of the Yalburt inscription, in 1993, he was able to establish on the basis of the correspondence of the place names *Pinata*, *Awarna*, *Talwa*, and *Patar* to epichoric Lycian *Pinale*, *Arñine*, *Tlawā*, and *Pttara*, that this text deals with a military campaign by Tudhaliyas IV in the valley of the Xanthos river in the western part of Lycia.⁴ As explicitly indicated in the epilogue of the text, “in these lands the greatkings of Hatti, my fathers (and) grandfathers, no one has marched” (Yalburt, phrase 42), which in effect means that this region of western Anatolia is conquered by the Hittites for the first time. As I have argued in my own contribution to the interpretation of the Yalburt text, this also commemorates an earlier part of the same military campaign in the river land of *Luwata* and *Hwalatarna*, which for the correspondence of these names to classical *Loan-*

¹ See del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v.

² Otten 1988: 37 (= commentary to VIII, 61).

³ Otten 1988: VIII, 62-4.

⁴ Poetto 1993: 78-81.

da and epichoric Lycian *Xbide* (= classical *Kaunos*), respectively, has a bearing on the valley of the Indus river situated immediately to the west of the Xanthus valley.⁵ It is made very clear by the expression *apa muwaha* “I reconquered” (Yalburt, phrase 12) that this latter region of western Anatolia, in contrast to that of the valley of the Xanthus river, already formed an integral part of the Hittite Empire. (Note that from a geographical point of view the given sequence of affairs is fully understandable, as the mountainous terrain of the Xanthus valley is much more difficult to penetrate than that of the Indus river.)

A third major advance in the reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia, and the second one based on Luwian hieroglyphic sources, comes from a recent article of John David Hawkins. In this article Hawkins brilliantly demonstrated that one of the well-known rock reliefs at Karabel, in the hinterland of Smyrna, is the product of a vassal-king of the land of *Mira*⁶—together with Kuwaliya in fact the successor-state of the aforementioned Arzawa after its defeat by Mursilis II in the years 3-4 of his reign.⁷ As Hawkins himself quickly grasped, an immediate consequence of these stunning new readings is that the land of Mira (and before it that of Arzawa) stretches from the Anatolian plateau to the coast of the Aegean, and hence that the long standing identification of its capital Apasa with classical Ephesos is virtually confirmed.⁸

If we further realize that the identification of the country *Wiluša* with Homeric *Ilion* in the Troad is not seriously challenged,⁹ there are for the completion of our reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia only three countries left which need to be placed on the map: the *Šeha* river land, *Maša*, and *Karkiša*. Within the reasonably tight framework reached at in the above, space for these countries is only left in the Meander valley between Lukka and Mira on the one hand and in the Kaikos valley between Mira and *Wiluša* on the other hand. The clues for a decision in this matter are sparse. In the annals of Mursilis II it is recorded that Manapatarhundas, before he became ruler of the *Šeha* river land, had fled to Karkisa, which therefore may be considered as neighbouring country.¹⁰ Another piece of evidence is offered by the so-called Manapatarhundas-letter, according to which *SARIPUTU*-men falling under the authority of the vassal-king of the *Šeha* river land were transported by a certain Piyamaradus from their residence in *Lazpa* (= the island of *Lesbos*) to presumably the city of Millawanda (=Miletos).¹¹ This might

⁵ Woudhuizen 1995: 58-9; Woudhuizen 1994-5 [1996]: 173-4.

⁶ Hawkins 1998: 4-8 (Karabel A). The name of the vassal-king, which is also known from bullae from Boğazköy, reads, with the goat's head sign *101 *TARKU* instead of the donkey-head *100 *TARKASNA*, *Tarkuwa*-. The inscription gives his genealogy up to the third degree, of which only the name of the father is readable as (with the bird sign *131-3) *ARA+li*—possibly a shorthand writing of *Alantallis*, mentioned as a witness to the treaty between Tudhaliyas IV and Kuruntas of Tarhuntassa (pp. 17-8). If so, the son Tarkuwas may have been a contemporary of Suppiluliumas II.

⁷ Hawkins 1998: 10; 15 (with reference to Heinhold-Krahmer 1997).

⁸ Hawkins 1998: 23.

⁹ Güterbock 1986; cf. Hawkins 1998: 23; 31, fig. 11.

¹⁰ Götze 1967: 67 f.; cf. Friedrich 1930: 5 (= Manapatarhundas-treaty).

¹¹ Houwink ten Cate 1983-4: 39-40 (KUB XIX 5); the city of Millawanda is not explicitly mentioned, but reference is made to Atpas, who, according to the Tawagalawas-letter, resided there.

argue for a northern location of the Šeha river land, close to Lesbos, but seems to conflict with a shared border with Karkisa if the latter is by and large identified, as seems likely, with later Karia. Similarly, in the annals of Mursilis II, again, the first known ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya, Mashuiluwas, is reported for year 12 to have fled to Masa, from which it might be deduced that these two countries share a common border.¹² None of these clues, however, are decisive, and it need not surprise us therefore that they have been variously judged.

