

*Reprinted from*

# ANATOLIAN STUDIES

Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

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VOL. XLII

1992

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THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA  
c/o The British Academy, 20-21 Cornwall Terrace, London NW1 4QP



## THE LOCATION OF CILICIAN URA<sup>1</sup>

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Much has been written about the city of Ura in southern Anatolia, which was important in both the Bronze and the Iron Ages.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, no fully satisfactory location for Ura has yet been proposed.

The primary text for locating Ura is the Neriglissar Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> This records:

"Appuašu, king of Pirindu mustered his [large] army and set out to plunder and sack Syria (*ebir nāri*). Neriglissar mustered his army and marched to Hume to oppose him. In anticipation of him (i.e. Neriglissar) (*lāmišu*), Appuašu placed the army and cavalry which he had assembled in a mountain valley in ambush. (When) Neriglissar reached them he inflicted a defeat upon them (and) conquered the large army. He captured his army and numerous horses. He pursued Appuašu for a distance of fifteen double-hours (*bēru*) through difficult mountains, where men must walk in single file, as far as Ura<sup>3</sup>, his royal city. When(?) he reached it, he seized Ura<sup>3</sup> and sacked it. When he had marched for a distance of six double hours through rough mountains and difficult passes from Ura<sup>3</sup> to Kirši—his forefathers' royal city—he captured Kirši, the mighty city, his royal city. He burnt its walls, its palace and its people. Pitusu, a mountain in the midst of the ocean, and six-thousand combat troops stationed therein, he captured by means of ships. He destroyed its city and captured its people. In that same year he started fires from the pass of Sallune to the border of Lydia."

This text makes it clear that Ura was beyond the Cilician Plain (Hume = Que) and approached through a defile through mountainous terrain. Ramsay<sup>4</sup> suggested that Pirinduan Ura was to be equated with Classical Olbē, also known as Ourba or Ourwa and today called Ura, a village 3 km. from Uzuncaburç.<sup>5</sup> This fits the evidence from the Neriglissar chronicle well enough.

However, since Ramsay wrote, it has come to light that in the Hittite period Ura was an important port, whose merchants were successfully trading with

<sup>1</sup>I wish to thank H. G. Güterbock, O. R. Gurney, H. A. Hoffner and J. A. Scurlock for having read and given valuable comment on earlier versions of this paper. Mistakes which remain are, of course, my own responsibility.

<sup>2</sup>There was at least one other Ura, a fortress on the border of Azzi *KUB* 14.17 iii 21–4, w. dupl. *KUB* 26.79 i 15–17, ed. A. Götz, *AM* pp. 98 f. For bibliography and references to the various Ura-s of Anatolia see E. Laroche, *RHA* XIX/69 (1961):77, H. Otten, *IM* 17 (1967) 58–60, A. Kammenhuber, *OrNS* 39 (1970) 556 f. and G. del Monte, *RGTC* 6 pp. 457 f. no. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Ed. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956) pp. 74 f., w. comments on p. 88 and more recently A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley N.Y., 1975) p. 103 w. notes on p. 265.

<sup>4</sup>*The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (London: John Murray, 1890) pp. 22, 364, followed by D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 88, E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958): 270–2, Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, (Leiden, 1961) pp. 17 f., A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962): 48 w. n. 7, R. Zadok, *RGTC* 8 (1985) p. 320, and most recently repeated at the 93rd Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (Chicago, 1991) by Y. Scarborough and S. Basal "A Preliminary Survey of Olba and Diocaesarea in Rough Cilicia".

<sup>5</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor* III Part 3 (London: Naval Staff Intelligence Department, July 1918), p. 113; R. Boulanger, *Turkey*, Hachette World Guides (Engl. tr. of Guide Bleu), (Paris, 1970) p. 647. The ruins are identified as Olbē based on epigraphic finds there that refer to the name Olbē (e.g. Th. Bent, *JHS* XII (1891) 262 f., no. 45, 269 f. no. 71 and J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *MAMA* III [Manchester, 1931], pp. 44–5, 68 f.).



