CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

1. *Definition: who were the Luwians?*

The Luwians (re)enter history with the discovery in 1906 of the cuneiform archives of the ancient capital of the Hittite Empire, Hattusa (near the modern village of Boğazköy/Boğazkale, about ninety miles east of Ankara).[1] Several provisions of the Hittite Laws assure us that in the middle of the second millennium BCE there was in Asia Minor a land Luwiya (KUR *Lu-ú-i-ya*).[2] Paragraph five referring to the slaying of a Hittite merchant shows that Luwiya must have been contiguous to or at least very near the heartland of the Hittite kingdom in Hatti (the central Anatolian plateau encircled by the Halys River, the modern Kızıl Irmak).

Paragraphs §§19-21 of the Laws deal with the abduction of free persons from Hatti to Luwiya and slaves from Luwiya to Hatti. The penalty for a Luwian who abducts a free Hittite is forfeiture of his entire estate, while a Hittite who abducts a free Luwian pays only six persons. Conversely, theft of a slave belonging to a Hittite requires a penalty of 12 shekels of silver, while a Luwian slave-owner is entitled

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[1] The gradual reemergence of the Luwians during the twentieth century is illustrated by the successive editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The eleventh edition of 1910 has an article on the Hittites by David W. Hogarth that already acknowledges the new discovery at Boğazköy. However, since the Hittite-language texts were deciphered by Bedřich Hrozný only during the First World War, Hogarth's article naturally can take no account of these, and there is no mention of the Luwians. The fourteenth edition of 1929-1941 has an article on the Hittites by none other than Hrozný himself that includes a section on "Lûish". Understandably, some aspects of his description are now outdated. The edition of 1962 finally brings a separate article on the Luwians by Hans G. Güterbock, an excellent treatment that retains its validity in all essentials to the present day.

[2] The most recent edition of the Laws is Hoffner 1997. Other important editions are those of Friedrich 1959 and Imparati 1964.

only to the return of his slave. This quite unequal treatment suggests that the Hittites viewed the Luwians as 'foreign', belonging to 'the other', not to their own social group. That Luwiya has a purely geographic sense (Klinger 1996 17[41]) is not credible. On the other hand, the very inclusion in the Laws of special provisions for cases involving Luwians (and not inhabitants of other countries) argues for a close relationship of some kind (cf. the remarks of Friedrich 1959 91, Güterbock 1961 67, and Hoffner 1997 180f).

Scholars such as Hrozný, Forrer, and Sommer did not hesitate to speak of 'peoples', but they were conscious of the difficulties in the use of this term. Today we are even more acutely aware of the fact that language and culture often do not correspond to ethnicity or 'nationhood'.[3] We thus refer merely to 'the Luwians'. Nevertheless, we are still obliged to give some idea of just what we mean by this term. One obvious possibility is that suggested by the references to the Hittite Laws cited above: the inhabitants of the land Luwiya.

This definition for 'Luwian' and 'Luwians' proves to be impractical, because we have a very imperfect idea of the location and extent of Luwiya. One reason for this is that there is no evidence that there was ever a unified Luwian state or polity—there are no kings of Luwiya or a capital city. The replacement of Luwiya by Arzawa in the Neo-Hittite copy of the Hittite Laws shows that Luwiya must have included a considerable portion of western Asia Minor (see Chapters Two and Three below). Nothing, however, suggests that Luwiya and Arzawa are coterminous. On the contrary, the presence of Luwian ritual texts in the Hittite archives originating in Kizzuwatna argues that Luwiya included portions of southern and southeastern Asia Minor. The distribution of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions tends to confirm that Luwian territory extended in a broad arc that ran from northwest to southeast to the west and south of the Halys River. However, we also have Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions written by Hittite kings, including in Hattusa. Further such inscriptions are found in the 'Neo-Hittite' states of northern Syria following the fall of the Hittite Empire. It is far from clear just what conclusions we may draw about a 'Luwian' presence in a given area based merely on the appearance of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions. We

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[3] For further problems in applying the concept 'people(s)' to ancient Anatolia see Starke (1997a 460 with n. 131).

must also, of course, allow for the possibility of population movements over time. In sum, the limits of 'Luwian' territory are ill defined.

The preceding paragraph already brought mention of Luwian texts. Despite our knowledge that language is not always a reliable criterion in identifying or defining an ethnic group or people, we have little else to go on (cf. the remark of Sommer 1947 30). With all due reserve we will here use 'Luwians' effectively to mean 'Luwian-speaking population groups'. And descriptions of their history, religion, and material culture will refer to those topics in areas where we have reason to suppose significant presence of Luwian speakers. Readers should bear in mind the obvious limitations of such a working definition and the fluid nature of the boundaries in all of these aspects of human societies. They should also not be surprised or disturbed that the contributors to this volume, to say nothing of other scholars, do not always arrive at the same conclusions on this point.

2. *Sources*

Our knowledge of the Luwians derives from a number of sources, of quite variable size, quality and value:

(1) Direct references to the land of Luwiya and its inhabitants. These are limited to §§5, 19-21, and 23 of the Hittite Laws as cited above. In addition, Carruba (1992 254ff) has argued persuasively that the term *nuwa'um* of the Old Assyrian texts from Kanesh (see Edzard 1989 107ff) also refers to the Luwians. This identification is important in establishing the presence of Luwians in south central Anatolia already at the start of the second millennium.

(2) Appearance of Luwian personal names in Old Assyrian texts from Kanesh and elsewhere from the 20th-18th centuries BCE (see Tischler 1995 with extensive bibliography), in Hittite texts from Hattusa and elsewhere from the 16th to the 13th centuries (see Laroche 1966 and 1981a),[4] in Assyrian texts from the 9th to

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[4] For personal names in Hittite texts published since Laroche (1981a) see the web-based 'Répertoire d'onomastique' of Marie-Claude Trémouille at www.orient.uni-wuerzburg/hetonom/.

7th centuries,[5] and in Greek texts from Anatolia of the first millennium (see Zgusta 1964).

(3) Mention of place-names associated with both Luwian texts and with bearers of Luwian personal names (it is important to stress that we have no assurance in most cases that the place-names *themselves* are linguistically Luwian!). For place-names in Hittite texts see Del Monte and Tischler (1978) and in Greek sources Zgusta (1984).[6]

(4) Luwian-language texts. For the details of this evidence see Chapter Four.

3. *Dating and Chronology*

Both the absolute dating and relative chronology of persons and events in the Ancient Near East are matters of considerable controversy. For two recent discussions of the problem see Cryer (1995) with extensive bibliography and Bryce (1998 408-415). The dates used in this work tend to adhere to what are termed the 'Middle' or 'Low' chronologies. One may compare, for example, the dates given for Hittite kings in Bryce (1998 xiii-xiv) and Klengel (1999 392-393) with those of Starke (2002). The differences tend to be significant only for the Old Hittite kingdom. They thus have little impact on most of the issues treated here. Likewise, while the existence or non-existence of certain Hittite kings obviously is of importance for Hittite history, Luwian history as we now know it is relatively unaffected by such discrepancies. Readers should note merely that the kings listed by Starke as Hattusili II and Tudhaliya III are the same as Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV given by Bryce and Klengel.

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[5] The most accessible recent survey of this material is found in the respective 'Historical Context' passages in Hawkins (2000).

[6] A few relevant personal and place-names also are found in other sources, such as texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra), Egypt and the Old Testament. For a recent survey of the biblical material see Cancik (2002a), with a discussion of why these references are labeled 'Hittite'. Readers should know that identification of the place-name Que (= HLuwian /Kawa/) in First Kings 10.28f and Second Chronicles 1.16-17 dates only to the end of the nineteenth century. They will not find it in the King James Version or other older translations. One should also be prepared to find various alternative spellings such as Kue, Qöe or Coa.

4. *Geography*

Readers cannot be expected to follow descriptions of Luwian history, prehistory and other topics without some guide to the many place-names cited. They should be aware, however, that the maps offered here (Maps 2 and 3, pp. 37 and 94) are fully as much a matter of interpretation as the rest of the contents. The location of the hundreds of place-names attested in our ancient texts is a matter of intense debate and ongoing investigation. For various reasons there is fairly widespread agreement regarding most of the place-names cited in this work from northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia. If one compares these sites on the maps in works such as MacQueen (1986), Bryce (1998), Klengel (1999) and Starke (2002), one will find few discrepancies. Even here, however, one must be prepared to find dissenting opinions (cf. the new proposal of Casabonne 2002 regarding Kummani and Lawazantiya, following Trémouille).

Given the focus of the present work, it has seemed prudent to limit identifications for central Anatolia to a few that are a matter of broad consensus and to avoid explicit claims about more controversial cases (cf. the discussion regarding Kussara and Sana(h)witta below in Chapter Two, p. 22). For western Anatolia, however, choices had to be made, and some justification for them is called for. It would be rash to speak yet of a consensus, but a comparison of Map 2 presented here with those of Hawkins (1998b 31) and Starke (2002 303ff) vis-à-vis those of older works such as Garstang-Gurney (1959) and Forlanini-Marazzi (1986) shows that considerable progress has been made.

Evidence of the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta (see Otten 1988) confirms that the land of Tarhuntassa stretched as far west as Parha (Perge) and the Cestros River. The YALBURT hieroglyphic inscription shows that the second-millennium Lukka lands were centered on classical Lycia (see Poetto 1993 75ff). These localizations effectively fill the southernmost quadrant of western Anatolia, precluding the location there of other disputed territories. The demonstration by Hawkins (1998b) that the land of Mira extended to the west central coast also almost inexorably forces other pieces of the interlocking puzzle to fall into place (cf. also Starke 1997a 450ff). The *relative* positions of Wilusa, Appawiya, the Seha River Land,

Arzawa-Mira, and Kuwaliya are reasonably assured.[7] Likewise it no longer seems possible to deny the long proposed identifications of Apasa with Ephesos and Millawanda with Miletos.

One remaining topic of disagreement concerns the Astarpa and Siyanta Rivers, the lands of Hapalla and Walma, and the precise extent of Pedassa and the 'Lower Land' that lie to their east. These are interlocking issues, and a decision in one case tends to determine the rest. The picture presented in Map 2 here essentially follows that of Hawkins (1998b). He identifies the Astarpa with the modern Akar Çay (thus already Garstang-Gurney 1959 86). Starke (2002 304ff) equates the Astarpa with the upper course of the Maeander. Hawkins further suggests the modern Seydi or Porsuk, upper tributaries of the Sangarios, as the Siyanta (the former is chosen here). Starke and others (e.g. Garstang-Gurney 1959 91f) identify the Siyanta rather with the Banaz Çay, a tributary of the Maeander. For reasons cited by Hawkins, the alternative identifications seem to displace the two rivers too far to the south and west.

There is a consensus that the northern limit of Walma is near the site of classical Holmi, southeast of modern Afyon. Pedassa must lie to the west of the Salt Lake (see Hawkins 1998b 22). On the other hand, in the treaty of Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta, the western border of Tarhuntassa formed by the Cestros River is continued directly by Walma and then Pedassa. There seems no problem in assuming that Pedassa stretched in a north-south direction so as to fulfill both these requirements. The southward extension of Walma is harder to determine (cf. the different solutions of Garstang-Gurney 1959 x and Starke 2002 306). The matter is left open here.

Hawkins (1998b 14) places Hapalla in inner Pisidia, a position that puts it near Kuwaliya and also open both to attack from the Lower Land as generally defined (see KUB 19.22,4ff on the attack of the Hittite general Hannutti) and to incursions by Madduwatta from the Siyanta River Land (*Madd.* §§19-20). Starke (2002 304ff) locates Hapalla significantly farther north, east of the Seha River Land

(similarly Garstang-Gurney 1959 97ff). Not coincidentally he extends the area of the Lower Land to the northwest (to west of the Salt Lake).[8]

Also problematic is the position of the land of Karkisa/Karkiya. It is tentatively put here on Map 2 in the vicinity of classical Caria, with Peschlow-Bindokat (2002) and others. Starke (2002 304) places Karkisa in the far northwest, east of Wilusa, based on the association of Karkisa with the Land of Assuwa, which he connects with classical Assos (see Starke 1997a 456 and also Garstang-Gurney 1959 105ff). However, one can equally well connect Assuwa with the name Asia (Bossert 1946 et al.), whose original localization is in west central Asia Minor (see Georgacas 1971 27f).[9] It is thus by no means clear that Assuwa was restricted to the northwest (cf. Bryce in this volume, p. 74).[10] Hawkins (1998b 29) weighs the alternatives and leaves the issue open. A definitive answer is not yet possible. Localization of the Land of Masa remains even more difficult. Starke (2002 304ff) opts for a northern location in the area of classical Bithynia, but the current evidence is conflicting: see Hawkins (1998b 29f) for discussion and references.

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[7] The placement of Wilusa in the northwest argues for a similar location of the associated Tarwisa (KUB 23.11 ii 19) and the long suggested connection with the name of Troy (see further Starke 1997a 455 and Bryce in this volume, p. 68). On the problem of the additional name Tarwiza (*tara/i-wa/i-zi/a*) see Hawkins (1997 17ff).

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[8] If one accepts Hawkins' location of Hapalla as adopted in Map 2, its absence among the lands bordering Tarhuntassa is surprising, since it would lie between Walma and Tarhuntassa. However, Hapalla is last attested in the reign of Muwattalli (treaty with Alaksandu). It may thus have no longer existed as a discrete entity by the time of the treaty with Kurunta.

[9] See *Iliad* 2.461: Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα 'in the Asian meadow along the streams of the Cayster'.

[10] *Linguistically*, all three terms are likely related, in a chain *Assa- > Assuwa- (cf. *Zalpa/Zalpuwa, Ahhiya/Ahhiyawa*) > *Asswiya- '(land) of Assuwa' (attested in the Mycenaean personal name *a-si-wi-jo*). For the last step see Starke (1997a 458). His supposed base *Assu- for *Assuwa-* (1997a 456) is pure invention. The base is surely non-Indo-European.

CHAPTER TWO

PREHISTORY

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

1. *General Considerations*

The problem of identification confronted in Chapter One becomes even more acute when we turn to prehistory. There can be little doubt that the societies of which Luwian speakers were a part were multi-ethnic, and this is almost certainly true of the Luwian-speaking population itself. Strictly speaking, then, a prehistory of the Luwians should include tracing the source of all those strands the union of which led to the 'Luwian' societies of the second and first millennia BCE. Such an undertaking lies far beyond our capacities, and we are once again constrained to focus on *linguistic* prehistory. The following discussion is limited to that group of speakers whose prehistoric Indo-European dialect led to the attested language we call Luwian. That this is a mere fragment of the total picture of Luwian prehistory should be self-evident, but we must work with what we have (cf. the remarks of Macqueen 1986 26 and 35).

Even this limited enterprise is fraught with serious problems. There is no neat correlation between the spread of language and population movements. Language spread *may* result from mass migrations, and the latter may include hostile takeovers of land that justify use of the terms 'invasion' or 'conquest'. However, peaceful infiltration of relatively small numbers of speakers can also eventually lead to widespread adoption of their language in a new area. This range of possible scenarios makes it very difficult to correlate putative movements of prehistoric speakers with changes observed in the archaeological record of sites dating from the time before written records. Before attempting any such correlation, we must first derive as much as we can from the purely linguistic data.
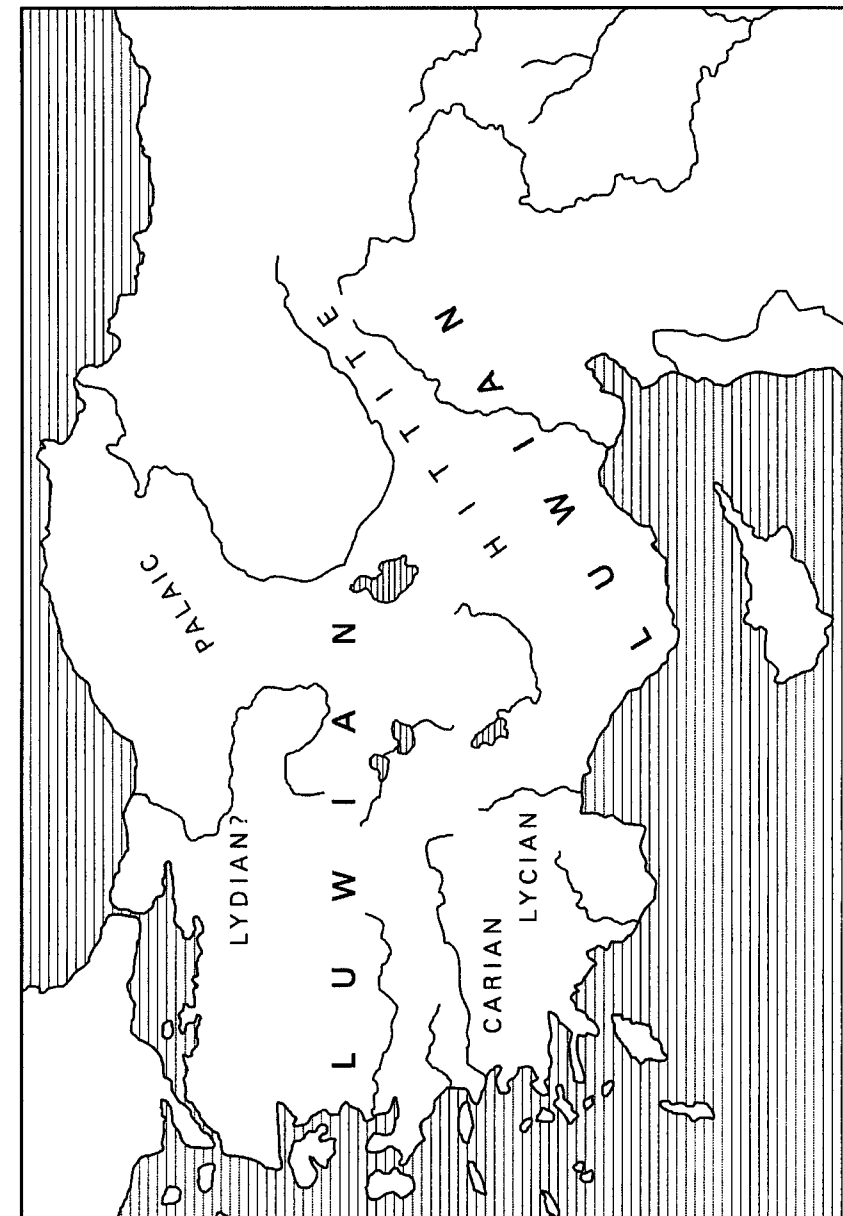
Map 1: Tentative Areas of Indo-European Speakers in the Late 3rd Millennium BCE

2. *Luwian as an Indo-European Anatolian Language*

It is clear that Luwian does not stand in isolation. It is part of a group of closely related languages that includes Hittite, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, and Carian[1] (the poorly attested languages Pisidian and Sidetic may themselves merely be late forms of Luwian, though this cannot be affirmed with finality). All of these languages of ancient Anatolia are derived from a prehistoric language we may term 'Proto-Anatolian'. Proto-Anatolian in turn is derived from Proto-Indo-European, the ultimate source of most of the languages of modern Europe as well as those of Iran, Afghanistan, and much of India. Since the beginning of Indo-European studies there has been much interest in trying to locate in space and time the putative speech community associated with the reconstructed language stage we call Proto-Indo-European.[2] The discovery that the Anatolian languages as defined above belong to the Indo-European family has both renewed and complicated the debate over this issue. It seems prudent to treat this complex problem from the bottom up and to begin with what we can say about the immediate prehistory of Luwian itself and its closest relatives in Anatolia.

3. *Indo-European Anatolian Languages in the Late Third Millennium*

3.1. *Palaic*

Palaic, attested as a liturgical language in a few ritual texts from Hattusa (see Carruba 1970), was the language of the land of Palā, mentioned in §5 of the Hittite Laws alongside Hatti and Luwiya.

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[1] The attested Carian language is assuredly Indo-European Anatolian, pace Stefanini (2002 796). See the various contributions in Blümel et al. (1998).

[2] Readers should be aware that there is considerable debate about the degree of reality that may be attributed to reconstructed proto-languages such as PIE. Many scholars seriously doubt or even deny the validity of attempts to identify and locate prehistoric speech communities. Such skepticism has not and certainly will not stop discussion of the topic, but these reservations should be borne in mind. For a sober and well-balanced summary of the problem of the PIE 'homeland' see Mallory (1989). As pointed out by a number of scholars, the traditional term 'homeland'/ *Urheimat* is infelicitous and should be avoided. What is at issue is the approximate location of the PIE speech community at its last period of relative unity. There are many possible scenarios for how these speakers came to be at that location and for how the reconstructed language we call PIE came to be formed.

There is essentially unanimous agreement that Palā was located to the northwest of the lower course of the Halys River in classical Paphlagonia (see Map 1). The classical name Blaene is surely a reflection of Palā.[3] It is important to note that in Old Hittite texts of the 16th century Palaic is already a fully distinct language from Hittite and Luwian.

3.2. *Luwian*

As already noted, there is considerable circumstantial evidence to suggest that Luwian was spoken over large areas of western, south central and southeastern Anatolia. This material includes the location of HLuwian inscriptions (see Map 4, p. 142), the designated homelands of authors of Luwian rituals in cuneiform found in Hattusa (both those containing passages in Luwian and those with isolated Luwianisms), and the personal names of various inhabitants of countries located in western and southern Anatolia. One must of course use the last-named evidence with due caution. Personal names may be chosen for a variety of reasons, and they do not always correlate with language use or ethnicity. Most of the persons cited in our texts also belong to the ruling class. However, in the absence of any indications to the contrary, we may reasonably infer a significant Luwian presence in these areas.

Most Anatolian place-names cannot be assigned to a given language with any reliability, but there are some important exceptions. The place-name †Dainis (= Ἐλαία) for the port city at the mouth of the Caicos River argues that the Luwian speech area extended at least that far to the northwest.[4] Whether Luwian was spoken in the far northwest (notably in the region of the Troad) remains an open question. The recent discovery of a hieroglyphic seal in Troy is suggestive, but far from conclusive (see the cautious stance of Neumann 2001 47f). The fact that the oldest form of the name for Wilusa (= Troy) known to

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[3] Starke (1997a 457 with n. 103 et aliter) assumes that *Pa-la-a* is already to be read as /Pla:/. This may well be true, but a later syncope in Blaene cannot be excluded.

[4] See Starke (1997a 457) following Neumann apud Gusmani (1986 162), but the Luwian word for 'oil' is derived from a preform cognate with Hittite *šakan-* 'oil, fat' (see p. 184 in this volume). It is important to stress that the unusual characteristic sound change of initial *s- > d- assures us that we dealing here with Luwian in the strict narrow sense, not merely a language related to Luwian.

the Hittites is *Wilušiya-*, a Luwian formation, also does not strictly prove that the inhabitants themselves spoke Luwian (see Starke 1997a 458f).[5] Contra Starke (2001 40) the adaptation of the Greek name Alexander as a *u*-stem in the name of the King of Wilusa Alaksandu is at least as compatible with Lydian as it is with Luwian. Likewise there is nothing definitively Luwian in the form of the names of the other two known kings of Wilusa, Kukkunni and Walmu (in contrast to those of other western Anatolian kingdoms— see the table in Starke 2001 37). Current evidence thus also allows for the possibility of a related, but distinct Indo-European language in Wilusa/Troy in the second millennium (see Neumann 2001 46 and cf. also the discussion by Stefanini 2002 798ff). We may hope that new evidence will soon be able to decide this issue.