Yet another clue, though, may be extracted from Hittite cuneiform sources. This concerns the career of Piyamaradus as recorded for especially the Manapatarhundas- and Tawagalawas-letters. As we have seen, the first records his deportation of *SARIPUTU*-men falling under the authority of the vassal-king of the Šeha river land from the island of Lesbos to presumably the city of Miletos. It is also stated here that he humiliated the writer of the letter, Manatarhundas.¹³ In the second letter, the greatking (who is the author) complains that Piyamaradus constantly harasses “this land”,¹⁴ which on the basis of the context can only refer to some region in the hinterland of Miletos. Furthermore, the greatking appears to know that Piyamaradus is planning assaults on the lands Masa and Karkiya (= variant form of Karkisa).¹⁵ Finally, if the greatking arrives in Miletos, Piyamaradus has left the city by ship.¹⁶ From this information, one cannot help getting the impression that, from a geographical point of view, Piyamaradus’ activity is bound to the east Aegean region. Perhaps a modest conclusion, but it actually excludes the location of Masa in later Bithynia, as Frank Starke proposed.¹⁷

We might look at the matter from a different angle of incidence. The Yalburt text proves that what the Hittites considered the *Lukka* lands (mentioned in the phrases 4 and 5) substantially overlaps with the later province of *Lycia*. Similarly, the identification of Mira in the rock reliefs at Karabel virtually proves the identity of Apasa with classical Ephesos and of Millawanda with classical Miletos. Why not assume, then, that Karkisa or Karkiya overlaps with classical *Karia* and that Masa overlaps with classical *Mysia* (note that the *a/u*-vowel change is paralleled for *masakana*- being the Luwian hieroglyphic indication of the *Muski*)? According to Herodotos and Thucydides, the Karians once lived on the islands of the Aegean before their movement to the mainland of Anatolia into their later habitat, the province of Karia.¹⁸ Hence, they may at least partly still be situated on the islands before the Anatolian coast in the period we are dealing with, for which reason

¹² Götze 1967: 145.

¹³ Houwink ten Cate 198-4: 9-40 (KUB XIX 5, line 7).

¹⁴ Sommer 1932: 3-19 (KUB XIV 3 I 51; III 59).

¹⁵ Sommer 1932: 3-19 (KUB XIX 3 III 53; IV 6).

¹⁶ Sommer 1932: 3-19 (KUB XIV 3 I 61-2).

¹⁷ Starke 1997: 451 for Masa “kommt nunmehr jedoch nur noch Bithynien in Betracht”.

¹⁸ Herodotos I, 171; Thuc. I, 4. According to Thucydides, the Karians were driven from the islands of the Cyclades in the times of Minos; Herodotos, on the other hand, is of the opinion that they served Minos when living on the islands, which necessarily means that their movement to the mainland dates from a later period. For the dating of the Minoan thalassocracy, which is embodied in the person of Minos, to the period c. 1550-1450 BC, see Woudhuizen 1992: 51-6.

we would position Karkisa or Karkiya here on the map. The province of Mysia is in its earliest attestations located on the coast immediately south of the Troad: thus Xenophon speaks of the Theban plain at the foot of mount Ida and Pergamon in the plain of the Kaikos river as places belonging to Mysia.¹⁹ In line with this evidence, we would propose to place Masa in the valley of the Kaikos river. By means of deduction, this leaves us with the valley of the Meander river as the only possible location for the Šeha river land.²⁰

The reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia as proposed here (see Map I) coincides with the given clues from the Hittite cuneiform sources according to which the Šeha river land likely borders on Karkisa and Mira likely borders on Masa. The *SARIPUTU*-men from Lesbos, however, which fall under the authority of Manapatarhundas, the vassal-king of the Šeha river land, must in this reconstruction be considered Šehan settlers in a foreign country—by no means an implausible inference as it is in dispute to whom they are obliged to pay taxes!