Ugarit.<sup>6</sup> It was also one of several ports to which famine-relief grain ships were sent from Syria.<sup>7</sup> Uzuncaburç is 19 miles from the coast and is certainly no seaport.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Albright has argued that 19th century classicist and explorer Th. Bent<sup>9</sup> misheard the Turkish geographical name of Oğuralan as Ura and so misled later scholars into falsely thinking that there was indeed a modern village called Ura.<sup>10</sup>

Many scholars have been tempted to satisfy the Hittite evidence by placing Ura in any of a number of small ports along the Cilician coast. Cornelius<sup>11</sup> suggested the port of Ayaş (Classical Elaeusa), 19¼ miles east of Silifke. Albright<sup>12</sup> suggested "at or near Silifke". This suggestion has recently been followed by A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur.<sup>13</sup> Silifke has one obvious advantage over the other possibilities. In the area between the Cilician Gates and Pamphylia, the easiest road from the coast to the plateau starts at Silifke. Lemaire and Lozachmeur further note that Stephan of Byzantium, who, they point out, does correctly preserve other ancient geographical information (e.g. that Arna was the ancient name of Xanthos) records that Huria was the ancient name of Seleukeia (Silifke).<sup>14</sup> They further suggest that the distances in *bēru* given by Neriglissar for the two stages of his campaign (15 from the site of the battle to Ura and 6 from Ura to Kirši) correspond nicely with the 157 km. from Adana to Silifke and 66 km. from Silifke to Meydancikkalesi,<sup>15</sup> which epigraphic evidence now identifies with Kirši.<sup>16</sup> These figures yield a value for the *bēru* of 10.46 and 11.0 km., respectively, which is

<sup>6</sup>RS 20.04, ed. J. Nougayrol, *Ugar. V* (1968): 193 (no. 100); RS 18.20 + RS 17.371, ed. J. Nougayrol, *PRU IV* pp. 202–3; RS 17.299, ed. *PRU IV* pp. 182–4; RS 17.316, ed. *PRU IV* p. 190 (referred to as "merchants of My Majesty", i.e. of the Hittite king). For discussions see C. H. Gordon, *JNES* 17 (1958): 28, W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 163 (1961): 44 n. 42, M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'eta degli archivi politici*, *Studi Semitici* 6 (Rome, 1962) pp. 80–3. The names of the merchants of Ura are primarily Luwian with some Hurrian and Mittannian, see A. Goetze, "Cilicians", *JCS* 16 (1962): 48–50. For a mention of merchants of Ura in a Hittite literary text, see H. Hoffner, *JCS* 22 (1968): 34–8. In fact these Hittite merchants were perceived by the Ugaritans as making so much money in trade that they were buying up all the real estate in Ugarit (RS 17.130 (Hatt. III) ed. J. Nougayrol, *PRU IV* pp. 103–5, see H. Otten, *IM* 17 (1967): 58).

<sup>7</sup>Bo 2810, ed. H. Klengel, *AOF I* (1974): 172 f., and cf. H. Otten, *IM* 17 (1967): 58; see also RS 26.158, ed. J. Nougayrol, *Ugar. V* (1968): 323 f. (no. 171); RS 20.212, ed. *Ugar. V*: 105–7 (no. 33).

<sup>8</sup>To accept Ramsay's equation of Ura with Olba/Olbē, one must be willing to accept that there was a "City of Ura" in the mountains (Ourba) (thus fitting the evidence of the Neriglissar Chronicle and the similarity of name) and 19 miles of mountain track away, a "Port of Ura" (Korigos or Ayaş) (fitting the evidence from Hatti and Ugarit). Indeed in Classical Period the domain of a small temple state centred on Olbē may well have reached the sea at Ayaş (Elaeussa) (D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor I* p. 269). D. Bing, "A History of Cilicia During the Assyrian Period", (Ph.D. Diss., Indiana Univ., 1969), 156, dissociates the Hittite seaport of Ura from the Pirinduan mountain fortress of Ura.

<sup>9</sup>*Proc. RGS*, 1890: 445 f. and *JHS* XII (1891) 222.

<sup>10</sup>W. F. Albright, *AJA* 65 (1961): 400 and *BASOR* 163 (1961): 44 n. 42, repeated by H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 45 (1986): 320 w. n. 12. Albright's arguments were dismissed by A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962) 48 w. n. 7, because he saw no reason that Ura should be a port.

<sup>11</sup>*Geschichte* (1973) p. 321.

<sup>12</sup>*BASOR* 163 (1961): 44 n. 42, followed most recently by M. Forlanini, *Vicino Oriente* 7 (1988): 145. H. G. Güterbock, *JNES* 45 (1986): 320 argues, (Hittite Ura) "must have been in Cilicia, whether Campestris or Aspera, and may have been near Silifke and the estuary of the Kalykadnos/Göksu".

<sup>13</sup>*CRAIBL* 1987: 373–7.