It is also impossible to determine just how far the Luwian speech area extended to the southeast at various times. It seems certain that Luwian was present in Kizzuwatna by the Old Hittite period, and it was likely already there several centuries earlier. Just when and to what extent Luwian penetrated as a spoken language into regions of present-day Syria remains debatable. Significant Luwian presence seems highly probable for the five centuries or so following the fall of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century. To what extent this reflects relatively recent movements and to what extent it continues traditions reaching well back into the Empire period is unknowable.

Also problematic is the status of Luwian in central Anatolia, in particular in the Hittite capital Hattusa. In addressing this question, we must avoid misconceptions and critically evaluate the different sorts of evidence cited. One occasionally reads the claim that Hittite was by the time of our records a purely written 'chancellery' language, while Luwian was the spoken language of Hattusa (e.g. Rosenkranz 1938 280ff). There is no sound basis for this assertion. First of all, we must be very clear on one point: we have no *direct* knowledge of the *spoken* form of any of the Indo-European Anatolian languages, including Luwian. With rare exceptions (the ASSUR letters and the KULULU lead strips), our HLuwian texts are fully as literary as anything we have in Hittite (see the proper appreciation by Cancik 2002b). Likewise, the Luwian ritual texts in cuneiform. On

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[5] Starke's attempt to analyze the name Wilusa itself as Luwian is pure speculation. If the apparent alternation *Wiluš(š)a* is real, it suggests adaptation of a non-IE name. The alleged 'lenition' of Luwian /ss/ in Hittite does not exist!

the other hand, the changes in Hittite during the more than three centuries of its attestation are more than is consonant with a purely written language (likewise Steiner 1990 201 with refs). A few examples of Hittite colloquialisms also crop up in our essentially bureaucatic texts: see Melchert (1996 135) on *ḫulalittat* 'it has been wrapped up' for *taruptat* 'it has been finished' in IBoT 1.36 iii 54 and Hoffner (to appear) on *peššiyanun* 'I bagged', a hunter's usage applied to enemy troops, in HKM 10, 39-41.[6] A simplistic opposition between written Hittite and spoken Luwian is an entirely artificial construct (cf. also the useful remarks of Stefanini 2002 783f).

The fact that late Hittite kings wrote their monumental public inscriptions in HLuwian is also irrelevant for the question of Luwian as a spoken language in Hattusa. This usage may be culturally determined (cf. the remarks of Hawkins 2000 2f). To infer from such a practice that the population of Hattusa spoke Luwian would be comparable to inferring that citizens of Washington D.C. speak Latin because of the use of the latter in public monumental inscriptions in that city.

Of much more significance are the effects of Luwian on Hittite. As shown by Starke (1990 passim) and to be discussed in detail below, Luwian influence on Hittite begins in the prehistoric period. Luwian loanwords are already present in our oldest attested Hittite. Such loanwords, however, are fully adapted to Hittite patterns. Thus far there is no evidence for Luwian words with Luwian inflection in Hittite contexts before the Middle Hittite period, and such forms become common only with the reign of Mursili II towards the end of 14th century. Likewise confusion of *a*-stem and *i*-stem inflection due to the Luwian pattern of '*ī*-mutation' begins only in the Middle Hittite period (see Rieken 1994 42-50 and below p. 187f) and increases thereafter. Our almost total ignorance of the true sociolinguistic situation in Hattusa and in the Hittite Empire as a whole bids caution in drawing conclusions from these facts. Nevertheless, the prehistoric effects of Luwian on Hittite are consistent with close cultural contact, while the later features suggest (though they certainly do not prove) the presence of substantial numbers of Luwian speakers. A gradually increasing Luwian presence in Hattusa and in central Anatolia more generally during the period of the Hittite Empire

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[6] See also the cogent remarks of Laroche (1959 13) with his reference to a private Hittite document from Ras Shamra.

seems at least compatible with what we know of historical developments during that time.[7]

3.3 *Lycian and Carian*

Lycian clearly is more closely related to Luwian than to any other language of the Anatolian subfamily (see the discussion in Chapter Five below, p. 175ff). What we know of Carian points to a similar conclusion. The YALBURT HLuwian inscription now shows that there is considerable continuity in settlements in Lycia from the second to the first millennium (see Poetto 1993 77f). The absence thus far of archaeological evidence for Bronze Age settlements in Lycia may be explained in any number of ways. While we cannot exclude the possibility that the precursors of the speakers of Lycian and Carian moved south from northwestern Anatolia only at the end of the second millennium, absolutely nothing supports such an assumption. All that we now know argues rather that pre-Lycian and pre-Carian speech communities were located in the southwest already in the second millennium and probably by the end of the third.

This statement emphatically is not meant to claim that these speakers necessarily already occupied the territories of later classical Caria and Lycia. While we should not place undue weight on the resemblance of the designation *Lukka* in the Hittite texts to the classical name Lycaonia as well as to Lycia, we should also be careful not to discount it entirely (see the careful review of the problem by Carruba 1996 29ff).[8] We must also not forget the direct evidence for linguistic diversity within Lycia. As argued by Borchhardt (1998 158f), the dynasty of Harpagos is intrusive to Xanthos and western Lycia, and its members bring with them the Milyan (Lycian B) dialect. Borchhardt proposes central Lycia as their immediate seat of power, but tentatively follows Carruba in seeing the center of Milyan as farther to the north and east. Be that as it may, what is to be retained for our immediate purposes is the likelihood of significant local population movements within the area of the southwest.

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[7] There are also clear examples of Luwian place-names in central Anatolia: see the discussion in Poetto (1999) with references (reference thanks to N. Oettinger).

[8] However, one must with Starke (1997a 475[97]) reject the repetition by Carruba (1996 28 & 37) of the derivation of the name *Luwiya* from *Lukka*. Only voiced *g, not voiceless *k, is lost in Luwian. The two names, both undoubtedly non-Indo-European, have *nothing* to do with each other.

It would be surprising if there were not similar developments at an earlier stage, but the distance and direction of such movements cannot be determined.[9] We can therefore be no more precise for the pre-stages of Lycian and Carian than 'somewhere in the southwest', and their positioning on Map 1 is meant only as a gross approximation.

3.4 *Hittite (Nesite)*

Hittite, the chief administrative language of the Hittite Empire, was designated by its own users as *neš(umn)ili/našili* 'of (the city) Nesa', i.e. Kanesh. However, use of the name Hittite for this language is by now too well established to be changed in favor of the more correct Nesite. There is no reason to doubt that Hittite was a spoken language for at least some of the ruling class, first in Nesa and later in Hattusa, to the end of the Hittite Empire (cf. section 3.2 above). The fact that the personal portions of letters found at the northeastern outpost of Maşat are also in Hittite confirms that officials stationed throughout the Empire used Hittite for everyday purposes, as we would have predicted. As in the case of Luwian, we can only guess at the extent to which Hittite was used among the general population, both in Hattusa and elsewhere (cf. the very interesting remarks of Steiner 1981 161ff).

The standard view is that the speakers of the Indo-European dialect that led to attested Hittite settled in north central Anatolia, in the area enclosed by the broad arc of the Halys River, and in areas to its immediate south and west (see e.g. the formulation of Neumann 2001 46). This scenario is based on the widespread premise that Hattic, the non-Indo-European language of that area, had significant 'substrate' effects on Hittite, while Hattic culture permeated all aspects of

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[9] There may be still other hints that at least some historical Lycians have external connections. The repeated attempts to derive the personal name *Xerēi* from the PIE word for 'eagle' (e.g. Starke 1990 76) face insuperable phonological and morphological obstacles. Lycian *x-* cannot continue PIE *h_3- (see Kimball 1987). The name *Xerēi* can hardly be separated from *Xa/eriga*, but it is not credible that Lycian alone in all of Indo-European preserves a form of 'eagle' that is not based on an *n*-stem. One should take seriously the possibility that the element *Xa/er-* of these names is the same as that of the name for Caria. *Xerēi* and *Xa/eriga* would be etymologically merely '(the) Carian'. Such an identification does not, of course, require that we assume that the historical bearers of these names were themselves from Caria, nor even that they were conscious of the names' original meaning. It would nevertheless point to some sort of Carian element in their background.

Hittite society. In reality, however, this supposed impact of Hattic on Hittite language and institutions has been consistently overestimated (most recently by Stefanini 2002 789ff), and the *prehistoric* influence of Luwian on Hittite seriously underestimated. It is time to redress this imbalance.

We may begin with language. There are *no* convincing examples of direct Hattic influence on Hittite morphology. The alleged derivation of the Hittite pronominal genitive ending *-ēl* from the Hattic derivational suffix *-il-* is phonologically impossible (the Hittite result of Hattic *-i-* is *-i-*, as shown by the genuine examples of the personal names *Ḫattušīli-* and *Muršīli-*).[10] On the other hand, we already find in Old Hittite the derivational suffixes *-alla-* and *-alli-* borrowed from Luwian, as in *ḫurtiyalla-* 'basin' (or sim.) and *zuppariyalli-* 'torch-bearer' (see Melchert 2002c).[11] Likewise, as per Oettinger (1986), the Hittite derivational suffix *-at(t)alla-* (as in OH *palwattalla-* 'clapper') is created by reanalysis of the Luwian suffix *-alla/ī-*. The peculiar allomorph *-(i)yai-* in Hittite verbs in *-(i)ye/a-* (already attested in OH *urkiyaizzi*!) is also due to Luwian influence (Oettinger 1979b 382ff and Melchert 2002c).

Oettinger (2002 54) has suggested that indirect Hattic influence appears in the structure of Hittite personal names of the Assyrian colony period, which make heavy use of terms of relationship (*Šuppia-ḫšu* 'offspring of the pure one', *Šuppia-niga* 'sister of the pure one') and of an ethnic suffix (*Šuppi-uman* 'of the pure one').[12] Hattic influence is quite possible, but similar structures are also found in Luwian and Lycian personal names (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 139ff & 180f), where Hattic influence is unlikely, and such naming patterns are typologically trivial (cf. Laroche 1966 300). Note also that the form of *-ḫšu-* 'offspring' is specifically Luwian (cf.

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[10] For the real Indo-European source of *-ēl* see Oettinger (1999 264 with refs.). Contra Kronasser (1966 216) the Hittite adverbial suffix *-ili* in expressions like *luwili* 'in Luwian' is also merely the nominative-accusative neuter plural of the adjectival suffix *-ili* (as in *karuwili-* 'ancient'), a suffix borrowed from Luwian: cf. *dammil(i)-* 'virgin, uncultivated'. Hattic *-il-* occurs in Hittite only in personal names and a few lexical borrowings such as LÚ*šaḫtarili-*, a type of cult singer or musician.

[11] Contra Tischler (1998 678 with n. 8) Hattic is not the source of *-alla-*. Hittite LÚ*duddušḫiyalla-* is an *adaptation* of Hattic LÚ*duddušḫiyal-*, as shown by the geminate *-ll-*, which does not appear in true Hattic loanwords.

[12] Tischler (1998 678) suggests that a number of Hittite titles may be calques on Hattic. This is quite plausible, but our very limited knowledge of Hattic makes the proposal impossible to verify.

HLuwian (NEPOS)*ha-su-* 'progeny, descendant' and also Lycian *xahba-* 'grand-son'). The Hittite word is *ḫašša-*, an *a*-stem.[13]

Turning to the lexicon, we may begin by dispelling the persistent myth that Hittite has replaced much of its inherited Indo-European vocabulary. Hittite core vocabulary remains Indo-European: see the detailed analysis of Tischler (1979) with references and the cogent remarks of Neumann (2001 49). There is no doubt that the Hittites took over the names for some flora and fauna of Anatolia from other languages—we have no assurance, however, that Hattic was the only such source. The dominant role of Hattic elements in Old Hittite religion and cult and ideology of kingship is undeniable, and we would expect to find reflexes of this in the associated terminology. Nevertheless, the current number of *assured* Hattic loanwords in Hittite is less than thirty.[14] This figure is not significantly higher than that of Luwian loanwords in Old and Middle Hittite manuscripts of Old Hittite texts (see Melchert 2002c). The true number of Hattic borrowings into Hittite is surely far greater. The scarcity of solid examples is due to our sparse evidence for Hattic itself and limited understanding of what little we do have. The same remark applies, however, to Luwian, where we face the further problem of distinguishing borrowings from cognates and of dating the loans.

There has also been an unfortunate tendency to attribute Hittite lexical items to a Hattic source based on nothing more than their sole or frequent occurrence in texts relating to the Hattic cult. Such an argument is likely valid for a number of cases (e.g. É*ḫalent(i)u-* 'palace'), but the risks of relying on it too heavily are shown by an example like *ērḫui(t)-* 'basket'. The word does in fact occur in Old Hittite rituals with Hattic cult elements, and side by side with the Hattic loanword GIŠ*tuḫupzi-* (e.g. KBo 16.71+ i 22), but Starke (1990 198ff) has shown that the word is borrowed from Luwian (contra Friedrich-Kammenhuber 1988 92). Likewise, the arguments of Weitenberg (1984 237ff) for the Hattic origin of several words require reassessment. The inflection of NINDA*ḫarzazun~ḫarzazut-* 'bread-soup,

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[13] It is of course possible that a genuine pre-Hittite **ḫaššu-* 'offspring' was preserved only in compound names, having been ousted by *ḫašša-* as the free form.

[14] For one recent collection see Tischler (1998 679f), but not all of the examples he cites are genuine. On *tawananna-* see below. For Luwian(!) *paḫḫit-* see Starke (1990 208). Luwian *wašḫay(a)-* 'sacred' (with Lycian cognate *wasaza-*) certainly is not Hattic!

ribollita' shows that it is also a Luwian loanword: cf. CLuwian *ḫīrūn~ḫīrūt-* 'oath'. The words [E]*arkiw(it)-* 'canopy' and *ḫazziw(it)-* 'rite' also show evidence of Luwian morphology: see Melchert (1993a 28) and Starke (1990 181ff). These two examples highlight a further aspect of the overall problem. It is implausible to suppose a Hattic origin for Luwian words shared with Lycian, but we can by no means exclude contact between Hattians and Luwians. We must therefore consider the possibility of parallel loans from Hattic into Hittite and Luwian or even from Hattic through Luwian into Hittite.

The most egregious case of overly precipitous misattribution of Hittite words to Hattic is that of the royal titles for the king and queen, *t/labarna-* and *tawananna-*. No advocate of their Hattic origin has ever been able to provide any remotely satisfactory account of their meaning or morphology in Hattic terms (see the just remarks of Tischler 1990 39 and 1993 285).[15] The only evidence for a Hattic source is their occurrence in Hattic texts, and allegedly the word-initial alternation *t/l-*. As correctly stressed by Puhvel (1989 359), the mere appearance of *Hittite* royal titles in Hattic contexts proves absolutely nothing about the words' origin. Once they became royal titles, they would necessarily have occurred in any text referring to the royal couple, regardless of the language.[16]

As to the initial alternation *t/l-*, this feature actually argues decisively against Hattic origin, as seen by Carruba (1986 203f). We have a dozen true loanwords from Hattic with an initial dental stop, and *none* shows any such alternation. Nor do any of the names of the Hattic deities with initial *T/D-* appearing in Hittite context, while the name of Lelwani shows only *L-*. The likely reason for this is that Hattic had only voiceless/fortis stops (see Kammenhuber 1969 448).

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[15] This applies also to the new proposal of Schuster cited by Tischler (1990 39). Even if one concedes the quite speculative morphological analysis (but cf. already Carruba 1986 205), there is no Hattic source for the base of *tawananna-*, and a connection of *tabarna-* with a Hattic *b/var* is excluded by the spelling of the former, which never shows an alternation *wa/pa* or spelling with the sign *wa_a*.

[16] The 'argument' of Klinger (1996 209) that *tabarna-* must be Hattic because there it shows no alternation simply makes no sense. The word also appears in Palaic only in the form *tabarna-*, but he does not assume for that reason that it is native there. In any case, his *assumption* of an original Hattic form *tabarna-* leaves him with no explanation for the appearance of *labarna-* except the totally ad hoc appeal to a personal name of unknown origin with no original connection to *tabarna-*.

On the other hand, we have evidence to suggest that word-initial voiced stops were devoiced in the individual prehistories of the Indo-European Anatolian languages (Melchert 1994 18ff with refs.). We may thus assume that a Luwian **dabarna-* was borrowed as Hittite *labarna-* at a prehistoric stage when Hittite no longer had initial voiced *d-* (for at least one other example see p. 181 below). The Hittite word was later (but still prehistorically) altered to *tabarna-* by association with the Luwian verb *tapar(iya)-* 'to rule' after *d-* had also been devoiced to *t-* in Luwian.[17]

The Luwian base **tapar-* 'powerful' (or sim.) reflects an adjective **dh_eb-ro-* for which one may compare MHG *tapfer* 'massive, firm' also 'brave'.[18] For the development to **tapar-* see Melchert (1993b). From this adjective was formed the denominative verb *tapariya-* *'to be powerful' > 'to rule' (cf. Eichner 1975 81[5] and Starke 1990 259). The verbal stem *tapar-* is a back-formation (for the process see Melchert 1997a 87f). As per Oettinger (1986b 21), a substantivized **dapar-* 'power' (cf. CLuwian *waššar-* 'favor') is the base of *tabarna-* in turn again '(the) powerful (one)'.[19] As seen by Starke (1983 406), The derivation of *tabarna-* from **tapar-* is entirely parallel to that of **immarna-* '(deity) of the open country' < **immar-* 'open country' (attested in the substantivized adjective [d]*Immarniya-* 'deity of the open country'). On the suffix *-na-* see immediately below.

Puhvel (1989 360) plausibly compares the suffix *-nna-* of *tawananna-* with the PIE 'ruler' suffix seen in Latin *Matrōna* and

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[17] The frequent spelling of the word with the sign *ba*, sometimes cited as an indicator of 'substrate' origin, in no way excludes a Luwian source. Starke (1983 406) correctly compares *u-ba-ti-* 'land-grant', a certain Luwian loanword in Hittite. As noted by Carruba (1986 203), the use of *ba* argues against Hattic origin.

[18] Previous formulations of this etymology (see the references in Tischler 1991 118) cite Latin *faber* 'craftsman' as well as MHG *tapfer* and sometimes give the pre-form as **dhabhro-*. However, *tapfer* demands PIE **b*, and the earliest attestations point to a physical quality. This is surely the source of the Luwian: cf. Hittite *daššu-* 'mighty' < **dénsu-* 'massive, thick' and for the development of the verb from *'be strong' to 'to rule' cf. OHG *waltan*, OCS *vlasti* etc. 'to rule' beside Latin *ualeō* 'be strong'. Strength, not craftmanship, was the defining quality of the Hittite king. Latin *faber* and Armenian *darbin* 'smith' (the latter can only reflect **bh*) should be kept separate.

[19] We may leave open the much-debated question regarding the priority of the use as personal name or title, both of which are trivial from an appellative meaning '(the) powerful (one)'.

Neptūnus.[20]   Also correct is his adduction of the Hittite adverb *tāwana*, but the assigned meaning 'well' and comparison with Latin *bonus* cannot be upheld. The adverb means rather 'truly, honestly', a moral sense derived from 'upright, straight', as shown by the derived noun *tāwani-* 'stalk, stem' (Melchert 1999 367). The queen is thus '(the) righteous (one)', a fitting pendant for the king's epithet '(the) powerful (one)'.[21] The phonology of *tāwana-* with loss of $*h_2$ before *w* shows that the word is Luwian in origin: for the phonology see p. 180 below and for derivation from a $*(s)téh_2wen(o)-$ see Southern (2000 104).

The titles of both the Hittite king and queen are thus Luwian, while that of the crown-prince [LÚ]*ta/uḫ(u)kanti-* and the word for 'throne' *ḫalmaššuitt-* are Hattic (see Klinger 1996 220ff and 162ff). We should not be surprised by this mix. Likewise *telipuri-* '(administrative) district' is from Hattic, while *ubati-* 'land-grant, demesne' is from Luwian (Klinger 1996 200). Such a fusion of Hattic and Luwian elements appears more generally in Hittite notions of kingship. The concept that the king receives his authority from the Storm-god, Sun-goddess, and Throne (*ḫalmaššuitt-*) is certainly taken from Hattic (Klinger 1996 134-141). Likewise the special role of the mountains in protecting the Hittite kingdom (Lombardi 1996). On the other hand, the list of desiderata given by Telipinu to the Hittite king (KUB 17.10 iv 29ff with parallel 33.12 iv 2ff) includes two pairs of Luwian loanwords: *šalḫittiš mannittiš* and *nūš tummantiyaš*. The sense of the first pair still eludes us, but the second means 'assent (and) obedience'.[22] The ideal of a well-ordered kingdom is thus expressed in Luwian already in an Old Hittite composition whose overall milieu is clearly Hattic.

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[20] The parallel with *tawananna-* and the name of the Storm-god *Tarḫunna-*, both with geminate *-nn-* after vowel, suggests that the suffix in both *tabarna-* and **immarna-* is also ultimately $*-h_3no-$ (thus implicitly Puhvel; cf. Bader 1988 186 et aliter). On the further history of this suffix see most recently Pinault (2000).

[21] For arguments against Puhvel's claim that *tawanannna-* originally referred to the king's daughter and for *tawananna-* as at all times a title of the queen see Klinger (1996 213-219).

[22] The sense 'assent, compliance' for *nū-* is shown by the passage KBo 11.14 iv 7-8 and its parallel KUB 57.79 iv 31-33 (see Güterbock and Hoffner 1980-89 477). Luwian *tummantiya-* matches Hittite *ištamaššuwar* 'obedience' (Puhvel 1984 459 with refs).

A full discussion of Hattic and Luwian elements in Hittite religion is impossible here. That Luwian as well as Hattic influence appears already in the Old Hittite cult is indisputable: see the discussion of the goddess Kamrusepa by Klinger (1996 156ff).[23] However, the fact that Luwian and Hittite share a common tradition precludes any simplistic confrontation of Luwian versus Hattic in this sphere. The Storm-god who gives the Hittite king his royal authority is Hattic, but his name *Tarḫunna-* is not, and the existence of Luwian *Tarḫunt-~Tarḫunza-* and Lycian *Trqqñt-* shows that the figure of the Storm-god belongs already to Indo-European Proto-Anatolian. The formation of the 'Hittite' state cult (on the problem of its definition see Klinger 1996 15) remains an object of investigation. As in the case of the relationship of the Hittite language to Proto-Indo-European, the issue must be treated in the overall context of 'Indo-Europeans' in Anatolia, not merely 'Hittite' versus Hattic.