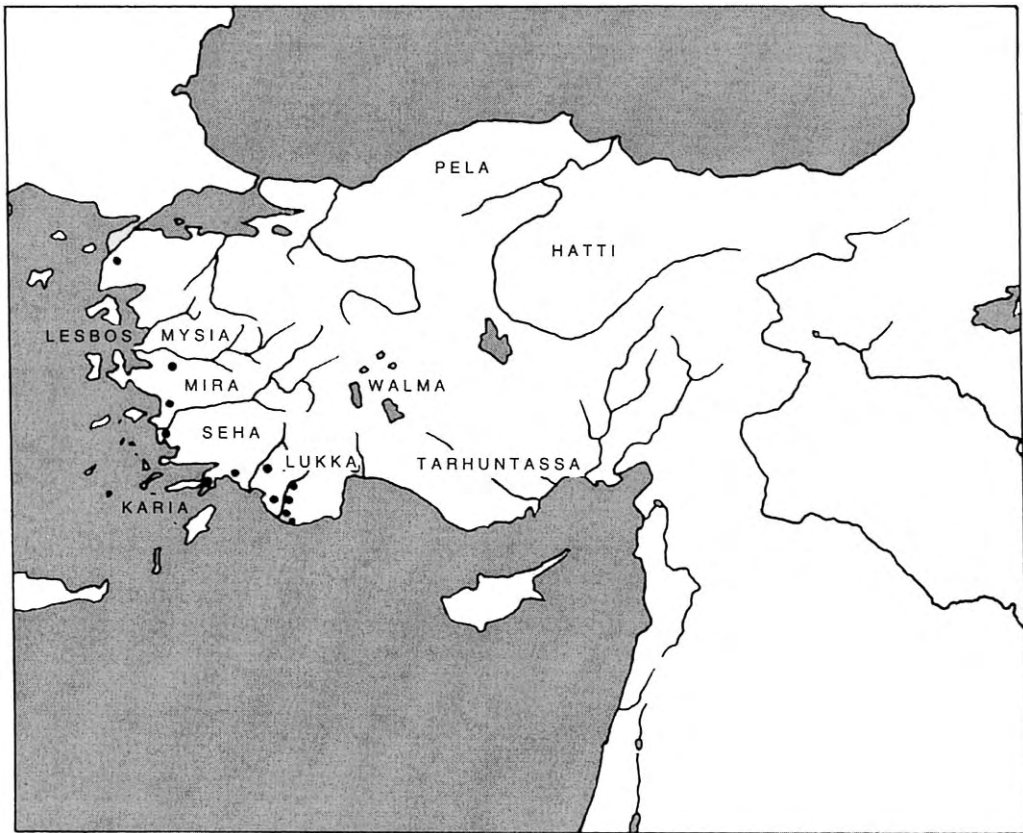
Bibliography

- Friedrich, Johannes, 1930 - Staatsverträge des Ḫatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2. Teil. Leipzig.
- Garstang, John, and Gurney, Oliver R., 1959 - The Geography of the Hittite Empire. London.
- Götze, Albrecht (also: Goetze), 1967 - Die Annalen des Muṣṣiliṣ (unveränderter reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1933). Darmstadt.
- Güterbock, Hans Gustav, 1986 - Troy in Hittite Texts? Wilusa, Aḫḫiyawa, and Hittite History. In: Troy and the Trojan War, A Symposium held at Bryn Mawr College October 1984, ed. Machteld Mellink. Bryn Mawr, P.A.: 33-44.
- Hawkins, John David, 1998 - Tarkasnawa King of Mira, 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy sealings and Karabel. *Anatolian Studies* 48: 1-31.
- Heinhold-Krahmer, Susanne, 1977 - Arzawa, Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen. Heidelberg.
- Houwink ten Cate, Philo H.J., 1983-4 - Sidelights on the Aḫḫiyawa Question from Hittite Vassal and Royal Correspondence. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 28: 33-79.
- Monte, Giuseppe F. del, Tischler, Johann, 1978 - Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* 6. Wiesbaden.
- Otten, Heinrich, 1988 - Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy, Ein Staatsvertrag Tudḫalijas IV. Studien zur Boğazköy Texte, Beiheft 1. Wiesbaden.
- Poetto, Massimo, 1993 - L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt, Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'anatolia sud-occidentale. *Studia Mediterranea* 8. Pavia.
- Sommer, Ferdinand, 1932 - Die Aḫḫijava-Urkunden. München.

¹⁹ Xenophon, *Anab.* VII, 8, 8. Note that the mention of Mysia in the Kypria as the scene of an earlier abortive attack by the Greeks against Troy probably refers to the same general area as well, see Loeb 57, Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric, p. 493, and commentary to Hom., *Il.* XXIV, 765. Cf. also Strab. XII, 8, 1 (end section).

²⁰ Suggested already by Götze in 1957, see del Monte & Tischler 1978, s.v.

- Starke, Frank, 1997 - Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen Umfeldes Kleinasien im 2. Jahrtausend. *Studia Troica* 7: 447-487.
- Woudhuizen, Fred C., 1992 - The Language of the Sea Peoples. Amsterdam.
- Woudhuizen, Fred C., 1984-5 - Luwian Hieroglyphic Monumental Rock and Stone Inscriptions from the Hittite Empire Period. *Talanta, Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society* 26-27: 153-217.
- Woudhuizen, Fred C., 1995 - The Late Hittite Empire in the Light of Recently Discovered Luwian Hieroglyphic Texts. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 23: 53-81.



Map 1. Sites mentioned in the text. 1. Perge, 2. Oinoanda, 3. Tlos, 4. Arinna, 5. Patara, 6. Pinara, 7. Loanda, 8. Kaunos, 9. Miletos, 10. Ephesos, 11. Karabel, 12. Ilion; a. Kızıl Irmak, b; Kestros river, c. Xanthos river, d. Indus river, e; Meander river, f. Hermos river, g. Kaikos river