<sup>14</sup>*CRAIBL* 1987: 375 w. nn. 29, 31.

<sup>15</sup>*CRAIBL* 1987: 376, 377.

<sup>16</sup>Lemaire and Lozachmeur, *CRAIBL* 1987: 372–7.

quite close to size of the *bēru* calculated from the Mesopotamian mathematical texts, 10.8 km.<sup>17</sup> At two hours per *bēru*, Lemaire and Lozachmeur's figures would require a travelling speed of 3.27 and 3.43 miles/hr., respectively, about the speed of horses on a long journey.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, there are considerable problems with reconciling the account of the Neriglissar chronicle with the location of Ura at either Silifke or Ayaş. The chronicle says that the pursuit toward Ura took place "through difficult mountains, where men must walk in single file". There is nothing at all fitting this description between Adana and Silifke.<sup>19</sup> This appears to eliminate both Ayaş and Silifke from consideration as the site of Ura.

Furthermore, there are problems with Lemaire and Lozachmeur's calculation of the distances involved in Neriglissar's campaign. While they may be correct that *uru Hu-me-e* mentioned by the Neriglissar chronicle is Adana, there is no reason to believe that the battle between Neriglissar and Appuašu took place at Adana. The chronicle clearly says that it took place at a pass selected by Appuašu in anticipation of Neriglissar's arrival. There is no pass in the immediate vicinity of Adana. For the sake of argument we will take the distance from the pass nearest to Adana, Kaleköy (near the medieval castle of Toprakkale). From here to Silifke is 229 km. which gives a value for the *bēru* of 15.27 km. or a travelling speed of 4.77 miles/hr. These figures would be even higher if the battle was fought in the more important passes of Beilan or Bahçe which are even further from Silifke. According to the Admiralty Handbook, Ottoman post horses could travel at 3.75 miles/hr. on level terrain, but armies go considerably slower than post horses.<sup>20</sup> Since this was no brief pursuit, but a march clear across Cilicia, one presumes that Neriglissar brought his pack animals along. The Ottoman caravan rate of speed is less than 3 miles/hr.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it seems that the figures assumed for the speed of Neriglissar's march by Lemaire and Lozachmeur are considerably too high.

Finally, it is dangerous to put too much reliance on Stephan of Byzantium. This work seems to have been written around the time of Justinian (A.D. 527–565),<sup>22</sup> which means that it dates from over a millennium later than Neriglissar's chronicle. Furthermore, Stephan's geographical information is not considered altogether reliable by modern Classical scholars. They accuse him of listing as separate places what are only variations of a single place name and of misunder-

<sup>17</sup>F. Thureau-Dangin, *TMB* XIII, cited in W. von Soden, *AHW* 130. *CAD B* 208–11 gives a definition "over ten kilometers" citing as a source for this F. Thureau-Dangin, *JA* XIII (1909) 98 f. and Streck, *Asb.* II 74 n. 1. The latter, however, based on the Neo-Assyrian annals, gives a figure of c. 8.3 km. (Thureau-Dangin continues however; see below n. 52.) Most recently M. Powell, *RLA* 7: 467a.

<sup>18</sup>*A Handbook for Asia Minor I* (1916) p. 264 records that 3½ miles is equivalent to "one horse hour".

<sup>19</sup>Remember that Neriglissar had already passed through the Amanus and so would not have made a fuss over a few low hills (*contra* Lemaire and Lozachmeur, *CRAIBL* 1987: 376). For this section of road see *A Handbook of Asia Minor III/3* pp. 117–20 (Route 31). The most difficult section is described as "Gentle ascent over a spur past numerous ancient ruins. Kuru Dere, narrow ravine which the road crosses. On the other side it winds up and down over projecting spurs which rise to a height of about 300 ft." This (the only section even remotely difficult) is probably about a mile or two long.

<sup>20</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor I* pp. 263–4.

<sup>21</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor I* pp. 263 f.