Klinger (1996 16f with n. 41, 93, 140, 198 with n. 287) argues eloquently against claims that early Hittite texts attest 'confrontation' between Indo-European newcomers and Hattians and more generally against the popular model of imposition of an Indo-European upper or ruling class on a native Hattic population (for independent arguments against such a conception see Steiner 1981 166f and cf. also Bryce 1998 15). What evidence we have points rather to a long-term assimilation (Oettinger 2002 51). The linguistic facts cited above argue not for Hattic as an exclusive 'substrate' of Hittite, but rather for 'adstrate' effects on Hittite from both Hattic and Luwian. We are thus led to a scenario by which the speakers of the prehistoric dialect that became Hittite were located not in north central Anatolia, but in an area *between* the Hattians to the north and the pre-Luwian population to the south and west. This means roughly in a band of territory stretching from the southwest to the northeast along the upper course of the Halys, centering on Nesa/Kanesh, the *only* site for which we

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[23] Contra Klinger (1996 157[119]) and Taracha (2000 179[62]) linguistic archaisms assure that the rituals of KUB 7.1+ date to Old Hittite. The provocative claim of Taracha that the Sun-goddess of Earth is of southern Anatolian origin and that the Old Hittite Sun-god of Heaven is to be equated with Luwian *Tiwad-* may be left for discussion.

have direct evidence for a strong early presence of Hittite speakers (see Map 1).[24]

This largely linguistic result matches well those reached by Singer (1981 124ff) and Steiner (1981 169ff and 1990 200) on wholly independent grounds. Unfortunately, one must concede that no consensus has yet been reached regarding the localization of Kussara and Sana-(h)witta, two cities crucial in the history of the rise of the Hittite kingdom. Some scholars do place both in the territory defined above (e.g. Klengel 1999 32), but others put one or both farther north in Hatti (cf. Bryce 1998 xvi, Starke 2002 302). It does seem fair to say that the location suggested here for the Hittites at the turn from the third to the second millennium is a viable hypothesis.

3.5 Lydian

The whereabouts of pre-Lydian speakers at the end of the third millennium remains a matter of conjecture. Circumstantial evidence suggests that classical Lydia was Luwian-speaking in the second millennium (see 3.2 above and cf. Starke 1997a 457), though evidence for possible Luwian 'substrate' influence on Lydian remains sparse (see the cautious summary by Carruba 1961 403ff). While Lydian shares some common innovations with other western Anatolian dialects (see the summary in Melchert 2002b),[25] its mostly divergent development points to relative isolation. These combined factors lead to a tentative location in northwest Anatolia in classical Maionia or Bithynia (similarly Starke 1997a 457 and 1997b 384 with note 10 and Oettinger 2002 52; for a contrary view see Stefanini 2002 798). Confirmation of this conclusion drawn largely by a process of elimination must await further research.

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[24] Norbert Oettinger (pers. comm.) points out that the near certain adoption by the Hittites of the Old Babylonian script via a northern Syrian intermediary also suggests that the Hittites' position at the start of the second millennium was relatively closer to Syria than that of the Hattians (cf. the similar comments by Neu 1968 134). On the origin of the Hittite script see among others Gamkrelidze (1961).

[25] However, one feature cited there should be deleted. Schürr (1997) has presented persuasive arguments that Lydian does not share in the generalization of the animate nominative plural in *-Vnsi*.

4. Indo-European Speakers in Anatolia: when and from where?

Linguistic arguments provide an approximate *terminus ante* and *post quem* for the appearance of Indo-European speakers in Anatolia. On the one hand, the Assyrian colony texts attest both appellatives and names reflecting already distinctively evolved Luwian and Hittite: *upatinnum* < Luwian *upati-* 'land-grant' and *Zida-* and *Ḫutarla-* < Luwian *zida/i-* 'man' and *ḫutarlā-* 'servant' vs. *išpattalu-* 'night-quarters' < Hittite *išpant-* 'night' and *Šuppiuman-* < Hittite *šuppi-* 'pure' and ethnic suffix *-uman-*. See Tischler (1995), Carruba (1995a 30f), Starke (1997a 457), Oettinger (2002 52) and others contra Mac-Queen (1996 31). We do not control the rate of language change with precision, but one can only agree with Carruba and Oettinger that the stage of Proto-Anatolian must precede our earliest attested evidence by at least half a millennium, and in all likelihood by considerably more than that.[26]

On the other hand, we may emphatically reject the claim of Renfrew (1987 et aliter) for Indo-European speakers in Anatolia since 7000 BCE. For recent arguments against Renfrew's model see Darden (2001). The virtually complete absence of evidence for linguistic contact between Proto-Indo-European or Proto-Anatolian and the known ancient languages of the area (Hattic, Akkadian, and Sumerian) also precludes an Indo-European linguistic continuity in Anatolia of five thousand years (pace Renfrew 2001 54). The same objection applies to the proposal of Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (1995 791) that the center of the PIE speech community was in eastern Anatolia.[27] There is no basis for abandoning the standard view that Indo-European speakers are intrusive to Anatolia. Darden (2001 204) presents arguments for the end of the fifth millennium or the fourth

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[26] It is important to bear in mind that we must allow not only for a time of relative isolation of the pre-Luwian and pre-Hittite speakers that led to their divergence as distinct languages, but also for a subsequent period of contact during which Luwian influenced Hittite. The degree of difference between the earliest attested Luwian and Hittite precludes the scenario of MacQueen (1996 30) by which the Hittites separated from the Luwians by moving north and east only shortly before the colony period.

[27] Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995 769ff) do indeed claim a significant number of Semitic and Sumerian loanwords in PIE, but most of these do not withstand close scrutiny. Given what we now know about long-distance trade at least as early as the third millennium (see e.g. Korfmann 2001), the few genuine examples are compatible with location of the PIE speech community north or west of the Black Sea.

millennium as a terminus post quem for a PIE speech community that includes Anatolian. Lehrman (2001 116) arrives at a similar date of 4000 BCE.

At this point the limitations of linguistic evidence come into full force. Lehrman proposes a tentative date of 3000 BCE for the last stage of unified Proto-Anatolian, a choice that plausibly allows about a millennium for both the development from PIE to PA and from PA to the first attested Anatolian languages. Carruba (1995a 31) arrives at a similar date of 3000-2800 for PA. However, nothing precludes that the evolution from PIE to PA took longer than that from PA to the attested languages—or vice versa. A further element of uncertainty is introduced by the fact that we cannot be sure of the manner in which the differentiation of Proto-Anatolian from PIE or that of the individual attested languages from Proto-Anatolian took place. One reasonable scenario is that a group of PIE speakers isolated themselves by moving into Anatolia. After a period of relative unity during which the language developed the characteristic set of features by which we define Proto-Anatolian, speakers dispersed across Anatolia with the resulting divergence into the attested languages of the early second millennium (thus e.g. Oettinger 2002 52). However, we cannot entirely exclude the alternative model of Steiner (1990 202f): the isolation that led to the development of Proto-Anatolian took place outside Anatolia (in the Balkans, e.g.), and entry into Anatolia took place in several successive waves (the objections to this scenario by Stefanini 2002 786 are overstated). According to this view some of the differences between the attested languages are correlated with the movement into Anatolia, while others develop as part of the dispersal within Anatolia.[28]

Plausible locations for the PIE speech community range from Eastern Europe and the Balkans to the region of the southern Volga. We cannot determine on linguistic grounds alone whether entry into Anatolia was from the northwest or the northeast. Steiner (1981 169) argues that the attested location of the Anatolian IE languages, the presence of non-Indo-European languages in northern and eastern Anatolia, and the evidence for movement of the Luwians from west

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[28] Oettinger and likewise Bryce (1998 14) argue that the earliest forms of Hittite, Luwian and Palaic are close enough to disprove successive waves of migration, but it is far from clear that such movements only a few centuries apart would have led to a radically different result in the attested languages.

to east point to entry from the (north)west. But if one assumes that the movement into Anatolia was a full millennium before our first records (as does Steiner), it seems hard to exclude the possibility that all traces of an early migration from east to west have simply been obliterated (or not yet discovered). That the Luwians *subsequently* moved from a western base south and east does not logically require that prior movements followed the same trajectory. An entry from the northwest does seem most plausible, but one would like to have corroboration, e.g. in the form of common innovations shared by Anatolian with western Indo-European dialects. The proposals of Puhvel (1994 et aliter) in this regard are at present merely suggestive, not yet compelling.[29]

Trying to correlate the linguistic developments and supposed population movements just described with changes in prehistoric cultures reflected in the archaeological record is a parlous enterprise. There does seem to be broad agreement that there is a high degree of cultural continuity in Anatolia from the Early through the Middle Bronze Age with relatively little evidence of 'destruction layers': see among others Yakar (1981) and Mellaart (1981).

To this extent the archaeological findings agree with the conclusions reached above on linguistic grounds in pointing to a relatively long and slow infiltration and acculturation rather than 'invasion' or 'conquest' and the imposition of a ruling class of Indo-Europeans on pre-existing populations (such as the Hattians). Mellaart (1981 137ff) suggests a date as early as 3500 BCE for entry of Indo-European speakers into Anatolia (cf. also Yakar 1981 96). Steiner (1981 169), for whom the differentiation of Luwian and Hittite begins outside Anatolia (see above) allows for a somewhat later date, but still

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[29] On the other hand, the arguments of Stefanini (2002 788) for an entry from the northeast are invalid. The affinities linking Anatolian and Tocharian (some of which are also shared with western IE dialects) can all thus far be interpreted as archaisms and thus retentions by peripheral dialects. They offer no evidence for an alleged common eastward movement of pre-Tocharian and pre-Anatolian speakers. There is also no credible evidence for substrate influence of Caucasian languages on Proto-Anatolian, which is the only issue here. Possible later influence of Hattic and Hurrian specifically on Hittite is irrelevant to the question of the entry of IE speakers into Anatolia. Certainly false is Stefanini's claim (2002 786 n. 4) that a majority of linguists believe in a northeastern entry.

assumes that the Hittites have been 'in Anatolia for at least one millennium' (1990 204).[30]

Note that such dates for initial entry of Indo-Europeans into Anatolia permit later signs of apparent west-to-east movement (see Mellaart 1981 145, Steiner 1981 169, and MacQueen 1996 27) to be interpreted as further movement *within* Anatolia by the pre-Luwians. One should probably be careful in pressing too far the contrast of small groups of 'peaceable' pre-Hittites with larger numbers of more aggressive and 'restless' pre-Luwians (cf. Steiner 1990 202f). Nevertheless, the circumstantial evidence for the eventually much wider attestation of Luwian vis-à-vis Hittite and Palaic does lend some credence to this notion.

It is tempting to see the Demircihüyük culture described by Korfmann (2001 361ff) as associated with the arrival of Indo-Europeans in Anatolia (cf. the remarks of Yakar 1981 96 and Darden 2001 220). The dating to the second half of the fourth and first half of the third millennium would correlate reasonably with those proposed on linguistic criteria above. In this case one would accept Steiner's and others' proposal of entry from the Balkans across the Bosporus, arguably in the late fourth millennium. After a period of relative unity in the northwest pre-Hittite and pre-Palaic speakers would have moved off towards their later attested positions, while the pre-Luwians stayed behind, later to move south and west. The ultimate viability of such a scenario remains to be determined. For the present we must be satisfied with a more vague characterization: the pre-Luwians entered Anatolia along with or only slightly later than other Indo-European speakers, surely no later than in the first half of the third millennium. They then spread across extensive areas of western and southern Anatolia already in the second half of the third millennium. Just how far this expansion had proceeded we can only guess.

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[30] In which case the movement of the pre-Luwians *into* Anatolia cannot be much later (cf. note 28).

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY

TREVOR R. BRYCE

A. INTRODUCTION

By the end of the third millennium BCE, the populations of Anatolia included three groups who spoke Indo-European languages. Parts of central and eastern Anatolia were occupied by speakers of a language called Nesite, after the city of Nesa (Kanesh) which lay just south of the southern bend of the (modern) Kızıl Irmak river (Hittite Marassantiya, Classical Halys). The name adopted for the language points to a significant Indo-European presence in the city which during the pre-Hittite Assyrian Colony period became the nucleus of an empire extending through much of the eastern half of Anatolia.[1] Subsequently Nesite became the official language of the Hittite kingdom, reflecting the likely prominence, if not dominance, of Indo-European Nesite-speakers in the kingdom's political and social structure, at least during its early years. A second Indo-European group, the Palaians, were located to the northwest of the land of Hatti, within the region later known as Paphlagonia. In western and southern Anatolia, a third group of Indo-European peoples settled. We call them the Luwians.

The names we give these three groups are adopted from the terms used to identify their languages in the written records of the Hittites. Eight languages appear in the cuneiform archives of Hattusa, the Hittite capital. Those of Indo-European origin are identified by the terms *nešili*, *našili*, or *nišili* ((written) in the manner (i.e. the language) of Nesa), *palaumnili* (in the language of Palā), and *luwili* (in the language of Luwiya).[2] The Nesite-speaking group provided a

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[1] See e.g. Bryce (1998 36-42). The Assyrian Colony period extended from the twentieth to the eighteenth century.

[2] Houwink ten Cate (1995 267) notes that 'the earliest Luwian language material, as found in the archives of Hattusa, consists of 277 Luwian passages inserted into

core element in the population of the kingdom of Hatti, whose homeland territory lay in central Anatolia. Geographical locations for the other two groups have been broadly determined from the distribution of place-names, divine names, personal names, and occasional inscriptions (in the case of the Luwians) in their respective languages, supplemented by various references to them in the Hittite texts.

From where, and when, did these groups first appear in Anatolia? Much doubt still remains about their place or places of origin, the time or times of their arrival, and their movements after their arrival. Various proposals place their homeland in the east (eastern Anatolia, southern Caucasus, northern Mesopotamia), the north (southern Russia, north of the Black Sea), and the west (central Europe, the Balkans). Some scholars believe that the Luwians entered Anatolia early in the third millennium, with Nesite- and Palaic-speakers appearing towards the millennium's end. Other scholars reverse the order. Others again would argue for the incursions of an undifferentiated mass of Indo-European speakers during the course of the millennium, with dispersion taking place within Anatolia after their arrival. It has also been proposed that there was an Indo-European presence in Anatolia for at least several thousand years prior to the third millennium.[3]

While no firm conclusions can be reached on these matters, we can be more confident about where the Indo-European groups had principally settled by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, in the seventeenth century BCE, when the foundations of the Hittite kingdom were being established in central Anatolia. By this time, Luwian-speaking groups had occupied extensive areas in the western half of Anatolia. Indeed a large part of western Anatolia very likely constituted the region referred to in early Hittite records as Luwiya. In the old version of the Hittite Laws,[4] clause 5 reads: 'If anyone kills a merchant, he shall pay 100 minas of silver...If it is in the lands of Luwiya or Palā, he shall pay the 100 minas of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the Land of Hatti, he shall also bring the merchant himself for burial' (transl. Hoffner). Palā and Luwiya are

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Hittite festivals, rituals, and incantations, as well as of two unilingual letter fragments, one of which shares the tablet with a letter in Akkadian.'

[3] For a summary, with references, of the range of proposals relating to Indo-European settlement in Anatolia, see Bryce (1998 10-20).

[4] CTH 291, 292. The standard editions are those of Friedrich (1959), Hoffner (1997).

thus recognised as distinct entities, separate from the Land of Hatti but also somehow linked with it as no other region in Anatolia appears to be. This is reinforced by four other clauses in the Laws, which deal with cases of abduction. The clauses in question (19a, 19b, 20, 21) contain, respectively, the following stipulations: (1) a Luwian who abducts a free person from the Land of Hatti and takes him to Luwiya is liable to confiscation of his estate if the abductee's owner[5] identifies him; (2) a Hittite who abducts a Luwian in the land of Hatti and takes him to Luwiya is liable to pay six persons as recompense; (3) a Hittite who abducts from the land of Luwiya a male slave belonging to another Hittite and brings him to the land of Hatti is liable to a penalty of twelve shekels of silver; (4) anyone who abducts a male slave belonging to a Luwian from the land of Luwiya and brings him to Hatti will return the slave to its owner, with no compensatory payment.

Palā does not appear in these clauses and may well have lost its independence, for one reason or another, very early in the history of the Hittite kingdom. But references to Luwiya continue (for the time being), and although the full implications of the laws which refer to it are not altogether clear, there is evidently some affinity at this time between Hatti and Luwiya. Hittite merchants operate in Luwiya, other persons move freely between Hatti and Luwiya, and on the surface at least it appears that the inhabitants of Luwiya as well as of Hatti were subject to the provisions of the Hittite Laws (cf. Friedrich 1959 91; Hoffner 1997 171). The cases in question deal with crimes of abduction involving the crossing of territorial boundaries between Hatti and Luwiya. Such crimes, whether committed by Hittites against Luwians, either in Hatti or Luwiya, or by Luwians in Hittite territory were liable to legal retribution as specified in the Laws. This need not mean that Hatti exercised any form of political or administrative control over the region covered by the term Luwiya. Indeed it may not have done so, effectively, until well into the period of the Hittite New Kingdom (see below). Quite possibly the relevant clauses reflect in part an agreement between Hatti and its Luwian neighbours over appropriate action to be taken whenever an inhabitant of the one region committed an offence against an inhabitant of the other. Admittedly, the penalties for Luwian offenders seem harsher than those prescribed

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[5] I.e. head of his household? See Hoffner (1997 30 n. 45).

for Hittites in these clauses. But without knowing the contexts in which these penalties and compensatory payments were formulated, or indeed whether they were consciously graded in relation to one another, we cannot determine what significance ought to be attached to the differences between them.[6]

Nevertheless, there clearly was a special relationship early in the Hittite kingdom between Hatti and Luwiya, one apparently not shared with other Anatolian peoples. This is suggested by the clauses referred to above as well as by clause 23 of the Laws which differentiates Luwiya from enemy territory: 'If a male slave runs away and goes to Luwiya, his owner shall pay six shekels of silver to whomever brings him back (23a). If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country, whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself' (23b) (transl. Hoffner). The relationship between Hatti and Luwiya may have had its origins in a period prior to the emergence of the Hittite Old Kingdom. It is tempting to assume that a common ethnic background played some part in this, particularly if the dispersion of the Indo-European groups who came to Anatolia occurred after their arrival. And indeed the linguistic affinities between Nesite and Luwian seem too close to allow the possibility that the speakers of these languages entered Anatolia in independent waves some centuries apart.

On the other hand, we should be wary of overestimating ethnicity as a factor in the relations between Hatti and Luwiya in the Hittite Old Kingdom. And we should almost certainly discard the notion that this kingdom began with the dominance of a distinct ethnic group of Indo-European origin who won supremacy over and imposed its authority upon an indigenous Hattian population. Nonetheless, the Indo-European Nesite language was the Hittite kingdom's official language, and there was undoubtedly a pronounced Indo-European element in the early kingdom, even if this became progressively attenuated in later years as the kingdom's population became increasingly multi-racial. Too, Luwian cultic texts had early been incorporated in Hattusa's corpus of religious texts, reflecting early cultural links between Hatti and Luwiya. And the closeness of the Hittite and Luwian languages must also have provided a practical inducement for closer relations between those who spoke these lan-

guages than between Indo-European speakers and speakers of totally alien languages.

But what precisely are we to understand by the term 'Luwiya', as it is used in the early versions of the Hittite Laws? That it referred to a single political entity or an administratively unified territory like the kingdom of Hatti is most unlikely. Rather the term appears to have been used in a broad ethno-geographical sense (cf. Friedrich 1959 91), indicating a general region which was inhabited by peoples speaking a shared Indo-European language, but without precise territorial limits. In much the same way the term *Hurri* in Hittite texts was used to refer to the regions of northern Mesopotamia and parts of northern Syria with a predominantly Hurrian-speaking population. Out of both these regions monarchies and kingdoms would subsequently arise.

A great number of the Bronze Age settlements in western Anatolia were probably Luwian foundations, or re-foundations, like Apasa, predecessor of Classical Ephesos, Beycesultan,[7] and perhaps also Troy VI, the most impresssive of Troy's nine major levels. Outside the chief centres, much of the Luwian-speaking population must have been scattered through numerous small villages and farming communities, or else belonged to shifting pastoral groups. Indeed a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence probably characterized a large part of the Luwian population. This 'restless, expansive' people were undoubtedly the most populous of the Indo-European groups who settled in Anatolia, to judge from the large areas over which they spread during the course of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The migrations which led to their settlement in western Anatolia continued well into the second millennium. And by the middle of the millennium, Luwian-speaking groups had spread southwards and eastwards, occupying much of southern Anatolia, from the region of (Classical) Lycia in the west through (Classical) Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia to Cilicia in the east. From the Luwian areas of southern Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age several kingdoms or states came into being during the Hittite period. These included the kingdoms of Kizzuwatna, which contained both Hurrian and Luwian elements (see Haas and Wilhelm 1974 5f.), and Tarhuntassa, perhaps a more

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[6] Contrast Hoffner (2002c 187), who concludes that the weighting of the fines in favour of the Hittites indicates that Luwiya-Arzawa was under Hittite domination at the time of the drafting of the Laws.

[7] Hawkins (1998b 24) suggests that Beycesultan, situated on a branch of the upper Maeander, may have been the principal city of the land of Kuwaliya, which became attached to the Luwian kingdom of Mira.

exclusively Luwian state which was apparently created by the Hittite king Muwattalli II in the early thirteenth century.

In western Anatolia a country called Arzawa (old Hittite variant Arzawiya) makes its first appearance in Hittite texts in the reign of Hattusili I, the first Hittite king with whom written records of the Hittite world can be firmly associated. Its appearance is linked with the disappearance of the name Luwiya. Although the term *luwili* continued in use as a linguistic term, the ethno-geographical designation Luwiya apparently dropped out of use, being replaced in later versions of the Hittite Laws by the name Arzawa. The reason for the name-substitution is unclear, though the new term may reflect new political developments in the western Luwian regions and the emergence of states or kingdoms in these regions. More generally, it may indicate the emergence of a greater sense of collective identity and more precise territorial consciousness amongst the Luwian groups to whom it applied.

As we shall see, Arzawa was a general term used to cover a complex of territories collectively known as the Arzawa Lands. In its broadest sense Arzawa probably extended over much of the territory previously called Luwiya, and incorporated many of the same population groups. Yet we should not think of Arzawa as either comprehensively or exclusively Luwian. On the one hand we have the names of a number of communities, towns and countries of western Anatolia which lay outside the Arzawa complex, many of which may have had Luwian-speaking inhabitants. On the other hand, the populations of the Arzawa Lands may well have included significant numbers of non-Luwian-speaking peoples.[8] Place-names are not necessarily a reliable guide to the ethnic composition of the populations of the places so called. Earlier place-names can be retained by newcomers. Later intrusive place-names can supplant indigenous names, even in regions where indigenous population elements continue to predominate.