<sup>22</sup>K. Vogel in *The Cambridge Medieval History* vol. IV/2, Cambridge, 1967, p. 295.

standing his sources.<sup>23</sup> Stephan, in the section cited by Lemaire and Lozachmeur says more fully that "Formerly (Seleukeia) was called Olbia (Ὀλβία, var. Holmia (Ὀλμία)) and Huria (Ὑρία)".<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere he says: "Huria is also the Seleukeia that is over-against Isauria, which the Kalykadnos flows by".<sup>25</sup> Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79) mentions "Seleukia, . . . , a city moved from the seashore, where it used to be called Hermia".<sup>26</sup> Strabo (63? B.C.–A.D. 19?) also knows of an Olbē (Ὀλβή), but he is quite clear that it is in the mountainous country which lies behind Anchiale and Soli.<sup>27</sup> Strabo further relates that the people of Holmoi (Ὀλμοί), a coastal town just west of the mouth of the Kalykadnos River, were moved to the riverine port of Seleukeia when the latter was founded by Seleukos I.<sup>28</sup> This story, too, is to be found in Stephan.<sup>29</sup> As for Ura=Huria, it seems that various corruptions of the name of the coastal town whose people were moved to the newly founded Seleukeia have crept into the literature. Strabo called it Holmoi; Pliny thought it was Hermia, while Stephan found it called by his sources Holmoi, Olbia and Huria. Holmoi, Holmia, and Hermia are presumably attempts to render the same name;<sup>30</sup> Huria and Olbia are either corruptions of Hermia and Holmoi or a contamination of the names Hermia and Holmoi by the commoner names Huria and Olbia. Both Olbia and (H)uria are well known names elsewhere in the classical world.<sup>31</sup> It therefore seems likely that Stephan or his sources "rationalized" the confusion surrounding the name of the original city in the Kalykadnos delta by assuming that it was really simply one more Olbia or (H)uria. Either way Huria, Ura and Silifke probably have little to do with each other. In any case, the evidence of Stephan of Byzantium should not be trusted unless it accords fully with the other available evidence which, as we have seen, it does not.

Where then was Ura located? West of Silifke, the mountains come down to the sea, so that the only overland routes are through mountains.<sup>32</sup> This satisfies the

<sup>23</sup>*Der kleine Pauly* (1975) s.v. Stephanos §6 states: "Die eigentl. geogr. Angaben sind alles andere als zuverlässig (mehrmalige Behandlung eines und deselben Ortes unter orthogr. leicht variierten Namen, Missverständnisse seiner Quellen)."

<sup>24</sup>In the entry for "Seleukeia", cf. *Stephani Byzantii: Ethnicorum Quae Supersunt*, ed. by August Meineke, Berlin: G. Reimeri, 1849, p. 560.

<sup>25</sup>ἑστὶν Ὑρία καὶ ἡ κατὰ Ἰσαυρίαν Σελεύκεια ἥ παραρρεῖ ὁ Καλύκαδνος (in the entry for Huria, cf. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii* pp. 651 f.).

<sup>26</sup>*Natural History* 5.22.93, ed. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library edition, vol. 2, pp. 290 f.

<sup>27</sup>Strabo 14.5.10, ed. H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library Edition, vol. 6, pp. 342 f. Strabo says that it had a prominent temple of Zeus. For the identification of the site with the ruins with their prominent temple near Uzuncaburç see above n. 5. Uzuncaburç lies in the same mountain range that passes behind Soli, but is somewhat to the west.

Both Strabo and Stephan know of another Olbē on the southern coast of Anatolia, this in western Pamphylia (Strabo 14.4.1, Stephan p. 489).

<sup>28</sup>Strabo 14.5.4, ed. Loeb edition vol. 6 pp. 332 f.

<sup>29</sup>Cf. under the entry "Holmoi" (cf. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii* p. 490). The "Seleukeia" entry preserves mention of Holmia as a textual variant to Olbia.

<sup>30</sup>Since there seems to have been only one city called Hermia/Holmoi, it is likely that one of these two names is the correct name of the city in question.

<sup>31</sup>Pauly-Wissowa Ser. 1 vol. 17 s.v. Hyria lists three, one north of Vesuvius, one in Calabria and one having to do with Zakynthos or Paros. Stephan lists eight Olbia's—in Liguria, Pontos, Bithynia, Pamphylia, Iberia, Sardinia, Illyria, and the Hellespont—not including the one in Cilicia.

<sup>32</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor* III/3 pp. 92–6 (route 17). Compare the description in n. 19 above to the description of the route from Gilindere to Silifke: (mile 208 [from Alaniya]) Kilindria . . . crosses a sharp promontory . . . (mile 214½) Bay on the r., from which the track ascends by a narrow winding path. (mile 218) Road crosses the Dobadyr Su (anc. Melanus) to Babadul on the E. side of the valley. (mile 222½) Ascent over a mountain spur. General

description of Neriglissar's march given in the Neriglissar Chronicle far better than the flat plains of Cilicia which stretch between Adana and Silifke. There are also a number of ports along this coast west of Silifke.<sup>33</sup>

A likely candidate for the location of Ura is the port of Gilindere (Classical Kelenderis, near modern Aydıncık). This town is described by Strabo as "a city with a harbour".<sup>34</sup> From a more recent report we can conclude that the harbour is a natural one since "on the small promontory which protects the harbour are the konak [= government house] and mediaeval ruins".<sup>35</sup> Another says, "the small but secure natural harbour of Kelindir bay provides anchorage".<sup>36</sup> This port has the advantage of being connected with the plateau at Karaman (Hittite Lalandā) via Meydancikkalesi (near modern Gülnar [= Ottoman: Aine Bazar]) and Mut or Meydancikkalesi and Ermenek. A Hittite rock relief has been found at Ermenek,<sup>37</sup> which shows that the Hittites did frequent this area. At Meydancikkalesi was found a Hittite orthostate with a badly worn hieroglyphic cartouche of Muwattalli II.<sup>38</sup> On this evidence Laroche<sup>39</sup> has equated the site with Tarhunšaša, which was for a while the capital of the Hittite empire and afterwards capital of an appanage state. Furthermore, as we saw above, there is now epigraphic evidence that Iron-age Meydancikkalesi is to be equated with Kirši, the next fortress attacked by Neriglissar after his conquest of Ura. It should be noted that Neriglissar calls both Ura and Kirši "royal cities" of Appuašu. In late Ottoman times, Aine Bazar (Gülnar) near Meydancikkalesi was the summer residence of the district governor (*kaymakam*) and merchants of Gilindere.<sup>40</sup> Such a seasonal migration makes nice sense of the references in the Neriglissar chronicle. Finally, Ramsay states, "The most important of these (sc. passes over the Taurus more difficult than the Cilician Gates) is the one which is frequently mentioned as the pass of Andrasos or Kylandros, i.e. the pass leading viâ Andrasos, or Adrasos, to Kelenderis."<sup>41</sup>

In view of the fact that we know Ura to have been the transshipment point for grain coming from Syria, it might be objected that the route from Gilindere to Meydancikkalesi was perhaps unfit for wheeled transport<sup>42</sup> and that therefore

direction now SE over rocky heights. (mile 229) Bay of Porto Cavaliere. Ascent over the rocky ridge of Capo Cavaliere (anc. Zephyrium). (mile 233) Difficult descent to a bay lying between Capo Cavaliere and a flat tongue of land to NE. . . . (mile 240½) Track . . . descending steeply. (mile 243) Foot of descent. . . . (mile 256) Selefe." Note: the stretch of road west of Gilindere to Alaniya is even more mountainous.

<sup>33</sup>Strabo 14.5.1–3 (Loeb Lib. ed. vol. 6 pp. 326–33).

<sup>34</sup>Strabo 14.5.3 (Loeb Lib. ed. vol. 6 pp. 332 f.).

<sup>35</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor* III/3 p. 147.

<sup>36</sup>*Turkey* vol. I, London: Naval Intelligence Division, April 1942, p. 98. For a woodcut print of ships in the harbour of Gilindere see J. Carne, *Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor* (London: Fisher, son, 1836) opposite p. 71. The text (pp. 71–3) mentions and describes the route to the interior of Anatolia and notes the importance of the port for trading with Cyprus.

<sup>37</sup>K. Bittel, *AA* [1939] 126 w. illus. 15, K. Kohlmeyer, *AcPrAr* 15 [1983] 102 f.

<sup>38</sup>E. Laroche apud M. Mellink, *AJA* 76 (1972): 171.

<sup>39</sup>E. Laroche, apud M. Mellink, *AJA* 78 (1974): 111. H. G. Güterbock, personal communication, thinks the evidence is still too poor to make such an identification.

<sup>40</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor* III/3 p. 106.

<sup>41</sup>W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 350. I do not intend to deny that the branch of this road going Karaman, Mut, Silifke was not also used in Hittite times for there is a stretch of paved Hittite road and a Hittite rock relief at Keben between Mut and Silifke (K. Kohlmeyer, *AcPrAr* 15 (1983): 102, 152 [Tafel 40]).

<sup>42</sup>The Admiralty's *A Handbook for Asia Minor* III/3 (1918) p. 106 calls the route (no. 26) from Kilindria to Gülnar (Aine Bazar) a "track", but it is not described in detail, so apparently none of the compilers of the handbook had taken it. The Admiralty's *Turkey* vol. I (1942) p. 98 states, "a rough cart-road leads inland to Gülnar".