Our understanding of Indo-European settlement in central Anatolia is that whenever it occurred the settlers encountered and gradually mingled with an indigenous people whom we call the Hattians. Many

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[8] Although the known onomastic elements of the Arzawa Lands are almost entirely Luwian (see Laroche 1959 10), the names so attested belong almost entirely to members of the ruling class or administrative elite and may not provide a representative cross-section of the population as a whole.

elements of the Hattian culture were absorbed within the Hittite civilization. Western and southern Anatolia had also long been occupied by indigenous population groups before the arrival of the Luwian-speaking peoples. Yet of these there is barely a (clearly identifiable) trace in either the archaeological or the written record of the Late Bronze Age. We can speak with some certainty about the site of Millawanda/Milawata, which was settled ca.1600 by colonists from Crete (MM IIIb period) and bore a distinctly Minoan character. But indigenous population groups or indigenous cultures at the time of the Luwian arrival are virtually impossible to identify in any precise way. Hittite texts provide a large number of names of towns and regions in western Anatolia apart from the Arzawa lands, and some appear to have had *pro tem* attachments to the kingdom of Hatti. But in most cases we know little about them—their ethnic composition, the nature of their political organization, or their relations with other states. The fact that they are referred to separately from the Arzawa lands or Lukka (on which see below) may indicate that their population was non-Luwian. On the other hand, too little is known about them to allow us to exclude the possibility that many may in fact have been located in Luwian-speaking, perhaps Arzawan, territory, but for one reason or other were referred to on their own.

Masa and Karkisa were apparently amongst the most significant independent western Anatolian countries. Etymologically these names can be connected with the later Classical place-names Maionia (or Mysia?) and Caria. But this provides no reliable guide to their actual locations in the Late Bronze Age, given the likelihood of major population shifts at the end of this age, and they should probably be assigned a more northerly inland location during the period of the Hittite kingdom. (For a more detailed discussion of their possible locations, see Hawkins 1998b 29-30.) As we shall see, the peoples of these countries had dealings, sometimes hostile, sometimes collaborative, with both the Hittites and the Arzawan states. They should probably be located reasonably close to the latter. On more than one occasion they served as places of refuge, for fugitives from the Hittite king, or for displaced members of local ruling families fleeing from intra-dynastic or family disputes within their own kingdoms. Again we cannot exclude the possibility that their populations were in part at least Luwian. But our texts provide us with no assistance on this matter.

At all events we can be sure that outside the Arzawa Lands there were significant parts of western Anatolia over which the Hittites never exercised more than tenuous authority, or any authority at all. This must have been a major factor in determining the routes used for travel to the west from the Land of Hatti, whether for military, diplomatic, or commercial purposes. We have also to account for the term 'Lukka' and its place within a Luwian context. The term was apparently used in reference to a region, or regions, and to population groups where the Luwian language was spoken. But there is some uncertainty about how narrow or comprehensive its application was. We can probably talk in terms of both an actual Lukka region, a kind of Lukka homeland, as well as a much broader region inhabited by scattered Lukka groups, perhaps largely nomadic or semi-nomadic in character.[9]

In sum, our history of the Luwian peoples will in effect amount to a historical overview of the various states and regions where we assume there was a significant population of Luwian speakers. In many of these regions Luwians may not have been the only, or even the largest, population group. But we have little or no knowledge of the ethnic composition of other groups living in or near Luwian-occupied territory. Similarly we do not know how many towns, communities, or tribal groups beyond the principal Luwian regions also had a significant Luwian population. In fact we cannot with any degree of confidence draw a clear distinction between Luwian and non-Luwian areas anywhere in Anatolia. It is possible, indeed likely, that Luwian elements predominated in the western Anatolian states called the Arzawa Lands. But they were widely spread through other regions as well.

That applied to the southeastern kingdom of Kizzuwatna, which lay in a region populated by both Luwian- and Hurrian-speaking peoples. It has been argued that the two peoples remained largely distinct from each other. Yet even if this were so, the limited information available to us makes it impossible to deal separately with them in compiling our sources of information on the kingdom's history. Thus while we might reasonably include Kizzuwatna in our survey of the history of the Luwians, we should do so on the clear understanding that whatever is said of its history would be just as appropriate within the context of a history of the Hurrian peoples.

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[9] For a brief survey of sources relating to Lukka, see Röllig 1988.

With these important qualifications, we shall embark on a history of the regions occupied by peoples of Luwian origin, beginning with western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age, which was dominated by the Arzawa Lands, and then moving southeastwards, perhaps following the Luwians' own migratory patterns within Anatolia. We shall conclude our history with the successors of the Bronze Age Luwians, who persisted in significant numbers in various regions of southern Anatolia throughout, or at least for much of, the first millennium BCE.

B. The Luwians in their Bronze Age Context

1. *The Luwian Population Groups of Western Anatolia*

1.1 *The Arzawa Lands*

Before proceeding to the history of Arzawa, we should give some consideration to what precisely was covered by this name, in terms of both its political composition and its geographical extent. In later documents, Arzawa was used in a generic as well as in a more specific sense. Generically, the 'Arzawa lands' incorporated up to five individual states or kingdoms: 'Arzawa Minor', Mira (with its later extension Kuwaliya, attached to it as frontier territory), the Seha River Land, Wilusa, and Hapalla. The assumed membership of the group is based on several references in Hittite texts, most notably the treaty which Muwattalli (II) drew up with Alaksandu of Wilusa early in the thirteenth century.[10] Section 4 of the treaty groups together three lands which Mursili assigned to vassal rulers: '[When he had conquered the whole] land of Arzawa,[11] he gave the land of Mira [and] the land of Kuwaliya [to Mashuiluwa, he gave the land of the Seha River and] the land of Appawiya [to Manapa-Tarhunta, and he gave] the land of Hapalla [to Targasnalli].' Again, in section 14 of the treaty Muwattalli states: 'Moreover, you are the four kings in the

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[10] CTH 76, ed. Friedrich (1930b 42-102), transl. Beckman (1996 82-88).

[11] This restoration is proposed by Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 137-138) to line A30 of the text (KUR ^{URU}*Ar-za-u-w*[*a ḫu-u-ma-an tar-aḫ-ta*...) , in place of Friedrich's restoration (KUR ^{URU}*Ar-za-u-w*[*a A-NA* ^{m}*SUM-ma-*^{d}*KAL*...), following Forrer and adopted by Beckman. It is accepted by Hawkins (1998b 15 nn. 58, 59; 16 n. 66), and is a necessary corollary of Heinhold-Krahmer's now generally accepted view that Arzawa Minor no longer existed at the time of the Alaksandu treaty.

Arzawa lands: you Alaksandu, Manapa-Tarhunta,[12] Kupanta-Kurunta, and Ura-Hattusa'. From other sources we know that the first three men were, respectively, the kings of Wilusa, the Seha River Land, Mira-Kuwaliya, and the last is generally assumed to have been king of Hapalla at that time.

Conspicuously absent from this list is the state we have referred to as Arzawa Minor. Its existence, and indeed its prominence, within the Arzawan complex can be deduced from references to it up to the early years of Mursili II's reign. We shall discuss below the likely reason for its sudden disappearance from our records after this time, and therefore its omission from the list of Arzawa Lands in the Alaksandu treaty.

Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the Seha River Land should be regarded as a member of the Arzawa group. Indeed there is one text in which it *appears* to be excluded from it: ['Thus speaks Tabarna Tudhaliya (?), the Great Kin]g(?): The land of the River Seha transgressed again for a second time(?). [They said(?): "In the past(?) the great(?)-grandfather of His Majesty did not conquer us by force of arms; [and whe]n [the grandfather of His Majesty] conquered the countries of Arzawa, [he did not conquer] us by force of arms. [He would have conquered] us, but we erased(??) for him the transgression."' (KUB XXIII 13 (CTH 211.4) 1-4, transl. Güterbock 1992 242). We could interpret this to mean that the Seha River Land *alone of the Arzawa Lands* was not conquered, and on the basis of its inclusion with three other 'Arzawa lands' in section 4 of the Alaksandu treaty, it seems reasonable to include it within the Arzawa group—at least at the time the treaty was drawn up. Its inclusion in or exclusion from the Arzawa group might have been largely a matter of what the political situation in the region happened to be at a particular time (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1970 71). This would reinforce the sense of Arzawa as primarily a political rather than an ethnic term, what Laroche (1987-90 182) has called 'un concept politique d'extension flottante'.

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[12] The text actually reads this name as Manapa-Kurunta, but this is almost certainly a mistake for Manapa-Tarhunta; see Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 154-157).
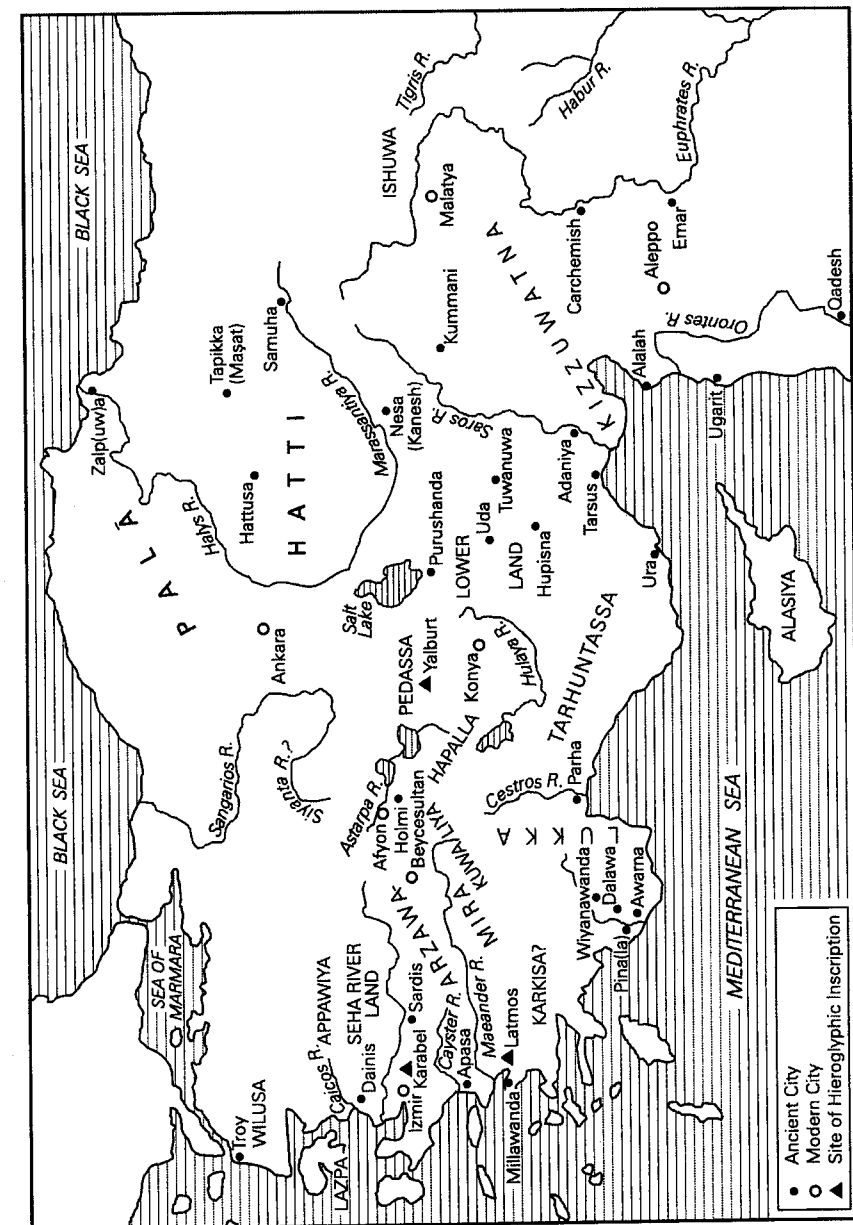
Map 2: Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age (H.C. Melchert)

We may suppose that the individual Arzawa lands evolved out of the large mass of Luwian-speaking peoples who had settled in western Anatolia, perhaps along the lines of the emerging Late Bronze Age kingdoms elsewhere in Anatolia. It was with this evolution that the Luwian groups of the west became a political as well as a military force to be reckoned with. 'Arzawa Minor' may have formed a kind of original nucleus of the group, but the group in no sense constituted a united political entity. Each was a separate state with its own ruler, each had a separate relationship with the Hittite king when Hittite authority was extended to this region.

1.2 *The Geographical Extent of the Arzawa Lands*

In broad terms, the Arzawa lands extended inland from Anatolia's Aegean seaboard and through much of western Anatolia probably to the western edges of the Plain of Konya.[13] We can be no more precise than this. The geography of the Hittite world has been described as a guessing game, and there are admittedly many cities, regions, and kingdoms of this world whose precise locations and territorial limits remain uncertain. The major problem is the paucity of archaeological evidence for western Anatolia in this period, and the almost total absence of local epigraphic material. Nonetheless significant progress is being made in the attempts to reconstruct the political geography of the Arzawa complex. Thus a text-join discovered comparatively recently establishes the location of the kingdom of Wilusa in the northwest of Anatolia, in the region of the Classical Troad, with Lazpa, almost certainly the island of Lesbos, as one of its subsidiary territories.[14] In order to reach Wilusa, a Hittite expeditionary force proceeded to it via the Seha River Land, which must have occupied one of the river valleys in western Anatolia. The river itself is commonly identified with the Maeander (mod. Menderes), but is more likely to have been either the Caicos or the Hermos

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[13] See Del Monte and Tischler (1978 s.v. Arzawa, Mira etc.) for a list of sources relevant to the locations of Arzawa and the individual Arzawa Lands, and a summary of scholarly opinion on the locations. For a more recent review of scholarship on the political geography of Late Bronze Age Anatolia, see Gurney (1992). Of particular significance is the new geo-political survey by Hawkins (1998b 21-31).

[14] The join is to the so-called Manapa-Tarhunta letter. For the augmented text (KUB XIX 5 (CTH 191) + KBo XIX 79 5-6), see Houwink ten Cate (1983-84 33-64).

(Classical names). Gurney (1992 221) prefers the former, Hawkins (1998b 23-24) the latter.

Arzawa Minor can be located to the south of the Seha River Land. The nucleus of this land was the city of Apasa, the seat of the local king. Various locations have been suggested for Apasa,[15] but the longstanding proposal to identify it with the Bronze Age predecessor of Classical Ephesos can now be confidently restated (see Hawkins 1998b 1). It is likely, then, that Arzawa Minor extended from the coast into the region between the Hermos and Maeander rivers, with the originally independent land of Millawanda/Milawata lying immediately to its south.

That would tie in with important new information on the location of the kingdom of Mira. Some twenty-eight kilometres east of the city of Izmir on Turkey's western coast there is a mountain pass called Karabel, located in the Tmolus range between Apasa/Ephesos and the later Lydian site of Sardis. Overlooking the pass is a relief cut in the face of the rock, depicting a male human figure wearing a tall peaked cap and armed with bow, spear, and sword with crescent-shaped pommel. The relief is accompanied by an inscription in Luwian hieroglyphs with the name Tarkasnawa, who was an important thirteenth century king of Mira.[16] He is also known from a silver-bossed seal (where his name had previously been represented as 'Tarkondemos') and from a number of seal impressions.

Prior to the last two decades of the fourteenth century Mira was very likely a landlocked country whose eastern limits probably lay somewhere in the region of the modern Afyon (thus Hawkins 1998b 23). Its territory appears to have extended relatively close to the land of Pedassa (where a king of Mira, Mashuiluwa, attempted to stir up trouble), which can be located with reasonable certainty to the west or southwest of the Salt Lake. In the west we know that Mira adjoined the territory of the Seha River Land. Its western borders were also adjacent or very close to those of Arzawa Minor. However, follow-

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[15] Including the site called Habesos in first millennium Lycia, the former name of Antiphellos according to the Elder Pliny (5.8.100). Garstang's proposed identification of the site with Apasa was subsequently rejected by Garstang and Gurney (1959 84).

[16] See Hawkins (1998b). Hawkins notes that the inscription also bears the names of Tarkasnawa's father and grandfather, also kings of Mira but the names are of uncertain reading.

ing the two-year campaigns in the Arzawa Lands by the Hittite king Mursili II (ca. 1321-1295), Arzawa Minor seems to have been totally dismembered (see below), with Mira very likely receiving the lion's share of its former territories—thus extending its western limits to the Aegean coast. The remaining Arzawan state Hapalla lay close to the Lower Land,[17] which served as a Hittite buffer zone lying to the southwest of the core territories of the kingdom of Hatti.

Putting all this information together, we can conclude that the Arzawan lands occupied an almost continous swathe of territory in western Anatolia, extending from the Troad region in the northwest, inland along the Hermos and Caicos river valleys, southwards along the western coast as far as the Maeander valley, and from the Maeander valley eastwards to the region southwest of the Salt Lake where Hittite buffer territory began. It may well be that the ill-defined territorial limits of the Lower Land led to border disputes between Hittite and Arzawan groups and provoked the cattle raid recorded in the Annals of the Hittite king Hattusili I (discussed below).

If we accept the theory of initial Luwian penetration into Anatolia via the northwest, it is tempting to see the pattern of Arzawan occupation as reflecting a progressive spread of Luwian-speaking peoples through the western half of Anatolia leading to the establishment of independent kingdoms in the regions where they settled. The Maeander valley may have been an early nucleus of Luwian settlement in the west, whence Luwian settlements were established further afield, with the original name 'Arzawa' being retained as a generic term for the newly developing states, and as an ongoing reflection of their place of origin. With the establishment of the Arzawan states the term Luwiya disappeared, at least from Hittite records.

1.3 *The Lukka People*

The Luwian-speaking populations of western Anatolia included a group or groups designated by the term Lukka. The people so called are referred to in a number of Hittite texts, with also an occasional reference to them in Egyptian sources and a late reference to Lukka in a tablet from Ugarit. Unfortunately none of the extant sources provide any specific information about the Lukka people. There is no

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[17] As can be inferred from KUB XIX 22 4-7. See also Hawkins (1998b 14 n. 39), who comments that a location in inner Pisidia is indicated.

indication from the texts of any political organization or administrative or military coherence amongst them, nothing to suggest that they formed or were part of permanent, stable political entities. We know of no Lukka kings, no Lukka states corresponding, for example, to those of the Arzawa complex. Where then do the Lukka people belong within the general context of the Luwian-speaking groups of western and southern Anatolia? To what extent can they be distinguished from other Luwian groups?

The answers to these questions may be somewhat complex. To begin with, it is possible that as the Arzawan states were evolving in the west, with more formal administrative hierarchies and more structured control over their inhabitants, a number of Luwian groups took no part in or resisted the process, seeking to maintain an independent existence and what was probably a traditional lifestyle outside the territory and authority of the newly developing political entities. Many may have led a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, some travelling to new regions which were, initially at least, beyond the jurisdiction or authority of the formally constituted states. This may have been the scenario in which scattered, loosely organized Luwian groups, identified by the term Lukka, came within the Hittites' sphere of interest.

Hittite records indicate that Lukka people became at least nominal subjects of the Hittite king, apparently from the time Hittite authority was extended over the Arzawan states if not earlier. But we have the impression from the texts that these subjects were often fractious and difficult to control, and often openly hostile to Hatti. Lukka people seem also to have had a reputation as seafarers who engaged in buccaneering enterprises in the waters and against the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean, a clear indication that part of the territory in which they lived or from which they operated included a coastline. More generally, we might deduce from the name Lukka, or Lukka Lands,[18] that there was a specific Lukka region, what we might call a 'Lukka homeland', even though some elements of the Lukka population might have been widely scattered throughout southern and western Anatolia.

What was the nature of this homeland, and where did it lie? As we have observed, it must in part have extended along a coast, it presum-

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[18] This plurality is not so far attested before the thirteenth century.

ably lay outside the areas already occupied by the lands of the Arzawa complex, and indeed other known states of western and southern Anatolia, and it was presumably to be sought in a region which held few of the attractions of settled life enjoyed by the inhabitants of the fertile river valleys and coastal areas of Anatolia's Aegean littoral. By a process of elimination we are left by and large with only one possibility—the southwest, the mountainous terrain of the western extension of the Taurus Mountains and the rugged coast which incorporated what was later to become the country of Lycia. Our texts point to much the same conclusion. From these texts we can conclude that the term Lukka included a region which extended westward through Lycia from the western end of Pamphylia. This was Lukka in its most restricted sense. (In its broadest extension the name very likely covered a much larger expanse of territory, as discussed below.) Lycia, the Greek name for the region, was almost certainly derived from Bronze Age Lukka. However, by false etymology Classical tradition associated it with the Greek word for 'wolf'—thus 'Wolfland' (see below).

The most important evidence indicating that this region was, or formed part of, the Lukka homeland comes from the bronze tablet unearthed at Hattusa in 1986. The tablet contains the text of a treaty drawn up by the thirteenth century Hittite king Tudhaliya IV with his cousin Kurunta, ruler of the Hittite appanage kingdom called Tarhuntassa (the text, Bo 86/299, has been published by Otten 1988). We can deduce from boundary references in the tablet (in particular col. i 61), that Tarhuntassa extended along Anatolia's southern coast through the later Cilicia Aspera and in the west must have covered much of the territory of Classical Pamphylia, terminating with the Kastaraya river (Classical Cestros) and the city of Parha (almost certainly Classical Perge). Parha and other names in the boundary description appear elsewhere in the same context as the Lukka Lands (KUB XXI 6a), providing a firm geographical context for these lands within southern Anatolia and in proximity to the Land of Tarhuntassa (see Bryce 1992). Singer (1983 208) has defined the Lukka Lands as 'a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans'. More broadly, the region covered by the name may have extended beyond Lycia to parts of the later Pisidia, Isauria, and perhaps even to Lycaonia as well.

Is it possible that in some contexts the names 'Lukka', 'Lukka Lands', or 'Lukka people' had a wider application still, extending to *all* regions where Luwian was spoken?[19]

We have concluded that the Arzawa states had Luwian or predominantly Luwian populations, noting, for example, the replacement of the name Luwiya by Arzawa in later versions of the Hittite Laws, the predominance of Luwian names of kings and other persons from Arzawa attested in written records, and the occasional Luwian inscriptions discovered in what must have been Arzawan territory in western Anatolia. We have suggested that Luwian-speaking groups occupied other areas of western Anatolia as well, and that some of these probably lived a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle independent of any formal political entities. Luwian groups also occupied extensive areas of southern Anatolia.

Was there a generic term to cover *all* of these groups, as well as individual Luwian groups which could not otherwise be more precisely defined? After the disappearance of the name Luwiya from our records, we know of no term other than Lukka which might have served this purpose. There are possible analogies. 'Hurri' appears in Hittite records as a general designation for the Hurrian-speaking peoples of northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Mittanni was the most important Hurrian political and military power to develop in these regions. It was essentially a geo-political unit, or agglomeration of units, within a broader Hurrian ethno-cultural context. The term 'Hurrian' might be used of any Hurrian-speaking groups or any Hurrian-occupied regions within this context. Similarly the term *Akhaioi*, at least as used in Homeric tradition, was a general designation for the Greek-speaking peoples who inhabited the geo-political units of the Late Helladic world—the kingdoms of Mycenae, Argos, Thebes, Pylos and the like. That is to say, generic terms were used as a collective form of identification of ethnic groups who often formed or belonged to independent communities, states, or kingdoms, but whose fundamental common identity was recognised through their sharing of a common language and culture. So too the Hittites might sometimes have used the term Lukka in a generic sense, to refer to *any part* of the Luwian-speaking regions of Anatolia, including the

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[19] Cf. Laroche (1976 18-19), Easton (1984 27-28). Contra Easton; see Crossland in the discussion of Easton's paper, Foxhall and Davies (1984 58).