Gilindere cannot be the same as Ura. However, carts pulled by equids are unlikely to have been considered for transporting grain up from the coast through the Taurus mountains to the plateau, since the rigid shoulder harness had not yet been invented, and the throat and girth harness then in use would have made heavy loads impracticable, particularly when going uphill. Carts pulled by oxen, it is true, could carry heavy loads, but oxen lack endurance, going only 2 miles per hour and working for 5 hours per day in the best of conditions, which any road going from the southern coast of Anatolia up to the plateau is not. Furthermore their hoofs are unsuitable for going long distances.<sup>43</sup> The Admiralty's *A Handbook of Mesopotamia*<sup>44</sup> states: "In the matter of transport by land, throughout Mesopotamia, local transport is mainly by means of beast of burden" . . . "Mules are almost exclusively used for hilly routes . . . donkeys in the hills where sure-footed animals are necessary . . ." The Handbook proceeds to give the figures, that donkeys can carry 120–50 lb. and average 3 m.p.h. going 10–20 miles per day, while mules can carry 200–50 lb. at 3½–4 m.p.h. and cover 15–30 miles per day. Therefore, large numbers of pack mules or donkeys would have been a faster way of getting needed grain to the site of the famine and perhaps the only practicable thing anyway. One also should remember that at Mari, Nuzi, and in the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian empires the grain measure was an *imēru*, that is a donkey load, which suggests to me that donkeys/mules were indeed typically used in the Ancient Near East to transport grain. Therefore, even if the road from Gilindere to Meydancikkale to the plateau would have only been practicable for pack animals this does not seem to be an objection to placing Ura at Gilindere.

It might further be objected that placing Ura at Gilindere would put Ura squarely within the appanage kingdom of Tarḫuntašša. The boundaries of the kingdom as laid out by the Bronze Tablet, which clearly run clockwise, reaching the sea in the east and then continuing from the coast inland in the west, do not mention Ura.<sup>45</sup> A legal case between the men of Ura and the king of Ugarit does not mention the king of Tarḫuntašša,<sup>46</sup> and, in fact, the merchants of Ura are called merchants not of the king of Tarḫuntašša but of "His Majesty", that is the Hittite Great King.<sup>47</sup> However, if the boundary list is a problem, it is just as much of a problem if Ura is placed at Silifke as if it is placed at Gilindere. In truth, the fact that Ura is not mentioned in the boundary description causes no real problem. There is no reason to assume that the list of towns beginning *arunaz peda* "in the direction of the seacoast" is a list of towns along the seacoast, rather than a list of towns running from the mountains to the seacoast. All are said to be in Tarḫuntašša. The actual border was probably a mountain spur or narrow ravine which itself was uninhabitable.<sup>48</sup> The seacoast itself is described as "from the edge of (the town of) Šaranduwa the sea is its (Tarḫuntašša's) boundary, while from the edge of the town of Parḫā (Perge), the Kaštaraya River (Classical Kestros) is the boundary", which is to say, "the sea is the boundary between Šaranduwa in the east and the Kaštaraya River in the west". Thus it is not surprising that the seaport of Ura is not mentioned. As for the lack of mention of Tarḫuntašša in the settlement of a legal dispute between the merchants of Ura and the government of Ugarit, a dispute between some inhabitants of an Anatolian state and the king of a

<sup>43</sup>See D. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, pp. 15 f.

<sup>44</sup>Vol. I pp. 164 f.

<sup>45</sup>Bo 86/299 esp. i. 55–61, ed. H. Otten, *StBoT* Beih. 1 (1988): 12 f., discussion 36 f.

<sup>46</sup>RS 17.130, w. dupl. RS 17.461 and RS 18.03, ed. J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV: 103–5.

<sup>47</sup>RS 17.316, ed. J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV: 190.

<sup>48</sup>Perhaps even that mentioned above n. 19.

Syrian state could only have been adjudicated in a court of their mutual superior, the Hittite Great King. The king of Tarḫuntašša is not represented since the dispute was taking place in the kingdom of Ugarit, not in the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša. Furthermore, this is a Hattušili III text and could date to before the founding of the kingdom of Tarḫuntašša, when Ura would have been located in the Hittite province of Hulaya River Land. Concerning the merchants of Ura being called "merchants of His Majesty", it should be noted that this designation identifies a number of specific Urans who witnessed the document, not the entire Uran merchant community in Ugarit.<sup>49</sup> The term "men of Ura" may identify them ethnically, while "merchant of His Majesty", rather than again referring to their ethnicity, may refer to the job of these particular Urans. Again whether Ura is at Silifke or Gilindere would not alter this argument.