Arzawa Lands, or to these regions *in their totality*. Similarly the term 'Lukka-people' might have been used in a generic sense of persons from any part of the Luwian-speaking world, whether inhabitants of formally constituted states like the Arzawa lands or from communities or tribal or clan groups independent of such states.

There is no real incongruity between the notion of Lukka covering a specific region in southwest Anatolia, and the use of the term Lukka or Lukka Lands as a more general designation for all Luwian-speaking regions of Anatolia. On one occasion the Hittite texts might refer to one, on another occasion to the other. It may be that the term Lukka was originally confined, at least in Hittite terminology, to a particular Luwian-speaking group, whence it was subsequently broadened into a comprehensive designation for the Luwians as a whole. We might compare the term *Graeci* which the Romans used for the indigenous inhabitants of the Hellenic world. The term probably arose from Roman contact with the Hellenic *Graii* of southern Italy, leading to the adoption of the cognate form *Graeci* in Latin and its application to all parts of the 'Greek' world.

In sum, the term Lukka might have applied to (a) a specific region in the southwest of Anatolia, inhabited by Luwian-speaking peoples but without clearly defined boundaries and with no overall political organization, (b) any other regions, or all regions collectively, with a predominantly Luwian population. We shall consider below what indications we have in the texts themselves of this proposed distinction.

2. *History of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*

2.1 *The Limitations of Luwian History*

As we attempt to reconstruct a history of the Late Bronze Age Luwian-speaking peoples in western Anatolia, we need to bear in mind an important *caveat*. In contrast to Luwian religious texts, which have been inserted into Hittite documents and provide a few glimpses of Luwian culture, there are no texts of Luwian origin which provide historical information about the peoples of the Luwian-speaking world. Almost the entire corpus of extant material on the Luwians derives from Hittite sources. There are but a handful of exceptions: two pieces of correspondence between Arzawa and Egypt during the reign of the pharaoh Amenhotep III, a reference to Lukka in correspondence between the king of Alasiya and the pharaoh Amenhotep

IV/Akhenaten, the apparent inclusion of Lukka among the so-called Sea Peoples, and a reference to Lukka in correspondence between the kings of Alasiya and Ugarit in the last years of the Late Bronze Age. Apart from these, our knowledge of Luwian history is derived from patently prejudiced Hittite texts whose information on the peoples and countries of the Luwian regions is strictly limited to issues and events which relate directly to Hittite interests. We can work only with what we have—piecing together parts of a history of the Luwian world on the basis of a strongly politically biassed treatment of this world by its overlords and sometime enemies, and a narrowly focussed treatment of this world which confines itself entirely to matters relevant to Hatti's relations with it. All else is ignored.

Of course in view of Hatti's dominant role in the Anatolian peninsula, the history of Luwiya in this period must have consisted very largely of its relations with Hatti, even if it had been chronicled by independent Luwian scribes. What we do miss is any information about the local history of the Luwian states and political developments within these states, apart from a few references to dynastic squabbles and coups reported in our Hittite sources. Of particular interest would have been local texts relating to the Arzawan kingdoms' relations with Ahhiyawa, since almost certainly there were regular communications and diplomatic and other links between at least some of these and the Mycenaean Greek world.[20] They undoubtedly had some form of chancellery, in view of the correspondence which passed between them and Hatti. This presupposes the existence of local archives where communications received or copies of communications sent were stored. And it is unlikely that such records would have been confined exclusively to the westerners' dealings with Hattusa. The close contact between Ahhiyawa and the western Anatolian world, particularly in the thirteenth century, would almost certainly have been reflected in written documents (see Bryce 1999 260). But almost all evidence of written records in the west during the Late Bronze Age has disappeared without trace.

Thus our perceptions of the Luwians, above all the inhabitants of the Arzawa Lands, are essentially those of Hittite kings (and their chancelleries) who wrote to or about them—often regarding them as

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[20] This assumes that Ahhiyawa was the Hittite term for the Mycenaean world or a Mycenaean kingdom within that world; see, e.g. Bryce (1998 59-63). Further support for the identification is provided by Hawkins (1998b, espec. 30-31).

enemies or potential enemies located in strategically important regions. Such perceptions may well be distorted. An Arzawan vassal ruler immortalized in the archives of Hattusa as a treacherous disloyal subject of the Great King might in fact have had a quite different image among his own people, perhaps that of a patriotic leader seeking to release his land from the shackles of alien overlordship. Conversely, a vassal praised by the Great King for his unfaltering loyalty to the Hittite cause might well have been seen by his own people as a self-serving traitor.

This by way of prelude to a history of the Arzawa lands, inevitably a fragmentary history, presented largely from a Hittite perspective, and compiled almost entirely from Hittite sources. Several types of documents make up these sources: annalistic records of a Hittite king's military exploits, self-laudatory shorter royal hieroglyphic inscriptions on stone, correspondence between Hittite kings and their vassals (we have only the Hittite letters, or rather their copies, with none surviving from the vassals themselves), and the texts of treaties, unilaterally imposed contracts often introduced by historical preambles.

2.2 *Early Contacts and Conflicts between Hatti and the Arzawa Lands*

Our earliest reference to Arzawa records a raid into its territory by the Hittite king Hattusili I (ca. 1650-1620). In his account of the military campaigns which he conducted over a six-year period,[21] Hattusili informs us that in the third year of these campaigns: 'I marched against Arzawa and I took from it cattle and sheep.' This brief statement and the event to which it refers seem almost incidental to the main narrative of Hattusili's military exploits. Indeed it is remarkable that in the midst of extensive campaigns undertaken in central and eastern Anatolia and further afield in Syria Hattusili should suddenly turn his attention to the west against Arzawa, for the apparent purpose of plundering its livestock. Yet this raid was probably not an isolated incident. More likely it was but one of a number of hostile cross-border actions symptomatic of increasing tensions between Hatti and Arzawa. Such tensions were the likely consequence of ongoing Hittite territorial expansion initiated by a king called Labarna, a predecessor of Hattusili and probable founder of the Hittite royal dynasty. Labarna's conquests in Anatolia extended

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[21] KBo X 1 + KBo X 2 (CTH 4), ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965.

Hittite territory south to the Mediterranean Sea and west to the Konya Plain, as recorded in the Proclamation of the fifteenth century Hittite king Telipinu (CTH 19, secs. 1-4, lines i 2-12).

This led to the establishment of Hittite control over the region extending south and southwest of the Marassantiya river, which was called the Lower Land and came to serve as a Hittite buffer zone against threats to Hittite homeland territory particularly from the southwest (see Bryce 1986-87 97-99). Very likely this had been and continued to be an area of Luwian settlement, as Dr Singer (1981 124) concludes on the basis of the names of local gods in the region of the Classical Tyanitis with its principal towns Tuwanuwa, Hupisna, Landa, Sahasara, Huwassana and Kuniyawanni. Extension of the Lower Land further to the southwest would have brought Hittite territory in close proximity to the eastern limits of the region which came to be called Arzawa, thus creating the potential for border disputes and cross-border raids of the kind alluded to in a number of treaties which Hittite kings subsequently drew up with their immediate neighbours.

Such disputes often served as a prelude to further territorial acquisitions by an aggressive neighbour. Already in Hattusili's reign, it has been suggested, at least part of Arzawan territory may have become subject to Hatti. The suggestion is based primarily on the reading of an early text KBo III 34 (CTH 8A), from a 'palace chronicle' or collection of anecdotes, which refers to a Hittite subject called Nunnu from the city of Hurma. We learn that Nunnu had been in Arzawiya (the Old Hittite form of Arzawa), and while there had apparently embezzled gold which should have been handed over to the Hittite king. It has been inferred from this episode, possibly to be dated to Hattusili's reign, that the embezzler had served as an administrative appointee of the Hittite king in Arzawa, occupying a position important enough to enable him to misappropriate gold intended for his overlord's coffers (cf. Gurney 1973a 246; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977, 19-21; Bryce 1998 79). If the inference is correct, we might then conclude that the region where Nunnu had operated was subject to Hittite sovereignty at that time.

A text from a later period seems to indicate extensive early Hittite conquests in the Arzawa region. In the historical preamble to his treaty with Alaksandu, king of Wilusa, the Hittite king Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272) states: 'Formerly, when my forefather Labarna had

conquered all the lands of Arzawa and the land of Wilusa, thereafter the land of Arzawa began war, and the land of Wilusa defected from Hatti—but because the matter is long past, I do not know from which king.' (Alaksandu Treaty (CTH 76) B i 2-6, transl. Beckman 1996 82). At first sight it is tempting to use this passage as a possible starting point for the attested history of Arzawa, assigning its alleged conflicts with Hatti to the reign of the first Hittite king called Labarna. But the passage is of dubious historical value. To judge from sections 1-4 of the Telipinu Proclamation, Labarna I's military exploits, impressive though they were, did not extend into western Anatolia, certainly not on the scale indicated by Muwattalli.

In any case, the term *Labarna* came into general use as a royal title and might have referred to any of Labarna's successors. Muwattalli himself admits uncertainty as to which of his early predecessors the western military campaigns ought to be assigned. Hattusili (who himself uses the title Labarna) is a possible candidate, though his preoccupation with campaigns in central and eastern Anatolia and in the Syrian region would have left him little time or opportunity, even if he had the inclination, for extensive campaigns in the west. And despite Muwattalli's assumption that the Arzawan campaigns to which he refers predated the reign of Tudhaliya (presumably the man who became the first ruler of the New Kingdom),[22] it seems inconceivable that any of Hattusili's Old Kingdom successors would have engaged in major campaigns in the west, given the serious shrinkage of Hittite territory during their reigns. At best the passage from the Alaksandu treaty represents a conflated version of later conflicts between Hittites and Arzawans. The author of the treaty has used considerable editorial licence to suit the propagandistic purposes of the treaty's historical preamble.

It is with the first king called Tudhaliya that we come to firmer ground in the history of Hittite-Arzawan relations. The fragmentary remains of Tudhaliya's Annals[23] record two military campaigns in the west under the king's personal leadership. The first was against a

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[22] See Bryce (1998 131-133). It is uncertain whether the exploits associated with an early New Kingdom Tudhaliya should be assigned to one or two kings of this name.

[23] KUB XXIII 11//12 (CTH 142.2), ed. Carruba (1977 158-163), also transl. Gurney in Garstang and Gurney (1959 121-123). See also Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 256-258).

number of countries which included several of the states we have identified as Arzawa lands: Arzawa (Minor), the Seha River Land, and Hapalla. This is the first time in our texts that members of the Arzawa complex are individually identified—some 180 years or so after the first reference to Arzawa in the Annals of Hattusili. In the intervening period, perhaps, the Arzawa complex had evolved into separate political entities. To judge from the Hittite account, this first western campaign resulted in a decisive success for Tudhaliya, though shortly afterwards he had to reassemble his forces for a further campaign in the region. On this occasion he was confronted with an anti-Hittite coalition of twenty-two countries commonly referred to as the 'Assuwan Confederacy'. Another of the Arzawan states is mentioned in this second campaign—Wilusiya (an alternative version of Wilusa; see Houwink ten Cate 1970 77-78; Güterbock 1984 35), the penultimate name in the list of coalition states. (We shall have more to say about the possible significance of this.) Once more the Hittites were victorious. The coalition was defeated, and as far as we know was never again re-formed.

We might note in this context the discovery in 1991 of a bronze longsword near the Lion Gate at Hattusa.[24] The sword bears an inscription, which can be dated stylistically to the period of the first Tudhaliya, indicating that it was dedicated by Tudhaliya to the Storm-god after a victory over Assuwa. The inscription has been published by Ünal in Ünal, Ertekin, and Ediz (1991 51). It seems very likely that the sword was part of Tudhaliya's booty from his Assuwan campaign, and was subsequently inscribed to commemorate the campaign.

With the exception of Mira, all of the known Arzawan states figured amongst the enemy countries against whom Tudhaliya made war in his western campaigns—though in Tudhaliya's account none of them is given any prominence over the other western countries, nor is there any sense of their forming a coherent group among themselves. Even so they may well have played leading roles in the opposition which Tudhaliya encountered in the west. Moreover, it is possible that the successes he won there provided a genuine basis for the references to extensive conquests in Arzawa recorded in the Alaksandu Treaty. We have noted that these conquests were attri-

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[24] On the find-spot and its archaeological context, see Neve (1993a 648-52).

buted by Muwattalli to one of Tudhaliya's predecessors. But they actually fit the scenario of Tudhaliya's reign much better than they do the reigns of any of those who sat upon the throne before him. Muwattalli mentions Tudhaliya merely as a *terminus ante quem*, mistakenly assigning his conquests to an earlier period.

We have no information on the events leading up to Tudhaliya's western campaigns, or the reasons which persuaded him to undertake them. However as the military capabilities of the western states grew, increasing pressure on Hatti's southwestern frontiers may well have prompted the Hittite king to conduct preemptive or retaliatory operations in the west, at least partly with the intention of destroying newly forming confederacies in the region. Here perhaps he encountered stronger and more widespread opposition than he had expected. Very likely Arzawa Minor was at the core of this opposition. In his own account Tudhaliya gives no clear indication of any special role played by this state. But in the Annals of the man he made his son-in-law and co-regent, Arnuwanda (I), we have additional information about Arzawa's involvement in the conflict,[25] including Hittite action taken against Kupanta-Kurunta, called 'the Man of Arzawa', very likely the chief leader in the coalition, his defeat by the Hittites, and his escape from them (KUB XXIII 21 ii 1'-32').

Thus we can probably assign to Tudhaliya's reign the Hittites' first substantial involvement in western Anatolian affairs, perhaps largely in response to the emergence of an Arzawan state in the region with the potential to threaten Hatti's position as the dominant political and military power within Anatolia. Mutual fear of aggression was very likely the catalyst for conflict. Arzawa could quite reasonably have entertained fears that the Hittite instinct for territorial expansion would only be held in check by a powerful alliance of western Anatolian states. That conviction may well have communicated itself to other western Anatolian states who formed a coalition around Arzawa. As far as Hatti was concerned, the southwest frontiers of the kingdom would become increasingly vulnerable if a new rising power in the west was allowed to develop and grow unchecked, particularly one which had the ability to form powerful military alliances.

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[25] The Annals survive in a late copy, KUB XXIII 21 (CTH 143); see Carruba (1977 166-171); Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 259-260); Freu (1987 135-43). See also Houwink ten Cate (1970 57-79).

On the surface, Tudhaliya's western campaigns appear to have met with considerable success. Yet we should not overestimate the impact they actually made on the regions where they were conducted. Conquest was not followed up with the establishment of permanent Hittite authority over the conquered territories, at least those in the far west. There is little evidence of any attempts at this time to impose vassal status on the western states, which probably retained their independence (with one apparent exception),[26] even if their ability to mount similar anti-Hittite campaigns was in the immediate future severely limited by the transportation of large numbers of captive infantry and chariotry back to the Hittite homeland. As was the case with Hattusili I's campaigns in Syria, Tudhaliya's western campaigns could achieve no more than the temporary pacification of a region which was seen as a threat to the security of Hittite territory —for long enough periods to enable the Hittites to concentrate their resources on protecting other vulnerable frontiers, particularly to the north and southeast, and on areas in the southeast which were more closely aligned with their interests.

Further information on relations between Hatti and Arzawa is provided by a document commonly referred to as the Indictment of Madduwatta.[27] The document takes the form of a letter written by Arnuwanda I, Tudhaliya's co-regent and successor, to a Hittite vassal ruler called Madduwatta, whose career as vassal extended through both Tudhaliya's and Arnuwanda's reigns. We are informed that Madduwatta had orginally been expelled from his own country, which probably lay somewhere in western Anatolia,[28] and had sought asylum with Tudhaliya. He had been accompanied by his family and a retinue of troops and chariots, an indication of his importance, or his former importance, in his own land. Tudhaliya established him as a vassal ruler in a part of Hittite subject territory called the mountain

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[26] The Arzawan state Hapalla was apparently claimed as Hittite subject territory, as indicated below in the context of the events involving the Hittite vassal Madduwatta. The Hittites may also at this time have extended their control over part of what became the kingdom of Mira, assigning it (as suggested below) to the immediate control of Madduwatta.

[27] KUB XIV 1 + KBo XIX 38 (CTH 147), ed. Goetze (1927). See also Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 260-262); Hoffman (1984); (Freu 1987).

[28] The name of his country is not specified in the text. The fact that his expulsion was due to Attarssiya, a 'Man of Ahhiya', does not necessarily mean that Attarssiya was a fellow-countryman.

land of Zippasla, and subsequently increased the size of his kingdom by adding to it territory called the Siyanta River Land, which now served as its boundary.

Although the precise location of the vassal kingdom is uncertain, it seems clear from Arnuwanda's letter that it lay on the periphery of Hittite subject territory in the Arzawa region.[29] In return for his appointment, Madduwatta was obliged by his agreement with Tudhaliya to act as a watchdog of Hittite interests in the region and to provide military assistance to the king when called upon to do so. He was expressly instructed to occupy no other land, beyond what had been assigned him. Yet he was apparently quick to violate his oath by undertaking a campaign against Arzawa, then ruled by Kupanta-Kurunta.[30] His aggression backfired. Kupanta-Kurunta destroyed his army and then launched a retaliatory attack on his kingdom. Madduwatta was forced to flee for his life. Tudhaliya promptly dispatched Hittite forces to the area, who succeeded in driving Kupanta-Kurunta back to his own land, in the process taking substantial booty from him. Madduwatta was restored to his vassal seat by his overlord and presented with the spoils of battle. A remarkable act of clemency on Tudhaliya's part, or so it seems, in view of what appears to have been a flagrant breach by Madduwatta of the terms of his agreement with his overlord.

After further violations, Madduwatta concluded a peace with Kupanta-Kurunta, reinforced by a marriage alliance with his daughter. When once more Tudhaliya protested, his vassal's response was that this was all part of a trick to win Kupanta-Kurunta's confidence, and then to kill him. At this point the text becomes fragmentary, leaving the outcome of the episode unknown.

We need to bear in mind that Madduwatta's activities are revealed to us only through the words of his complainant, and that there is undoubtedly Hittite bias in the representation of the events in which he was involved. Nonetheless, the episode is important in the history of Hittite-Arzawan relations. At this time the country ruled by Kupanta-Kurunta was clearly independent of Hittite control, and even before Madduwatta's allegedly unprovoked attack upon it, relations between Kupanta-Kurunta's kingdom and Hatti were obviously

[29] It may have covered part of the later kingdom of Mira; see Hawkins (1998b 25).
[30] Though neither here nor in Arnuwanda's Annals is Kupanta-Kurunta actually called 'king'.

strained, if not openly hostile. The kingdom is almost certainly to be understood as Arzawa in the restricted sense (what we have called Arzawa Minor), and must have extended close to the western fringe of Hittite subject territory since it lay close if not adjacent to Madduwatta's fiefdom. Given that Apasa (Ephesos) on the coast was, in later times at least, the royal seat of this kingdom, then its territory must have covered a substantial portion of southwestern Asia Minor, including probably much of the region later assigned to Mira following the dismemberment of Arzawa Minor in King Mursili II's reign (discussed below).

Arnuwanda's letter to Madduwatta may well reflect a general policy on the part of the early New Kingdom rulers of Hatti towards western Anatolia. Given the Hittites' strong political and cultural orientation towards the southeast, and the limited resources at their disposal to maintain this orientation while providing adequate protection for their homeland, it is likely that they preferred to keep their involvement in western Anatolian affairs to as little as was consistent with the security of their frontiers in that region. An astute, ambitious vassal located in a sensitive frontier zone might well attempt to exploit that situation for his own advantage as Madduwatta apparently did.

There was however one Arzawa land over which the Hittites at this time claimed sovereignty—the land of Hapalla. But the sovereignty was apparently tenuous enough for Madduwatta to try to incorporate Hapalla within his own expanding territory. His conquest of it led to a peremptory demand by Arnuwanda for its return: 'The Land of Hapalla is a land belonging to My Sun. Why have you taken it? Give it back to me now!'(Indictment, sec. 29, rev. 56). Hapalla was returned, but Madduwatta retained other conquests allegedly belonging to the Hittite crown and probably lying further to the west, including some communities lying in or near Lukka territory (discussed below).

2.3 *The Luwians of Western Anatolia during the First Half of the Hittite Kingdom*

Let us at this point summarize what we know or may reasonably conclude about western Anatolia's Luwian-speaking populations, up to around the mid-fourteenth century:

(a) The Hittites originally referred to the Luwian-occupied regions of western Anatolia by the collective term Luwiya, a broad ethno-geographical designation attested in early versions of the Hittite Laws. It was replaced in later versions of the Laws by the term Arzawa. We do not know whether the original term was ever used by the Luwians themselves, or was purely one of convenience adopted by the Hittites, primarily in reference to the Luwian-speaking regions to the west and southwest of their homeland. It occurs nowhere outside the Laws.

(b) The adoption of the 'replacement term' Arzawa may reflect the development of more formal political organizations in the west. It was used as a general designation for a number of separate but ethnically linked kingdoms in the region. We have concluded that there were five of these: Arzawa Minor, Wilus(iy)a, the Seha River Land, Hapalla, and Mira-Kuwaliya. The first appears to have been the most prominent, and may have served as a political centre or nucleus of the whole region before its differentiation into separate kingdoms. Henceforth the name Arzawa continued in use for the complex as a whole, as well as for the kingdom which had been its core territory.

(c) *In toto* the Arzawan kingdoms covered a large area of western Anatolia extending along the Aegean coast from the Troad southward to the Maeander river and inland to the southwest of the Salt Lake.

(d) There were also a number of Luwian-speaking population groups located beyond the confines of the Arzawa states. The name 'Lukka' seems to have applied to at least some of these groups who in many cases may have led a nomadic or semi-nomadic tribal existence. A region called the Lukka Lands, extending through the southwest of Anatolia, provided a homeland for western Luwians who lived outside the Arzawa complex. The term Lukka may also have been used as a general designation for the Luwian-speaking regions and populations as a whole.

(e) The earliest text-references to the Arzawa lands place four of them (all but Mira) in coalitions or alliances of western Anatolian countries in conflict with and eventually defeated by Tudhaliya I/II in the early decades of the fourteenth century. Arzawa Minor emerged as the chief opponent of Hatti in the west under Kupanta-Kurunta, the first known ruler of an Arzawan state. Hapalla may have been the first Arzawa land to become subject, at least nominally, to Hittite overlordship.

2.4 *Prospects for a Luwian Empire*

Was there ever the potential for a Luwian kingdom to become the supreme power in Anatolia? The Luwians were almost certainly the largest of the population groups of Late Bronze Age Anatolia, and the most dynamic in terms of the rapidity and comprehensiveness of their spread through western and southern Anatolia. In the west they formed kingdoms, had significant fighting forces at their disposal, and joined in military alliances with other states. They were demonstrably hostile to the kingdom of Hatti. Arzawa Minor appears to have been the largest and most prominent of the western Luwian states, perhaps providing military leadership in the region on a *primus inter pares* basis. Its ruler Kupanta-Kurunta figures twice in the texts in conflicts with the Hittites. On the second occasion he had succeeded in invading and occupying Hittite subject territory. Though defeated on both occasions, his activities gave clear warning that his land would remain a constant threat to Hittite interests and a major obstacle to the further expansion of Hittite power in Anatolia.

Indeed there was a period in the early fourteenth century when Arzawa Minor had good prospects of replacing Hatti as the dominant power in Anatolia. Prior to this the early political and military development of the Hittite state and the expansionist campaigns of the first Hittite kings had effectively preempted the emergence of an alternative power of comparable size and importance in Anatolia. Moreover, a kingdom like Hatti whose nucleus lay in central or eastern Anatolia was far better placed to establish political and military links with the rest of the Late Bronze Age Near East and the essential strategic alliances with other Great Kings than one whose nucleus lay in the west. So long as Hatti blocked Arzawa's eastwards expansion, its rulers could never hope to achieve the status of Great Kingship.

An excellent opportunity was soon to be presented for it to remedy this situation. During the reign of Arnuwanda's son Tudhaliya III, the enemies of Hatti swept through the peripheral subject areas of the Hittite kingdom and invaded and sacked the homeland.[31] The invaders included forces from Arzawa, who struck from the southwest: 'From the Lower Land came the Arzawan enemy, and he too sacked the Hatti lands, and he made Tuwanuwa (Classical Tyana) and Uda (Hyde) his frontier' (KBo VI 28 obv. 8-9). The term 'Arzawa' may here be used in its comprehensive sense, though very likely the lead was taken by Arzawa Minor. At all events, the thorough devastation of the homeland, including the sack of the capital Hattusa, and the flight of the Hittite royal court to a temporary base, probably at Samuha,[32] seems to have left the way clear for Arzawa Minor to become the dominant power in Anatolia. Its ruler at the time was called Tarhuntaradu, and it was to him that the pharaoh Amenhotep III wrote seeking a daughter of his in marriage as the basis for an alliance between Egypt and Arzawa: 'I have heard that everything is finished, and that the country Hattusa is paralyzed.'(EA 31, 26-27, after Moran 1992 101). A clear indication that Amenhotep saw Tarhuntaradu as the next Great King of the Anatolian region.

But his approach to Tarhuntaradu was somewhat premature. Under Tudhaliya's leadership, and more particularly under that of his son, the future King Suppiluliuma, the Hittites drove the enemy forces from their homeland, inflicting upon them a series of resounding defeats, until only the enemy from Arzawa remained unsubdued. Suppiluliuma sought from his father, and was granted, the privilege of dealing with them (DŠ p. 68, frag. 14, 38'-40'). His first task was to dislodge the Arzawan forces occupying the Lower Land, from which territory they constituted a direct and ever-present threat to the Hittite homeland. A passage in Suppiluliuma's biography composed by his son, the later King Mursili II, claims a decisive victory over the occupation forces: '[The gods] helped [my father: the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of] Hatti, the Storm-god of the [Army, and Ishtar of the Battlefield], [(so that) my father slew the]

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[31] Sometimes referred to as the 'concentric invasions'. We learn of the crisis from the historical preamble to a decree of the thirteenth century king Hattusili III, KBo VI 28 (CTH 88) obv. 6-15, transl. Goetze (1940 22). For discussion of the event, see Bryce (1988 158-160).

[32] Probably located on the upper course of the Marassantiya River.

Arzawan enemy ...[(so that the] enemy [troops died] in multitude' (DŠ p. 68, frag. 14, 43'-45', transl. Güterbock). The extent of the Hittite success on this occasion may be somewhat exaggerated, for it was to prove only one of a number of clashes between Hittite and Arzawan forces in the region (as indicated by DŠ pp. 75-77, frag. 15). The Arzawan forces had after all occupied a region which almost certainly already had a substantial Luwian population—which may well have been inclined to support their kindred against their erstwhile overlords.

Suppiluliuma may eventually have succeeded in removing Arzawan forces from the Lower Land, but throughout his reign the Arzawans continued to threaten Hittite interests within and around the kingdom's frontiers. This is particularly illustrated by the operations of an Arzawan leader called Anzapahhaddu[33] who had given asylum to Hittite subjects seeking refuge with him and refused a demand from Suppiluliuma to hand them back. Suppiliuma responded by sending a punitive exeditionary force into Arzawan territory under the command of Himuili. Himuili's troops were resoundingly defeated, and Suppiluliuma was obliged to take the field himself to enforce his demand. This must have been a particularly irksome task, given that Suppiluliuma's efforts for virtually his entire reign were concentrated on destroying the kingdom of Mittanni in the southeast and firmly establishing Hittite control throughout northern Syria.

He was nonetheless obliged to devote a number of campaigns throughout his career to crushing enemy aggression against Hatti in the west. No doubt these campaigns were directed particularly against hostile Arzawa lands. At some point during his reign he appointed Hannutti, one of his ablest commanders, as governor of the Lower Land. From here Hannutti launched an attack on the Land of Hapalla, which had evidently established its independence of Hatti during the upheavals of the concentric invasions. It was now, apparently, restored to the Hittite fold after the land had been devastated and plundered of booty—people and livestock (KUB XIX 22 (CTH 40 VI.52B), ed. Houwink ten Cate 1966).

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[33] His status is uncertain. He may have been the successor of Tarhuntaradu, or merely one of a number of military leaders in the Arzawan region.

2.5 *The Arzawa Lands as Hittite Vassal States*

More generally, Hannutti's presence in the Lower Land served to hold Arzawan aggression in check for the remainder of Suppiluliuma's reign. Whether or not Suppiluliuma went further and imposed vassal status on any of the western lands remains uncertain. We have no clear evidence of any treaties drawn up by him with the rulers of these lands,[34] though it is possible that he established alliances of one kind or another with several of the western rulers, ensuring that Hatti exercised some influence in the region during his reign. For example, Milawata/Millawanda on the Aegean coast seems to have been allied with Hatti, if not an actual subject state, while Suppiluliuma occupied the throne, in view of Mursili's claim that it had defected to Ahhiyawa at the beginning of his own reign.

Even so the Arzawa lands remained a constant potential threat to the security of Hittite territory in the southwest, and a permanent resolution of the Arzawa problem was becoming increasingly pressing. Indeed the dangers confronting the Hittite kingdom from all sides assumed crisis proportions with the sudden deaths of Suppiluliuma and his son and successor Arnuwanda (II), victims of the plague brought by Egyptian captives to Hatti. Shortly before his death Arnuwanda had summoned Hannutti from the Lower Land to deal with widespread attacks on Hittite territory, provoked by the news of the new king's illness. Hannutti headed north, to Ishupitta in the Kaska zone, but died soon after his arrival. This was the situation confronting Arnuwanda's brother Mursili, a young man who suddenly and unexpectedly found himself on the throne of Hatti following his father's and brother's deaths. He was faced with widespread rebellion and declarations of war, to judge from the account he has left us in his Annals.[35] He responded with a series of intensive campaigns of pacification and reconquest. After two years of operations against the Kaska peoples to the north of the Hittite homeland, he turned his attention to the west.

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[34] On the possibility that he concluded an alliance with the Arzawan king Uhhaziti, later the opponent of his son Mursili, see Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 73-74).

[35] *AM* pp. 16-23. The Annals appear in two series: (1) a summary account of Mursili's personal military achievements during the first ten years of his reign ('Ten-Year Annals'); (2) a detailed account of Hittite campaigns covering the king's entire reign ('Comprehensive Annals').

Once again Arzawa Minor seems to have been the chief instigator of anti-Hittite activity in the region, under the leadership of Uhhaziti, its current king and formerly an ally of Mursili's father Suppiluliuma. Once again the Hittites were confronted with the danger of a coalition of western states being formed which might not only wrest from Hatti's control all Hittite subject territories in the region, but also eventually pose a direct threat to Hittite homeland territories as well, as it had done in Tudhaliya III's reign. The threat to Hittite interests in the west was intensified by an alliance which Uhhaziti formed with the king of Ahhiyawa, now becoming increasingly involved in western Anatolian affairs. Ahhiyawa was almost certainly a kingdom of mainland Greece, with perhaps Mycenae itself as its royal seat.

The Anatolian state of Millawanda/Milawata (Classical Miletos[36]) also formed an alliance with Ahhiyawa, very likely at Uhhaziti's instigation. It was this in particular which prompted a Hittite military expedition to the west under Mursili's commanders Gulla and Malaziti (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 36-39). Millawanda was apparently conquered and its territory laid waste, but Uhhaziti continued to pursue his anti-Hittite activities undeterred. Indeed his refusal to accede to an ultimatum from Mursili to hand over refugees from Hittite authority who had sought asylum with him amounted to a declaration of war: 'I sent a messenger to Uhhaziti, and I wrote thus: "When I asked for the return of my subjects who went over to you, you did not give them back to me. You treated me like a child, you despised me. Now, let us do battle, and the Storm-god, My Lord, will make judgement on our dispute!"' (Ten-Year Annals, *AM* pp. 46-47).

Joined by his brother Sharri-Kushuh (the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish), Mursili now undertook a campaign in person against the defiant Arzawan king. Military operations in the Arzawa region occupied two full campaigning seasons, as reported by Mursili in his Annals for his third and fourth years. Divine assistance was on his side, or so he claims, in the form of a thunderbolt which struck both Uhhaziti's city Apasa as well as Uhhaziti himself, rendering him incapable of leading his forces into battle. His son Piyama-Kurunta took over his command, and battle between Arzawan and Hittite

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[36] The identification is now clearly supported by archaeological evidence. See Niemeier (1997). See also Hawkins (1998b 30-31 n. 207).

forces was joined at the river Astarpa in Walma, on the boundary of Hittite and Arzawan territory.[37] According to his own account Mursili won a decisive victory against Piyama-Kurunta, and then pursued him all the way to the city of Apasa. He occupied the city without resistance, but failed to capture its ailing king Uhhaziti who had fled to nearby islands which were probably under Ahhiyawan sovereignty and out of Hittite reach.[38]

Mursili was now master of Uhhaziti's kingdom, with but two remaining strongholds to be captured before his conquest was complete—Mount Arinnanda and the city of Puranda, where some of the refugees who had sought asylum from Hittite authority had gathered.[39] Mursili blockaded Arinnanda and starved its occupants into surrender (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 54-57). But he had insufficient time to conquer Puranda before the end of the campaigning season, and was obliged to winter with his troops at the Astarpa River before laying siege to and capturing the city in the following season. With the fall of Puranda, Arzawan resistance was at an end. The man who had led its defence, Tapalazunawali, another of the sons of Uhhaziti (who had died in his place of exile), was the only person who managed to escape.[40]

Before he could return to his homeland, Mursili had one further item of unfinished business. It concerned another of the lands of the Arzawa complex—the Seha River Land, then ruled by the king Manapa-Tarhunta. The status of the Seha River Land at this time vis-à-vis Hatti is a little uncertain. Son of the previous king Muwawalwi, Manapa-Tarhunta had secured Hittite support after a dispute with two of his brothers had forced him to flee his country and seek refuge in the country of Karkisa. Mursili had intervened on his behalf, firstly demanding that the people of Karkisa keep him safe. Subse-

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[37] The river was later to form part of the boundary of the Arzawan state of Mira-Kuwaliya. Its identification proposed by Garstang and Gurney (1959 86) with the modern Akar Çay (inland Classical Cayster) is supported by Hawkins (1998b 22).

[38] Ten-Year Annals, *AM* pp. 50-51. On the identification of *guršauwananza* as 'islands', see Starke (1981).

[39] Mursili claims that the inhabitants of Puranda had formerly been subjects of his father Suppiluliuma, but had been handed over by him to Uhhaziti (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 58-59). Mt. Arinnanda has been plausibly identified with Mt. Mycale (Samsun Dağ); see Hawkins (1998b 23 with refs.).

[40] It is possible that he sought refuge with the Ahhiyawan king, who may subsequently have handed him over to Mursili. This depends on the restoration of a fragmentary section of the *Annals*, *AM* pp. 66-67, sec. 25. Cf. Goetze (1975 122).

quently with Hittite support he was restored to his country and placed on its throne. This took place, according to Mursili, after his brother Ura-Tarhunta 'violated his oath' (Mursili's treaty with Manapa-Tarhunta (CTH 69), sec. 2 (A i 14-18)). The reference to an oath violation may indicate that the Seha River Land was already a Hittite vassal state at the time in question, although we have no trace of or reference to any formal treaty between its ruler and the Hittite king. But in any case Manapa-Tarhunta was seen as owing his kingship and therefore his allegiance to Hatti. He had, however, joined forces with Uhhaziti in the latter's conflict with Hatti, an act of disloyalty which rendered his city liable to plunder and destruction. As Mursili's troops approached to exact punishment on their turncoat ally, Manapa-Tarhunta panicked and sent an appeal to Mursili, begging for mercy. Initially the appeal was rejected. But when it was repeated by Manapa-Tarhunta's mother who threw herself at the feet of the Great King when he was quite literally at the gates of her son's city, Mursili relented. It was probably now that he imposed vassal status upon the land, as indicated by the words: 'I took Manapa-Tarhunta and the Seha River Land into subjection' (Comprehensive Annals, *AM* pp. 70-73).

It may well be that from this time vassal status was imposed on the Arzawa lands, a reflection of the signal success Mursili had achieved in establishing Hittite authority in western Anatolia, to a greater degree than any of his predecessors including his father Suppiluliuma. There seems to have been an important prelude to this. Following Mursili's defeat of Uhhaziti, we have no further references which can be unequivocally associated with the kingdom of Arzawa Minor. There is a reference to a campaign against Arzawa during the reign of Mursili's son Hattusili III (KUB XXXI 69 (CTH 590)), and one to the Land of Arzawa in a letter probably written to Hattusili's queen Puduhepa (KBo VIII 23 (CTH 209.7)). On both this and the previous reference, see Bryce (1998 214). But these references are probably to Arzawa in its broader sense, rather than to Arzawa Minor or to any specific Arzawan kingdom.

If so, how do we account for the lack of any further reference to Arzawa Minor in Hittite records after Mursili's Arzawan campaigns? Very likely the kingdom now ceased to exist (thus Heinhold-Krahmer 1977 136-47). It had been a constant problem to Hatti, both because of its own vigorous anti-Hittite policies and actions as well as its

probable role as a nucleus for anti-Hittite western alliances, from at least as early as the western campaigns of Tudhaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. Its king at this time, Kupanta-Kurunta, had fought against the Hittites, had been captured by them, and had escaped his captivity. Subsequently he had invaded Hittite subject territory (albeit only after Madduwatta had invaded *his* territory) and after being driven out still continued to threaten Hittite interests by forming an alliance with Madduwatta. Several decades later Arzawa Minor very likely led the Arzawan thrust into the Lower Land during Tudhaliya III's reign, it was seen by the pharaoh Amenhotep III as the new supreme power in Anatolia, its army under the command of Anzapahhaddu had destroyed a Hittite army sent by Suppiluliuma, forcing Suppiluliuma himself to take time out from his southeastern campaigns to conduct a retaliatory campaign against it, and it had constituted a dangerous threat to Hatti at the beginning of Mursili's reign, defying his ultimatums, and seducing Hittite allies or subjects in the west from their Hittite allegiance. Mursili may now have taken a decision to resolve the problem of Arzawa Minor for all time. He states that after its conquest he transported no less than 65,000 (or 66,000) of its inhabitants to the Hittite homeland. If this figure is correct, then he must have virtually depopulated the kingdom.[41] While transportation of conquered peoples became the regular aftermath of conquest, particularly in Suppiluliuma's and Mursili's reigns, and the numbers involved could sometimes run into the thousands, the logistics involved in transporting tens of thousands of 'booty-people' over hundreds of kilometres of largely inhospitable terrain and quickly resettling them in the homeland seem beyond human capability. In fact it is likely that a large number of the tranportees were settled in other regions closer to hand.

The territory of the former kingdom must have been divided among one or more of the other Arzawan states which had remained firm in their Hittite allegiance. In the preamble to his treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta, king of Mira-Kuwaliya, Mursili indicates the arrangements he now made with these states: 'To the lands which I left as they were, I assigned the (following) boundaries: the Seha River Land I gave to Manapa-Tarhunta, the Land of Hapalla I gave

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[41] Košak (1981 15) comments that the total numbers of transportees could have been no less than 50,000, and might have been as high as 100,000.

to Targasnalli, the Land of Mira and the Land of Kuwaliya I gave (back) to Mashuiluwa' (Kupanta-Kurunta treaty (CTH 68), sec. 3, B i 16-19). Separate treaties were drawn up with each of the kings appointed or whose appointments were confirmed by Mursili, formalizing the vassal status conferred on each of them as well as stipulating the relationship between them. They were forbidden to quarrel or engage in hostilities with one another. They were united by the oath they swore and were to have the same enemies and the same friends amongst their neighbours; that is to say a neighbouring land could not be at peace with one of them and an enemy to the others. An enemy to one was an enemy to all, and they were obliged to make war in common on their enemies. The Hittite king reserved the right to judge legal disputes between his vassal rulers who (depending on the nature of the dispute) must either appear before him in person or send local noblemen to him as their representatives.[42] The treaties also contained the standard provisions which obliged the vassals to hand over to the king refugees from his authority, to supply early reports of any rebellious activities brewing in their region, and to provide the king with military support when called upon to do so, particularly when he was campaigning nearby. Unilaterally imposed agreements such as these were vital elements in the maintenance of Hittite authority by political and diplomatic means in regions where this authority had initially been imposed by force. The treaties were frequently violated, especially in the western subject states. Nonetheless they helped ensure at least temporary stability in the regions to which they applied, enabling the vassal's overlord to commit his resources to other regions in need of his prompt attention.

While vassalhood may have been forcibly imposed on some of the local rulers, it probably sat lightly upon them if they remained true to their Hittite allegiance, and in fact gave them some guarantee of Hittite support should they find their position imperilled by rival claimants to their throne. As we have already noted, there were occasions when a vassal owed his position entirely to Hittite diplomatic or military intervention on his behalf. This is illustrated by the preamble to Mursili's treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta, ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya, adopted son of Mashuiluwa the previous ruler and a direct appointee to the

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[42] For these provisions, see Mursili's treaty with Targasnalli (CTH 67), secs. 8-10, rev. 2-24, transl. Beckman (1996 66-67).

vassal throne by his Hittite overlord. Mursili highlights the appoint-
ment as an act of grace and favour on his part, after Kupanta-Kurunta's
adoptive father Mashuiluwa had been driven from the throne for his
treacherous conduct. In Hittite custom a son could be held responsi-
ble and pay the penalty for the sins of his father (see Bryce 1998 232-
233).

Mira was very likely the chief beneficiary of the new arrange-
ments made by Mursili in western Anatolia following his two-year
campaign in the region. Its territory was probably substantially
increased at this time by apportioning to it much if not all of the
former territory of the kingdom of Arzawa Minor. With such an
addition it would have been unquestionably the largest member of
the Arzawan complex, and politically and militarily the most important.

No doubt Mursili carefully weighed up the advantages of substan-
tially bolstering the power and prestige of a western Anatolian state
against the possible risks which this entailed. At the outset he could
reasonably expect Mashuiluwa, the man he initially appointed, or
reinstated, as ruler of Mira, to be a reliable agent of Hittite authority
both in his own kingdom as well as in the region at large. Mashui-
luwa had been granted asylum at Hattusa by Suppiluliuma after his
expulsion from his own land by his brothers.[43] Suppiluliuma had also
married him to his daughter Muwatti, a clear indication of his
intention to restore the refugee to his kingdom as its ruler. However
the task of putting Mashuiluwa on, or back on, the throne of Mira
was one which fell to Mursili. Whether he did this before or after his
campaigns against Uhhaziti and his son Piyama-Kurunta remains
uncertain. But Mashuiluwa certainly participated in these campaigns,
providing his overlord with staunch and able support. Indeed the role
he played in them may have contributed significantly to their ulti-
mate success. No doubt Mursili hoped that under Mashuiluwa Mira
would become a major bastion of Hittite influence in the west.

Yet this could not be taken for granted. Even with a loyal Hittite
subject on its throne, Mira's population was probably far from united

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[43] Sec. 2 of the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty. Although his status before his expulsion
is not clear, the wording of sec. 3 of the treaty ('.... the Land of Mira and the Land
of Kuwaliya I gave back to Mashuiluwa, and I gave back to him the house of his
brother and the throne of his father.') may indicate that he had already held kingship
in Mira, or was at least the legitimate successor to the throne. Cf. the comments of
Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 79-80) and Del Monte (1974 356-357).

on the matter of where its allegiances lay. The fact that Mashuiluwa
had fled to Hatti after his disputes with his brothers suggests that his
expulsion had as much to do with his pro-Hittite sympathies as with
an intra-dynastic wrangle. It may well be that prior to Mursili's Arzawan
campaigns moves were underway in Mira to sever all connections
with Hatti and to establish closer links with Arzawa Minor, perhaps
with a view to making a drive against Hatti territory similar to that
which occurred in the reign of Tudhaliya III. I have suggested elsewhere
that after Mashuiluwa's flight, Mira-Kuwaliya had been occupied by
troops from Arzawa (possibly at the invitation of Mashuiluwa's bro-
thers) under the command of the prince Piyama-Kurunta, and that
Mashuiluwa had been sent back to Mira-Kuwaliya ahead of the main
Hittite expeditionary force in order to begin operations against Piyama-
Kurunta (see Bryce 1974 113 and *AM* pp. 38-39). It is possible that
Mashuiluwa had only limited support from his own people in this
enterprise. Even after the successful conclusion of the Arzawan cam-
paign, his Hittite overlord still had serious reservations about the
loyalty of Mira's population, and felt obliged to resort to the compar-
atively rare practice of stationing a permanent garrison in the country
(see *AM* pp. 74-75 and cf. the comments of Heinhold-Krahmer 1977
120).

In any case the loyalty of Mashuiluwa was not to last. In the
twelfth year of his reign, word reached Mursili of a fresh outbreak of
rebellion in Arzawa. It was led by a man called É.GAL.PAP (the
Hittite reading of his name is unknown) of obscure status and origin.
True to his oath of allegiance and his treaty obligations, Mashuiluwa
reported the rebellion to Mursili, at that time involved with affairs in
the northeastern and southeastern parts of his kingdom. Yet for reasons
unknown to us Mashuiluwa quarrelled with Mursili, broke off his
Hittite allegiance, incited the land of Pedassa to rebellion and joined
forces with É.GAL.PAP.[44]

Mursili led an expeditionary force to the region, but still hoped,
even as he approached Mashuiluwa's kingdom, that the rebel vassal
could be persuaded, or intimidated, into submission without the need
for military intervention. On reaching Sallapa, which lay on the route
to the Arzawa lands, Mursili demanded that the vassal appear before

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[44] These events are recorded in the Kupanta-Kurunta treaty, secs. 4 and 18. See
also *AM* pp. 142-143.

him. But fearing either to enter the king's presence or to make a stand against him, Mashuiluwa fled to the land of Masa (Kupanta-Kurunta treaty, sec. 5). A stern message was delivered to the people of Masa, demanding the surrender of Mashuiluwa. Aware that the refugee did not have the support of the nobility of his own country, and fearing that he had now become an embarrassing, even dangerous, liability, the authorities at Masa called upon him to give himself up. When he refused to do so, they handed him over to his overlord. He was taken to Hattusa and assigned a place of residence there, in permanent exile from his own land.