Does the placement of Ura at Gilindere and Kirši at Medancikkalesi fit the measurements given in the Neriglissar chronicle? The Chronicle says that, after defeating the enemy in a battle in a pass, Neriglissar "pursued Appuašu for a distance of fifteen double-hours through difficult mountains where men must walk single file". If we assume that the battle was fought before Neriglissar arrived at Adana, that is, that it was fought either in Kaleköy Pass or more likely in one of the Amanus passes, then Neriglissar could not possibly have pursued Appuašu from the battlefield "through difficult mountains" for fifteen double-hours, since, as we have seen, the mountains begin west of Silifke and since the city of Silifke is already more than fifteen double-hours from any possible pass in which the battle could have been fought. There are two possible solutions to this problem. If the ambush was set up in anticipation of Neriglissar's arrival in Hume-city, i.e. in the Amanus passes, perhaps the fifteen double hours are to be counted not from the battlefield but from the point where the "difficult mountains" actually begin. In other words, Neriglissar pursued Appuašu for an unmentioned distance across Hume and then a further fifteen double hours across mountainous terrain to his capital city.<sup>50</sup> Alternatively, perhaps Neriglissar went to Hume-city and then Appuašu set up an ambush in anticipation of Neriglissar's attack on Pirindu, that is, in the first defile separating the Cilician Plain from the mountains of Pirindu.<sup>51</sup> If we accept either of

<sup>49</sup>Against H. Otten, *IM* 17 (1967): 59, there is no reason to conclude from this document "daß zumindest im 13. Jh. der Handel von Ura aus weitgehend im Königsauftrag zu erfolgen scheint".

<sup>50</sup>A battle fought at either Kaleköy or one of the Amanus passes, of course, indicates that Appuašu controlled Hume before the battle. The question of whether Hume was Babylonian or Pirinduan before the war, however, is in debate. (See W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 120 [1950]: 22–5 [Babylonian]; Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera During the Hellenistic Period*, *DMOA* 10 [1961] pp. 27–30 [Babylonian, w. bibliog. to the contrary], J. D. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1 [1982] p. 434 [Pirinduan?], P. Desideri and A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia* [1990] pp. 165–75 [Babylonian]). If Hume was previously Babylonian, one could argue that it fell quickly to Appuašu, an embarrassing fact omitted from the Chronicle. Appuašu was then in a position to attack Syria (proper). "Before his (Neriglissar's arrival)," Appuašu could have attempted to defend the Amanus passes, and, defeated in this, fled the length of the Cilician Plain back to the mountains leaving Hume to its former masters. Neriglissar's rapid advance across Hume and the Chronicle's lack of mention of sacks of Adana and Tarsus (which he must have gone through) would be explainable if they were friendly territory that he was liberating. The alternative, that Neriglissar's conquest of the best half of Appuašu's kingdom went unremarked upon in the Chronicle seems unlikely. Thus it seems more plausible that Hume was Babylonian before the war.

<sup>51</sup>One need not adopt the untenable suggestion of P. Desideri and A. M. Jasink, *Cilicia* (Turin, 1990): 168 f., that *Ebir nāri*, literally "across the river", refers to Hume which was "across the river (Tarsus Çay/Cydnus)" from Pirindu to accept their suggestion that the