A significant feature of this whole episode is the pro-Hittite stand taken by the nobility of Mira, in the face of their ruler's defection. The latter may in fact have had no option but to flee his country, yet again, when he failed to gain the support of his own people, or at least of the leading elements amongst them, in his quarrel with Hatti. It appears from a fragmentary passage[45] that the nobles of Mira totally dissociated themselves from their king's actions. One cannot of course be sure how accurate a picture Mursili is presenting here of the political sympathies of Mira. Nevertheless, it does give a rather different impression of Mira's relationship with Hatti than was evident at the conclusion of Mursili's Arzawan campaign. The likelihood is that when Mashuiluwa occupied or reoccupied the vassal throne, he filled the most important positions in his kingdom with persons whose loyalty to Hatti was assured, and who maintained (or were induced to maintain) this loyalty even when their leader abandoned it. As we have noted, Mursili now appointed the childless Mashuiluwa's nephew and adopted son Kupanta-Kurunta as king in his uncle's place, at the urging of the Miran nobility. His token show of reluctance to do so partly reflected the view (as noted above) that the sins of the fathers should be visited upon their sons, and also gave him the opportunity for a show of magnanimity to the new vassal ruler.[46]

This episode marks the last occasion on which we hear of rebellion or unrest in the Arzawa lands, and amongst the western Anatolian lands in general, for the remainder of Mursili's reign. We must always be cautious of arguing from silence, but on the basis of the

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[45] KUB XIV 24, which Goetze assigns to Mursili's twelfth year (*AM* pp. 142 ff.).
[46] Cf. the comments of Heinhold-Krahmer (1977 190-193) on Mashuiluwa's defection and its aftermath.

evidence presently available to us, we may reasonably assign to Mursili credit for one of the greatest achievements of a Hittite king—the imposition of Hittite control over a large part of western Anatolia, most notably the Arzawa lands, a reconfiguration of the geo-political map of the region, and the conferring of a *pax Hethitica* in the region which lasted at least until the end of his reign and probably into the first years of that of his son and successor Muwattalli.

2.6 *Further Unrest amongst the Western States*

After perhaps almost two decades of relative peace in western Anatolia, the region's stability was increasingly threatened by new disturbances. The first of these involved a rebel Hittite subject of high birth called Piyamaradu who had begun building a power base for himself amongst the Hittites' western subject territories.[47] At the same time Ahhiyawa was taking an increasingly active interest in western Anatolian affairs, and Piyamaradu may well have seen certain advantages in forming an alliance with its king. Also at this time Millawanda seems to have come under Ahhiyawan control. Formerly Hittite subject territory, it had by now a substantially Mycenaean character and may have been ceded by Muwattalli to an Ahhiyawan /Mycenaean overlord in the hope that this would satisfy Mycenaean territorial ambitions in Anatolia without making inroads into other Hittite subject territories in the region (suggested by Bryce 1998 244). Muwattalli may well have been amenable to such concessions, given his increasing preoccupation with affairs in Syria where a major showdown was looming with Egypt. Perhaps in this context a pact was made with Ahhiyawa over territorial boundaries in the west in the hope that competing territorial interests could be resolved through diplomacy. A fragmentary text which refers to Tarhuntassa, Mira, and Ahhiyawa and indicates boundaries may belong to such a context, and perhaps defined the limits of Ahhiyawan-controlled territory in Anatolia (KUB XXXI 29 (CTH 214.16), ed. Sommer 1932 328).

Yet Muwattalli seemed quite unable to curb Piyamaradu's activities, which brought his erstwhile subject into contact and

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[47] For a detailed treatment of his activities, see Heinhold-Krahmer (1983, 1986). Hawkins (1998b 17) comments that though he is commonly referred to as a 'freebooter', there is no reason to doubt that he was another refractory Arzawan prince pursuing traditional goals.

sometimes conflict with the Arzawa lands. Early in Muwattalli's reign Piyamaradu gained control of the kingdom of Wilusa, the northernmost of the Arzawa lands.

We have noted that Wilusa first appears in Hittite texts, in the form Wilusiya, as the penultimate name in the list of twenty-two countries which formed the Assuwan confederacy. The last name in the list is Taruisa. As long ago as the 1920s the Swiss scholar Emil Forrer drew attention in a series of articles to the close similarity between these names and the Greek (W)ilios and Troia, arguing that the names provided evidence for references to Ilion and Troy (both names are used of Troy in Greek Classical tradition) in Hittite texts. His proposal has since then been the subject of much debate, and the object of much criticism. However most scholars now favour the identification. It has been claimed that on linguistic grounds the Wilusa-(W)ilios equation is quite tenable,[48] and as we have seen, there is now strong textual support for a localization of Wilusa in the far northwest of Anatolia, i.e. in the region of the Classical Troad.

If valid, the equation gives rise to some interesting conclusions and speculations. In the first place it would go a long way to confirming the view that the Trojans of level VI, if not also their predecessors, were a Luwian-speaking people. Secondly it would provide a firmer basis for arguing the fundamental historicity of the tradition of a Trojan War. That is to say, on the basis of the equation we could claim to have contemporary historical records of the site and people of the Trojan War. Do the few scraps of historical information which the Anatolian texts provide about Wilusa have any correlation with events narrated in the *Iliad*?

The list of countries in the Assuwan confederacy has sometimes been compared with Homer's catalogue of Troy's allies, the so-called Trojan Catalogue, in Book II of the *Iliad*. Indeed it was once claimed that the two corresponded strikingly in makeup and geographical extension (Albright 1950 169; cf. Stubbings 1975 349-350). In fact the correspondence is very slight, and in any case the once held view that the Assuwan confederacy belonged to the thirteenth century, the most historically and archaeologically appropriate period for Homer's Trojan War, is no longer tenable. The text which records it is one of

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[48] See Güterbock (1986 35), who proposes Wilusa > *Wiluwa > *Wiluas > Wilios, and also Truisa > Truiya > Tröiē. Contra the latter, see Gurney (1990 46).

the texts which have been redated from the late empire, in the thirteenth century, to a period some two centuries earlier (see e.g. Houwink ten Cate 1970). All that can usefully be said of the Trojan Catalogue in a historical Anatolian context is that it reflects, very broadly, the kind of alliance of countries that was common in western Anatolia during the Late Bronze, as illustrated by the Assuwan confederacy.

In reference to the confederacy, we might note in passing an inscription on a recently published silver bowl of unknown provenance or origin in the Ankara museum which records the conquest of a place called Tarwiza by a king called Tudhaliya (see Hawkins 1997a). It is tempting to link this reference with the conquest of Taruisa (and other western countries in the Assuwan confederacy) by Tudhaliya I/II. That would, however, make the inscription by far the earliest known of the Luwian hieroglyphic texts, apart from those appearing on seals, so that its dating remains in some doubt. Nonetheless it does provide us with a further possible historical reference to the site, or at least to the region, in which Homer's *Iliad* is set.

Following the reference to Wilusiya in Tudhaliya I/II's Annals, the country Wilusa does not appear again in our texts until the treaty of the Wilusan king Alaksandu with Muwattalli. The treaty is probably to be dated ca. 1380, some five years before Muwattalli's showdown with Ramses II in the battle of Qadesh. As we have noted, its historical preamble makes vague reference to a time when Wilusa made war on and defected from Hatti. But this was long in the past, and Muwattalli was not even sure of who had been on the Hittite throne when Wilusa's alleged rebellion occurred. The emphasis in the preamble is on Wilusa's conspicuous loyalty and peaceful state since that time—in contrast to its Arzawan neighbours. Alaksandu is urged to follow in this tradition, and where necessary to take an active role in maintaining Hittite authority in the region and supporting his fellow Arzawan kings, the terms of the treaty acquiring a particular note of urgency, perhaps, in view of the disturbing new developments in the region and Muwattalli's pressing need to commit all his available resources to Syria. In this region too Alaksandu could be called upon to provide his overlord with military support: 'But from Hatti, these are the military obligations for you: The Kings who are the equals of My Majesty—the King of Egypt, the King of Babylonia, the King of Hanigalbat, or the King of Assyria—if [someone] in this group

comes in battle, or if domestically someone carries out a revolt against My Majesty, and I, My Majesty, write to you for infantry and chariotry, then send <infantry and> chariotry to my aid immediately.' (transl. Beckman.)

Only three personal names are known to us from Wilusa, two in this treaty. We hear of a predecessor of Alaksandu, a king called Kukkunni, who occupied the vassal throne during the reign of Muwattalli's grandfather Suppiluliuma. Neither Kukkunni nor Alaksandu is a recognisably Anatolian name, though the first bears a resemblance to Kukkuli (see Güterbock 1986 34). Alaksandu recalls the name of the Trojan prince Alexander Paris, and has led to speculation that the two are somehow connected.[49] Of course attempts to link Homeric tradition with Anatolian history on the basis of name similarities have little if any validity when treated in isolation. Other material, however, may provide slightly firmer grounds for the supposed link, and to this we shall return.

At the time of Muwattalli's treaty with Alaksandu, the Arzawan kingdom called the Seha River Land was still ruled by Manapa-Tarhunta, who had apparently remained loyal to his Hittite allegiance since his submission to Muwattalli's father Mursili in the fourth year of the latter's reign. But Manapa-Tarhunta must now have been well advanced in years and had apparently reached a stage where he was quite incapable of providing his overlord with effective support in his region. Such support was becoming increasingly urgent in view of the aggressive enterprises of Piyamaradu and the ominous interest that Ahhiyawa was taking in western Anatolia. True to his Hittite allegiance and perhaps fearing an attack on his own kingdom, Manapa-Tarhunta had attempted to dislodge Piyamaradu from Wilusa by military force, but was repulsed and suffered a humiliating defeat. That was sufficient to deter him from further action against his conqueror. He declined even to join forces with the Hittite military commander Gassu whom Muwattalli had sent to deal with Piyamaradu. In a letter to Muwattalli he apologized for not doing so, claiming illness as his excuse: 'I, however, became ill. I am seriously ill, I am laid low by illness!' (KUB XIX 5 (CTH 191) + KBo XIX 79 5-6. transl. Houwink ten Cate).

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[49] Güterbock (1986 34) points out that the name has no recognizable meaning in Hittite or Luwian, and suggests that it could be a foreign import.

It was a critical time in western Anatolian affairs. Muwattalli wanted strong stable vassal leadership in the west and as little distraction as possible in this region as he prepared for his campaigns in Syria. In such a context Manapa-Tarhunta had clearly become a serious liability. No doubt it was this which prompted Muwattalli to remove his aged and ailing vassal from his throne, and to appoint a man called Masturi, probably his son, in his place.[50] An effective leader in the Seha River Land was to become vital to the security of Hittite interests in the west.

Equally vital was the role played by the ruler of Mira-Kuwaliya. We recall that in the twelfth year of his reign, Mursili had appointed Kupanta-Kurunta to the vassal throne after deposing his adoptive father Mashuiluwa. Kupanta-Kurunta had apparently remained loyal to his Hittite allegiance, and unlike his fellow vassal-ruler Manapa-Tarhunta had reinforced the Hittite expeditionary force against Piyamaradu. The outcome of this expedition to liberate Wilusa is not recorded in any of our surviving texts, but from the subsequent treaty which Muwattalli drew up with Wilusa's legitimate king Alaksandu, the vassal kingdom had apparently been freed from Piyamaradu's control. Piyamaradu himself, however, had escaped capture by the Hittites, very likely finding temporary refuge with the Ahhiyawan king. He was to continue his anti-Hittite activities in the region for many years to come.

Several frustratingly incomplete texts link him with Mira. He is mentioned in the same context as Mira in KBo XVI 35 and together with Mira's ruler Kupanta-Kurunta in KBo XIX 78 and KBo XXVII 4. Insufficient of the texts survive to indicate what the link was. They could conceivably indicate an alliance between Hittite renegade and vassal ruler, or else hostilities between the two and perhaps an attempted takeover of Mira by Piyamaradu. The second alternative seems more likely, in view of Kupanta-Kurunta's support of the Hittite expedition against Piyamaradu during his occupation of Wilusa, and Kupanta-Kurunta's subsequent support of Muwattalli's son Urhi-Teshub in the latter's conflict with his uncle Hattusili (see below).

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[50] Cf. Houwink ten Cate (1994 241). Masturi's appointment is referred to in a later document, the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Shaushgamuwa, king of Amurru, KUB XXIII 1 (CTH 105) ii 15-19. While it is highly likely that Masturi was Manapa-Tarhunta's son, there is no direct evidence to this effect; see Hawkins (1998b 16 n. 70).

Muwattalli was succeeded by his son Urhi-Teshub, whose reign had, allegedly, the endorsement and guidance of his uncle Hattusili. But the deteriorating relations between uncle and nephew which led to civil war and the eventual overthrow of Urhi-Teshub had a further destabilizing effect on the western Anatolian states, which were very likely caught up in the conflict.[51] Masturi, appointed by Muwattalli as ruler of the Seha River Land in place of his father, supported Hattusili, scornfully rejecting Urhi-Teshub as a mere 'second-rank son' (*paḫḫurzi*). The kings of other Arzawan lands apparently remained loyal to Urhi-Teshub, including Kupanta-Kurunta and another unnamed Arzawan king (for the latter, see KUB XXXI 69 obv. 7 = KUB XV 6 ii (CTH 590)). But the conflict probably came to an end, with Hattusili's victory and seizure of the throne, before the western vassals became actively involved in it. Urhi-Teshub was banished, but fled his place of banishment in Syria and henceforth resisted all attempts by Hattusili to recapture him. He clearly had his sights set on regaining his throne, and while he remained at large, there was some uncertainty amongst Hittite vassal rulers as well as the king's foreign counterparts as to who was the rightful ruler of the Hittite world.

Illustrative of this was a letter which Kupanta-Kurunta wrote to the pharaoh Ramses II, asking him, apparently, whether he supported Urhi-Teshub or Hattusili. In reply Ramses had unequivocally endorsed Hattusili.[52] The importance of this endorsement can hardly be overestimated, for without it Kupanta-Kurunta may well have broken his ties with Hatti. Indeed, he was fully entitled to do so under the standard terms in the treaties which Hittite kings drew up with their vassals. These terms bound the vassal only to his treaty-partner and the latter's legitimate successors. It explicitly freed him from any obligation of allegiance to a usurper. As Mira was now undoubtedly the largest and most powerful of the western Anatolian states, its loss

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[51] The main source for these events, on which see Bryce (1998 284-288), is the so-called Apology of Hattusili III (CTH 81), ed. Otten (1981).

[52] KBo I 24 + KUB III 23 + KUB III 84 (= ÄHK I no. 28, pp. 74-77), obv. 9-13, transl. Beckman (1996 124). The letter was clearly written in response to one, no longer surviving, from Kupanta-Kurunta. According to Beckman, its discovery in Hattusa reflects the diplomatic protocol which required Ramses to send his reply via the Hittite capital. It was obviously never forwarded to Kupanta-Kurunta.

to the Hittites could well have had a catastrophic effect on the entire western complex of Hittite subject states.

On his accession Hattusili depended very heavily for the maintenance of his authority in the west on three Arzawa Lands:

(1) In the far north Wilusa, whose loyalty might be counted on, but it was the farthest removed from Hatti in terms of the likely military routes to the region, was vulnerable to enemy occupation, and probably could contribute little if anything to the security of the region in general.
(2) The Seha River Land, which occupied a strategically important location between Wilusa and Mira. It was at that time ruled by Masturi, on whose support Hattusili could apparently rely, but who must now have been well advanced in years.[53]
(3) Mira-Kuwaliya, whose king Kupanta-Kurunta might well have questioned the legitimacy of Hattusili's occupancy of the throne and who, in spite of Ramses' endorsement of Hattusili, might still not be completely relied upon, given the opportunities for forming other alliances in the region. Piyamaradu was still at large and continuing to pose a serious threat to Hittite interests in the region. Ahhiyawa had firmly established an Anatolian base at Millawanda and might well seek to extend its influence and authority on the Anatolian mainland beyond this, perhaps in collaboration with Piyamaradu. And reports were now reaching Hattusa of a serious uprising in the region called the Lukka Lands.

2.7 *Lukka in the context of Western Anatolian History*

While reviewing the history of the Luwian regions of western Anatolia, we should consider the role played by Lukka within this history, as far as we can determine this from the scattered and often fragmentary nature of the references to it. We have suggested above that a distinction might be drawn between narrowly and broadly based uses of the term: while there appears to have been a specific Lukka region or 'homeland', in some contexts the term may have extended

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[53] It was no doubt this consideration which prompted Hattusili's desperate appeal to Ramses for doctors to assist his sister Massanauzzi (Matanazi in Ramses' response), wife of Masturi, to bear children (KBo XXVIII 30 (= ÄHK I no. 75), obv. 8-rev. 8).

to all Luwian-speaking peoples and Luwian-occupied regions of Anatolia. How evident is this distinction in the texts?

The earliest *apparent* reference to Lukka appears in the Annals of Tudhaliya I/II, where the name *L]uqqa* appears first in the list of twenty-two countries forming the anti-Hittite Assuwan confederacy. The list which ends with Wilusiya and Taruisa, has been seen as reflecting a south-north progression of allied states beginning with the region later called Lycia in the south and ending in the Troad. If, as is very likely, the first name in the list has been correctly restored,[54] it provides the first attestation we have of the name Lukka, which makes its *entrée* in history as part of an anti-Hittite military coalition. The reference here would be consistent with a specific region in the southwest of Anatolia

A second possible reference to Lukka in this narrow regional sense occurs in the 'Indictment of Madduwatta'. The name Lukka is not explicitly used in the text, but a number of place-names which appear in the context of Madduwatta's military enterprises are generally assumed to be those of towns or communities located in Lukka territory. Two of these, Dalawa and Hinduwa, had rebelled against Hittite rule and been induced by Madduwatta to join forces with him for an attack on the Hittite expeditionary force sent to deal with them (Indictment secs. 13-15). Other communities in the region—Iyalanda, Zumarri, and Wallarimma—apparently held out against Madduwatta and were eventually taken by force of arms. Whether or not they were Lukka settlements is not altogether certain, their identification as such resting on a chain of assumptions (see Bryce 1992 126). However, we can be more confident that Dalawa and Hinduwa were located in Lukka territory in its narrower sense, particularly in view of the correlation of their names with those of the later Lycian settlements Tlawa (Greek Tlos) and Kandyba. Zumarri can perhaps be identified with the later Lycian coastal city of Limyra, whose Lycian name was Zẽmure. Further, Dalawa also appears in the hieroglyphic inscription found in 1971 at Yalburt (to the northeast of modern Konya) which reports a campaign conducted by the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV against the Lukka Lands and Wiyanawanda towards

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[54] Garstang and Gurney (1959 106-107) suggest *Ard]uqqa* as an alternative.

the end of the thirteenth century.[55] The fact that Dalawa is mentioned as one of the cities visited by Tudhaliya during the course of the campaign (Yalburt inscription Block 14, line 4) directly links this city with the Lukka region.

A letter from the archive of correspondence found at Amarna in Egypt contains one of the few surviving non-Hittite references to Lukka. The letter EA 38, written by the king of Alasiya (Cyprus or part thereof) to the pharaoh Akhenaten, complains of yearly raids which people of the 'Land of Lukki' had been making on villages in Alasiya. They had now extended their freebooting activities to Egypt, thereby causing some tension in Egypt's relations with Alasiya. The Alasiyan king's letter was apparently written in response to accusations by Akhenaten that his subjects were acting in collaboration with the Lukka people. The letter confirms that Lukka territory included a shoreline, presumably on Anatolia's southern coast, from which pirates had been launching regular expeditions against coastal cities and no doubt shipping in the eastern Mediterranean region. In this respect they foreshadowed the activities of Cilician pirates of later times.

Lukka subsequently appears as a rebel against Hatti amongst a group of countries which renounced Hittite rule in the reign of Mursili II, referred to by the king in a prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna: 'Moreover those countries which belong to the Land of Hatti, (namely) the Land of Kaska, also the Land of Arawanna, the Land of Kalasma, the Land of Lukka, the Land of Pedassa—these lands have also renounced the Sun-goddess of Arinna... . Now all the surrounding countries have begun to attack the Land of Hatti. Let it again become a matter of concern to the Sun-goddess of Arinna! O God, bring not your name into disrepute!' (Mursili's Prayer to the Sun-goddess, KUB XXIV 3 and duplicates (CTH 376) ii 38'-53', after Goetze 1969 396). The events referred to here are probably to be assigned to Mursili's first years on the throne. As we have noted, Mursili's Annals for his early years record widespread rebellions and enemy action against Hatti from all directions. In this context the term Lukka is very likely used in its more extended sense to refer hostile Luwian lands, including perhaps the turncoat states Arzawa

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[55] On the inscription, see Hawkins (1992; 1995a 66-85). Wiyanawanda lay in the border zone of the kingdom of Mira-Kuwaliya at the time of Mursili II's two-year Arzawan campaigns; see Bryce (1974 105-106).

Minor and the Seha River Land which were the specific targets of Mursili's campaigns in the third and fourth years of his reign.

Section 11 of the Alaksandu treaty refers to 'a city of Lukka' as one of the possible starting points, along with Karkisa, Masa, and Warsiyalla, from which a Hittite campaign might be launched. The treaty imposed upon Alaksandu, whose kingdom lay at the very northern end of the Luwian regions, the obligation of providing his overlord with military support if such a campaign eventuated. Here again it is more likely that the term Lukka is used broadly of the Luwian regions of western Anatolia in general rather than of a specific region in the far south—far from Alaksandu's kingdom and possibly also from the main routes of communication between Hatti and the west.

Further references to Lukka appear in the fragmentary remains of the Annals of Hattusili III. These remains apparently consist of three fragments: KUB XXI 6, KUB XXI 6a, KUB XXXI 19.[56] The Lukka Lands appear four times in total in the combined fragments, unfortunately on each occasion in contexts too broken for us to determine what their role as recorded in this document was. Yet it seems clear that this sole surviving and very mutilated section of the king's Annals has to do with a series of raids upon if not a full-scale comprehensive invasion of Hittite subject territory in the west or southwest (cf. Gurney 1997 138; Freu 1987 139 ff.). Whatever the scale of the operations, the Lukka Lands were closely involved, as Gurney notes, either as aggressor or as victim. The whole purpose of this tablet was to record the restoration of order in the Lukka Lands, a conclusion based to a large extent on the assumption that many of the names referred to in the text seem to denote places in later Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, or Isauria.

Several scholars have sought to combine the events dealt with here with those outlined in the well known document commonly and inappropriately referred to as the 'Tawagalawa Letter' (KUB XIV 3 (CTH 181), ed. Sommer 1932 2-194). The author of the letter is now generally identified as Hattusili III.[57] Its addressee was a king of

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[56] Most recently discussed and correlated by Gurney (1997), with a transliteration and translation.