these understandings, then the fifteen-double hours marching began to the west of Silifke (just west of modern Taşucu, Ottoman Taş Iskelisi/Ak Liman) where the road enters the mountains. From Taşucu to Gilindere it is 74 km. (46 miles) and from Gilindere to Gülnar 34 km. (21 miles). These yield a value for the *bēru* of 3.9 and 5.6 km. (3 and 3.5 miles), respectively. Judging from calculations of the *bēru* based on Mesopotamian evidence, this would seem to be much too small. One must remember, however, that a *bēru* is primarily a time measurement, “a double hour”, i.e. “1/12 of a day”. Its meaning as a linear measurement is derived from its use as a measure of time; a *bēru* of distance is literally: “the distance one can march in a double hour”.<sup>52</sup> The distance one could actually travel in a double hour would, of course, vary considerably depending on the terrain and the quality of the road. In the days before odometers and pedometers actual distance would have been a rather useless concept except to surveyors—what a general or caravan leader needed to know was how long it would take to get from one place to another. In fact, at the beginning of the 20th century, distances in Anatolia were still given in hours, even on roads with kilometre markers.<sup>53</sup> Therefore one should understand the Chronicle’s “distances” as the time it actually took to march from one place to another. Thus, the 15 and the 6 *bēru* of Neriglissar’s chronicle would represent a marching time of 1.5 miles/hr. over 46 miles of mountain road from Taşucu to Gilindere and 1.75 miles/hr. up the 21 miles of mountain road from Gilindere to Gülnar, respectively. Moving across mountainous terrain is always slower than crossing a flat plain. Moreover, it is to be remembered that Neriglissar was traversing this mountainous terrain in hostile territory, which would have slowed his progress still further. It is, in any case, more likely that Neriglissar was forced to go across difficult and hostile mountains more slowly than a typical caravan can go on good terrain (as he would by this reconstruction) than that he went through the mountains at the speed a horse can go on good terrain (as he would have had to by Lemaire and Lozachmeur’s reconstruction). In short, the distances from Silifke (Taşucu) to Gilindere to Gülnar seem to fit the Neriglissar Chronicle’s distance references better than the distances from Toprakkale (or Bahçe) to Silifke to Gülnar (Meydancikkalesi).<sup>54</sup>

battle was fought on the western edge of Hume. (For *Ebir Nāri* = Syria see *CAD* E:8, W. von Soden, *AHW* p. 181b; R. Zadok, *RGTC* 8 p. 129, w. bibliog.) The Babylonian Chronicle does not state that Appuašu actually reached *Ebir nāri*, only that he intended to go there or was heading in that direction (“set his face to”). Appuašu’s threat to Syria (*Ebir nāri*) could be explained either by Babylonian spies’ reports of his ultimate intentions plus a bit of Babylonian paranoia or by assuming that the Hume which Appuašu actually was threatening was a subprovince of Syria. One should note that the Babylonian Chronicle does not mention the fall of Babylonian (see previous note) Hume to Appuašu. Nor does the chronicle actually say that the battle was fought before Neriglissar arrived at Hume-city (Adana?), although that remains a possibility. The Akkadian *lāmišu* means simply “in anticipation of him”. Most likely, it means no more than that Appuašu chose a site for battle on hearing of Neriglissar’s approach.

<sup>52</sup>F. Thureau-Dangin, *TMB* XIII, while giving the exact number of smaller units in the *bēru* used in mathematical texts, a sort of statute-*bēru*, reminds his readers about the *bēru* in a footnote: “c’est le chemin fait pendant une heure babylonienne qui équivaut à deux de nos heures”.

<sup>53</sup>*A Handbook of Asia Minor* I p. 263.

<sup>54</sup>After Kirši, Neriglissar mentions taking Pitusu. This seems likely to be equivalent to Classical Pityussa (Πιτυσσοῦσα), seven of which are attested (Pauly-Wissowa 40 col. 1884 f.). The only one in question is curiously not mentioned by Strabo but only in *Stradiasmos maris magni* 187 and in the Acts of St. Barnabas. The latter reads: “We set out to Korasion and there was a spring in the beach. From there we set out to Palaia of Isauria and from there to some island called Pityussa. From there we sailed by ‘the quoins’ (τὰς Ἀκονησίας)

In conclusion, I would like to suggest that the port of Ura, important to the Hittites in the Bronze Age and capital of Pirindu in the Iron Age, was located at Gilindere (near Aydıncık).<sup>55</sup>

and set out to the city of Anamur.” (W. Tomaschek, *SÖAW* 124/8 [1891] 64). St. Barnabas’s Pityussa and by implication Neriglissar’s Pitusu, is thus presumably to be equated with Kargıcık Adası (known to Tomaschek as Provensal and Manavat and in Pauly-Wissowa as Dana Adası), a tiny island off the coast between Silifke and Gilindere. Assuming this equation is correct, we have to assume that Neriglissar had bypassed this fortress the first time since it was too difficult to take and yet not blocking his way, while on the way home he had nothing better to do, or perhaps his navy had by now arrived, and so he assaulted it.

<sup>55</sup>One should note that this argument appears to strengthen rather than weaken Lemaire and Lozachmeur’s suggestion that Kirši is to be located at Meydancikkalesi. One hopes that the excavations just begun by Dr. Zoroğlu at Gilindere will one day uncover a pre-Classical city.