[57] Although the author is not named in the surviving portion of the text, its attribution to Hattusili III is almost universally accepted; see Güterbock (1983a 135); Heinhold-Krahmer (1983 95-97); Houwink ten Cate (1983-84 34), and other refer-

Ahhiyawa whose name is lost. He was presumably identified at the beginning of the letter, but only the third of three tablets on which the letter was written has survived. The surviving tablet begins with a reference to the destruction of the city of Attarimma,[58] then follows a reference to 'Lukka men' who had made approaches to Tawagalawa (the brother of the Ahhiyawan king, and at that time present on the Anatolian mainland) and to Hattusili, both of whom had come to 'these lands', which are not more specifically identified. This passage is the continuation of a narrative which had not been completed by the end of the second tablet. Had this tablet survived, it would no doubt have made clear what 'these lands' were, and why the Lukka men had made approaches both to Tawagalawa and to the Hittite king. It should also be noted that the letter, or at least its surviving portion, is concerned primarily with the activities of Piyamaradu and only incidentally with Tawagalawa (see Heinhold-Krahmer 1983 95-97; Singer 1983 209-210).

In the letter Hattusili complains to his Ahhiyawan counterpart of Piyamaradu's practice of raiding Hittite subject territory and removing large numbers of Hittite subjects, designated as NAM.RA.MEŠ, from it. Some apparently went willingly, others were taken by force. I have suggested elsewhere that they were temporarily relocated in Anatolian territory which Piyamaradu had occupied (referred to as 'these lands' in Hattusili's letter) before they were transhipped to Ahhiyawa (Bryce 1992 126). The two approaches apparently made by the Lukka people, as stated by Hattusili in his letter, probably reflect the two groups of NAM.RA.MEŠ—those who had voluntarily left Hittite territory as fugitives (the ones who had appealed to Tawagalawa), and those who had been forcibly abducted (the ones who had appealed to Hattusili). Tawagalawa as representative of his brother, the Ahhiyawan king, had come to 'these lands' where the refugees were being held to arrange their transhipment to Ahhiyawa. Hattusili had come to 'these lands' to reassert his authority in the region and to effect the liberation of those NAM.RA.MEŠ who had been taken by Piyamaradu against their will. But he had arrived too

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ences cited by Singer (1983 209, n. 18). See also Hawkins (1998b 17 n. 73). However Gurney (2002) has now argued that the letter should be assigned to Muwattalli II.

[58] Hawkins (1998b 26-27) suggests an identification with Lycian Telmessos, contra Börker-Klahn's proposed identification (1993 62) with Termessos.

late to do this, and was now writing to the Ahhiyawan king in an attempt to persuade him to return the abductees.

We do not know whether he prevailed upon the Ahhiyawan king to do so, or at least to curb Piyamaradu's depredations in Hatti's subject territories. The likelihood is that he succeeded on neither score. Nor can we determine whether the campaigns involving the Lukka Lands as recorded in the meagre remains of Hattusili's Annals were connected with the events referred to in the Tawagalawa Letter. If they do in fact belong to the same context, then Hattusili's campaign took him considerably beyond Lukka in its narrow sense. This would not be surprising, given the likelihood of an increasingly unstable situation amongst the Hittites' western territories and the need for the king's direct intervention in the region. In this event Hattusili's military operations clearly had much wider application than would have been the case if the 'Lukka Lands' provided the main theatre of these operations but were confined to the region of Lukka in its narrow sense.

In some instances, then, our textual references appear to support the notion that the term Lukka could apply to Luwian peoples and regions in a general, non-specific way, as well as to a Lukka land in a more restricted, more location-specific sense. The plural form 'Lukka Lands', not attested before the thirteenth century, may indicate more explicitly the comprehensiveness with which the term could be used. But the singular form Lukka might also have had the same connotations, just as the names Arzawa and Arzawa Lands were both used of the complex making up the individual Arzawa kingdoms. Arzawa was also the name of a specific kingdom within the complex (at least until the early years of Mursili II's reign). So too Lukka was the name of a specific Luwian region, a Lukka homeland, in southwestern Anatolia. It was within this region that the country called Lycia by the Greeks was located in the first millennium BCE.

2.8 *The Final Years of the Bronze Age Kingdoms*

Hattusili had on his death left a number of matters unresolved in the western part of his kingdom. Indeed his son and successor Tudhaliya IV may have inherited from his father a seriously deteriorating situation in the region. The problem of Ahhiyawa's ongoing interference in Hittite affairs had yet to be effectively dealt with; the Ahhiyawan king had apparently been lending support to anti-Hittite elements in

the Seha River Land where a serious crisis was emerging. There are also further references to hostilities with Lukka in the inscriptions of Tudhaliya's reign. In KUB XXVI 12 (*CTH* 255.1) ii 15, Lukka figures as enemy territory along with the country of Azzi and the Kaska lands. The term Lukka is perhaps used here in its broadest sense. We have also referred to the hieroglyphic inscription found at Yalburt which reports military operations conducted by Tudhaliya against the Lukka Lands and Wiyanawanda.[59] Lukka is probably used here in its more restricted sense of the region lying in the southwest of Anatolia. Wiyanawanda, which lay on the border of Mira-Kuwaliya, recalls the name Oinoanda, a northern Lycian town of the Greco-Roman period; it *possibly* occupied the same site.

The crisis in the Seha River Land was associated with the end of the reign of Masturi. This long-time liegeman of Hatti still occupied the vassal throne on Tudhaliya's accession,[60] but after having done so for some forty years since his appointment by Muwattalli he was an old man when Tudhaliya became Great King. He had produced no heirs, and was finally overthrown in a palace coup. His throne was seized by one Tarhunaradu, otherwise unknown and apparently an upstart with no direct family connections with the kingdom's previous rulers. What he did have, however, was the support of the King of Ahhiyawa.[61]

Retention of the Seha River Land was vital to the maintenance of Hittite authority in the west. Had he failed to take prompt action, Tudhaliya might well have been faced with the total collapse of the Hittite western vassal system, particularly given Ahhiyawa's increasingly prominent and sometimes aggressive role in the region. But Tudhaliya met the crisis without delay. Perhaps in the same context as his campaign against the Lukka Lands, he marched against the rebel state, crushed the rebellion, captured Tarhunaradu and his family, and transported them back to Hatti, along with many other prisoners and 500 teams of horse. He then restored the vassal throne

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[59] Wiyanawanda lay in the border zone of the kingdom of Mira-Kuwaliya at the time of Mursili II's two-year Arzawan campaigns; see Bryce (1974 105-106).

[60] Since he was one of the signatories to the treaty which Tudhaliya drew up with Kurunta (bronze tablet sec. 27, iv 32).

[61] This information is supplied by the text KUB XXIII 13 (CTH 211.4). The reference to the Ahhiyawan king's role is based on Güterbock's interpretation and translation of the relevant words: 'Thereafter Tarhunaradu waged war and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa.' (Güterbock 1992 242).

to the family of the previous dynasty, putting on it a 'descendant of Muwawalwi', father of Manapa-Tarhunta. (The name of the new ruler is lost in the missing portion of the relevant part of the text.)

In spite of Tudhaliya's apparent success in his campaign against Lukka and his undoubted success in reasserting Hittite authority in the Seha River Land, the situation in the west remained volatile, and would almost certainly continue to do so while Ahhiyawa persisted in intervening in Hittite subject territory, either directly or through supporting local dissidents. We must however stress that our perceptions of Ahhiyawan involvement in the region are totally dependent on what our Hittite sources tell us. From the Hittite point of view the Ahhiyawan king appears in the role of foreign aggressor who supports the activities of insurrectionists and rebels in the region, with little apparent respect or regard for the subject territory of a brother-king. That may *not* have been the perception of at least some of the western Anatolian states. They could well have seen closer links with Ahhiyawa as more beneficial, particularly for commercial reasons, than an ongoing relationship with Hatti—one which had been forced upon them, and which in the manner of the terms unilaterally imposed by Hittite overlords banned any direct dealings between them and a foreign power. We should not ignore the possibility that Ahhiyawa's role in Anatolian affairs was much more welcome locally than the texts from the archives in Hattusa might lead us to believe.

Further important information on developments in western Anatolia is provided by the so-called Milawata letter (KUB XIX 55 (CTH 182)). A comparatively recently discovered text-join to this well-known fragmentary document has added some useful new material to what had already been gleaned from it (KUB XLVIII 90; see Hoffner 1982). Though neither author's nor addressee's name appears in what is left of the text, the former can quite confidently be identified as the king Tudhaliya IV (see Güterbock 1983a 137; Bryce 1985 17). Different views have been expressed about the identity of the letter's recipient, who was a western Anatolian ruler (see Singer 1983 216; Bryce 1985 21-22). Most recently Hawkins (1998b 19) has argued that he is to be identified with Tarkasnawa, who we now know occupied the throne of Mira during the latter years of Tudhaliya's reign (see below).

Of particular interest to our study of the Luwian kingdoms of western Anatolia in this period is information which the text-join has provided about a hitherto unknown king of Wilusa called Walmu,

and the events in which he was involved. Although this information is still far from complete we can reconstruct some of the details. Apparently Walmu had been deposed and fled his country, in circumstances unknown to us. He was presently in the custody of the addressee of the Milawata letter whose father had been hostile to the Hittites and had made attacks on Hittite subject territory. The father had now been succeeded by his apparently pro-Hittite son. Tudhaliya was seeking to restore Walmu to his throne (which he may have lost because of his loyalty to Hatti), and asked the recipient of his letter to deliver Walmu to him as the first step towards his restoration: 'Now, my son, send Walmu to me, and I will install him as king again in Wilusa.'

Whoever the local king thus addressed by Tudhaliya was, it seems that he was to continue to have some authority over Walmu, perhaps as a kind of regional overlord. This may be inferred from Tudhaliya's statement: 'As Walmu was previously our *kulawaniš* vassal (i.e. the vassal of both Tudhaliya and the local ruler), so let him (again) be a *kulawaniš* vassal!' The meaning of *kulawaniš* is not clear, but it was probably part of the terminology used to indicate a new power-sharing arrangement in the west, with a local ruler being granted direct authority over at least one other vassal kingdom in the region. Such an arrangement would have marked a distinct divergence from previous Hittite policy, which gave no local ruler precedence over any other, and insisted that each deal directly with and be answerable exclusively to the Hittite king. By conceding more extensive authority to a local ruler, Tudhaliya no doubt sought to achieve greater and longer lasting stability in the region, keeping it within the Hittite sphere of influence but with minimal Hittite involvement.

This is the last we hear of Wilusa, so we cannot be sure whether or not Walmu ever regained his throne. Nevertheless, the additional information provided by the text-join to the Milawata letter, even though meagre, makes an important contribution to our knowledge of western Anatolian history at this time. All the more so if Walmu's kingdom was the original of Homeric Troy. In this connection we can draw attention to the historical fact, revealed by the text-join to the Milawata letter, of a king of northwestern Anatolia being driven from his throne, and the possible involvement in his overthrow by a king of Ahhiyawa, i.e. a king of Mycenaean Greece (see Bryce 1998 395-396). We might also note the passing comment by Tudhaliya's

father Hattusili in the so-called Tawagalawa Letter to his Ahhiyawan counterpart that the latter's apparent activities in relation to Wilusa had been a possible provocation to war (KUB XIV 3 iv 7-10; see also Güterbock 1986 37).[62] We have the further information from the Milawata letter that Piyamaradu, who certainly had links with Ahhiyawa, had at one time invaded and occupied the land of Wilusa. Hence in the second half of the thirteenth century a pattern emerges of threats to and attacks on Wilusa, leading on one occasion to the occupation of its territory, on another to the deposition of its king, and apparently some involvement in one or more of these enterprises by Ahhiyawans or Mycenaean Greeks. That is as far as we can go in any attempted correlation between the few scraps of historical information about Wilusa and the tradition of a military conflict between Achaean Greeks and a kingdom of northwestern Anatolia distilled in Homeric epic into a ten-year 'Trojan War'.[63]

Our references to the Arzawa lands in Hittite texts are now almost at an end. But at this late stage in the Hittite Empire we have a further reference to the kingdom of Mira, or more specifically to its last known king, in the inscription from the Karabel monument referred to above. Hawkins notes the likelihood that the subject of the inscription, Tarkasnawa, was the son of Alantalli[64] and the last of three generations of kings of Mira, covering the period from Mursili II to Tudhaliya IV. His sculpture and inscription in the Karabel mountain pass confirm that by the last decades of the Late Bronze Age Mira's territory extended to Anatolia's western coast. Indeed it may already have extended this far from the early years of Mursili II's reign. As we have noted, Hawkins suggests that Tarkasnawa was the addressee of the Milawata letter. It would not be inappropriate for this, the ruler of what was undoubtedly the largest and most powerful of all the western Anatolian states—one on whose loyalty Tudhaliya

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[62] We have noted above (n. 57) the proposal by Gurney (2002) to assign the letter to Tudhaliya's uncle Muwattalli.

[63] Watkins (1986 58-62) has suggested that the remains of an Anatolian prototype of the *Iliad* are to be found in a Hittite ritual text, KBo IV 11 (CTH 772.1). But at present only a very small fragment of this text is known—too little to justify serious consideration of Watkins' suggestion. Cf. the comment by Macqueen (1986 166 n. 81).

[64] Now known from col. iv 36 of the bronze tablet as a king of Mira. Hawkins (1998b 17) suggests that he was Kupanta-Kurunta's son. For a detailed prosopographical discussion, see van den Hout (1995 142-149).

could apparently count—to be granted direct authority over Wilusa, and probably also over Milawata and other territories in the region, giving him the status of a regional *supremo*, subordinate and answerable only to the Great King of Hatti.

On the basis of our present information, we might reasonably conclude that by a combination of diplomatic and military means Tudhaliya left the west in a reasonably sound condition at the end of his reign. With his death all known records relating to the western Anatolian region would have come to an end but for the discovery of a hieroglyphic inscription in the so-called Südburg structure discovered in Hattusa in 1988 (see Hawkins 1995a). According to Hawkins' interpretation, the inscription records the conquest and annexation by Suppiluliuma II, son of Tudhaliya and the last known Hittite king, of the lands of Wiyanawanda, Tamina, Masa, Lukka, and Ikuna.[65] All of these lay in or near Luwian territory in southwestern Anatolia. In spite of the problems Suppiluliuma faced elsewhere in his realm, his operations in this region seem to indicate a continuing determination, inherited by the king from his father and grandfather, to maintain control over the Hittites' western territories, down to the kingdom's very last days. On the other hand, any campaigns he took in the west could just as well be interpreted as rearguard actions designed to protect or buffer Hittite territories to the south of the homeland from concerted onslaughts against them from the west.

Hittite records cease with Suppiluliuma's reign, and we hear no more of the western Anatolian Luwian populations—with two exceptions, both of which refer to Lukka. Within the context of the movements of the so-called Sea Peoples early in the twelfth century, Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit, wrote to the king of Alasiya. In his letter, which was written in response to an appeal for assistance from the Alasiyan king, Ammurapi highlights the critical situation confronting his own kingdom. He speaks of the seven ships of the enemy which had come and inflicted severe damage upon his land. It is impossible, he declares, for him to send any assistance to his Alasiyan counterpart, for his troops and chariots are in the Land of Hatti, and all his ships are 'in the Land of Lukka' (RS 18.147 = Nougayrol et al. 1968 (*Ugaritica* V) 87-9 no. 24). This very likely

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[65] Contra Hawkins' interpretation that the inscription refers to military conquests, see Melchert (2002a).

means that they were stationed off the southwest coast of Anatolia—possibly, as Astour once claimed (1965 225), with the intention of defending the passage from the Aegean to the Mediterranean. We shall deal with the second late reference to Lukka below, within the context of the movements of the Sea Peoples.

3. *The Diffusion of Luwian-speakers*

Luwian-speaking peoples had become widely dispersed during the course of the Late Bronze Age, both because of the ongoing impetus of their own spread throughout Anatolia as well as through the impact of other peoples upon them. The Hittite campaigns into western Anatolian territory had resulted in substantial numbers of Luwian 'booty-people' along with livestock being transported back to the Hittite homeland, beginning in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, and particularly in the reigns of Suppiluliuma I and his son Mursili II. As a result of these military campaigns alone there must have been thousands of Luwian-speakers inhabiting the Hatti Land by the end of the Hittite New Kingdom. According to the usual pattern of relocating transportees, they were probably settled mainly on farmlands and in peripheral areas of the homeland. They may also have come to provide a significant element in the king's militia as well as being allocated to the ranks of temple personnel. Luwian-speaking transportees to Hatti, like transportees in general, appear to have been rapidly assimilated into their new cultural and social environment. Yet given their large numbers, their overlord's policy of incorporating the gods of all conquered regions into the Hittite pantheon, and the generally eclectic character of Hittite civilization, Luwian elements along with Hurrian elements must have played a significant part in the social and cultural development of the Land of Hatti, particularly in the last century of the kingdom's existence.

On the other hand, the Hittites appear to have made little cultural impact on the regions over which they extended their authority, particularly in the west. Throughout the Late Bronze Age the links between Hatti and the Luwian-speaking groups of western Anatolia were tenuous and spasmodic, and primarily military and political. By contrast, the Luwians of this region probably had a much more comprehensive range of contacts with the Mycenaean Greek world, especially from the late fourteenth century onwards. The distribution of Mycenaean artifactual material at a number of sites in the coastal

regions of western Anatolia provides material evidence of this (see Mee 1978, Niemeier 1997). Millawanda came under Minoan influence during the Middle Minoan period and subsequently under Mycenaean influence, most notably in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century. Via Millawanda in particular, the Luwian-speaking peoples of western Anatolia probably developed close links with both the Minoan and the Mycenaean worlds. This may help to explain the prominence of Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece in the traditions which are concerned with the origins of the first millennium Lycians (see below). Quite possibly they were brought into Lycia and re-established there, perhaps at the very end of the second millennium, by displaced population groups from the Luwian-speaking areas of western Caria.

There were also substantial numbers of Luwians resettled in the Mycenaean world, particularly during the course of the thirteenth century, to judge from Hattusili's complaint in the Tawagalawa Letter that some 7000 Hittite subjects from the Lukka Lands had been transplanted to Ahhiyawa (KUB XIV 3 iii 7-17). Piyamaradu himself had been granted a new home for his family and retinue in Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean territory. We learn too from the Linear B tablets that western Anatolia was one of the regions from which labour was recruited for the Mycenaean palace workforces, for domestic service, textile-making and the like (see Ventris and Chadwick 1959 156; Chadwick 1976 80-81). Indeed recruitment of labour from the Luwian regions of western Anatolia may have been a primary incentive for Mycenaean interest and involvement in these regions. Almost certainly there were other incentives as well—incentives chiefly to do with the acquisition of valuable raw materials, not obtainable or obtainable only in small quantities in the Greek world. Bronze Age Anatolia was rich in raw materials which were undoubtedly in high demand in the Aegean world. Timber, gold, silver, and copper may well have figured prominently amongst these. All were obtainable in western Anatolia,[66] and quite possibly provided one of the chief attractions for the Mycenaeans' political and military involvement in the predominantly Luwian regions of western Anatolia.

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[66] For a discussion of the distribution of metal deposits in Anatolia, see P. de Jesus (1978).

Apart from this, a substantial workforce was undoubtedly needed for the massive building projects of the Mycenaean world, notably the construction, maintenance, and extension of the Mycenaean palaces and citadels. We know very little of the demographics of the Mycenaean world, but it is not unlikely that the considerable labour requirements for these projects necessitated supplementation of the local workforces with manpower acquired through raids and other means from across the Aegean. The Greek literary tradition which credits the building of the walls of Tiryns to Cyclopes from Lycia[67] would accord well with this scenario. As we shall see, the Lycians in their Late Bronze Age context were a Lukka people of southwestern Anatolia. Some of their predecessors may well have been included in the groups from the Lukka Lands who were resettled in the Mycenaean world around the middle of the thirteenth century. It is quite possible that the literary tradition, albeit a late-attested one, has some basis in fact.

Homer speaks of the Greek world's receptiveness to foreigners who brought with them a range of skills—as prophets, bards, woodworkers, curers of diseases: 'No man of his own accord goes out to bring in a stranger from elsewhere, unless that stranger be master of some craft, a prophet or one who cures diseases, a worker in wood, or again an inspired bard, delighting men with his song. The wide world over, men such as these are welcome guests' (*Odyssey* 17. 382-5, transl. W. Shewring). This receptiveness may well have been a marked feature of Mycenaean society, resulting in part at least from the Mycenaean world's extensive involvement in the international commercial and trading activities of the Late Bronze Age. The Luwian population groups of western Anatolia were amongst the Mycenaean world's closest neighbours and probably had the most extensive cultural as well as commercial contacts with this world. Too, the thousands of Luwians who resettled in Greece must have taken with them to their new homeland some of the literary and folk traditions of the Near Eastern world whence they had come. In this respect they would have served as important agents of east-west cultural transmission, which amongst other things led to the adoption

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[67] The tradition is recorded in Strabo 8.6.11 and also appears in Bacchylides 10. 77-78, Apollodoros 2.2.1, Pausanias 2.25.8.

of Near Eastern folk and literary traditions by the Greeks from at least the thirteenth century onwards.[68]

Luwians figure amongst the groups of so-called 'Sea Peoples' who attacked the Egyptian Delta in the reign of Ramses II's son and successor Merneptah (ca. 1213-1204). The invasion is recorded in a long inscription on the eastern wall of the temple of Karnak. In addition to bands from Libya, the invaders included peoples whose names are commonly vocalized as Sherden (Šrdn), Shekelesh (Škrš), Ekwesh (Ikwš), Lukka (Lk), and Teresh (Trš). However we are to interpret the record of these peoples and the nature of their incursions, their numbers almost certainly included displaced population groups from western Anatolia, amongst whom were Lukka people.[69] The use of the term Lukka in this context may well signify Luwian-speaking peoples in the broadest sense, reflecting the disintegration of the power structures in the west as elsewhere in the Bronze Age world, and in an increasingly insecure environment the displacement of population groups from throughout the entire region who were forced to seek new lands to settle, displaced by marauding groups and in their turn taking on a marauding aspect.

The invasions in Merneptah's reign seem to have been little more than a prelude to mass movements by the Sea Peoples by both land and sea, reflected in the record of the countries destroyed by the Sea Peoples prior to their onslaught on Egypt during the reign of Ramses III (ca. 1185-1154). Arzawa figures amongst these countries, along with Hatti, Qode (= Cilicia?) (see Hawkins 2000 39, with references in n. 18), Carchemish,[70] and Alasiya (Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III's eighth year; Breasted 1906, vol. iv, sec. 64). Hawkins (1998b 21) raises the question in this context of what the Egyptians knew or meant by Arzawa: a general term for western Anatolia or a major power in the region? There seems little doubt that the purpose of the

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[68] See Bryce (1999) for the suggestion that Luwian-speaking scribes in the Mycenaean courts may have served as important agents of transmission for a number of Near Eastern mythological and literary themes which resurface in the works of Homer and Hesiod.

[69] Other western Anatolian groups may have included the Teresh, who *may* be identifiable with the Tyrsenoi referred to in later Greek sources, and Mycenaean Greeks from western Anatolia (if Ekwesh can be equated with Ahhiyawa).

[70] The reference here is almost certainly to Hittite-controlled territory in Syria rather than to the city of Carchemish which was unaffected by the Sea Peoples' onslaught; cf. Hawkins (2000 73).

list is to emphasize the spread and magnitude of the marauders' activities, extending across almost the entire Near Eastern world, from the Arzawa lands in the west through the Hatti lands and Kizzuwatna in central and eastern Anatolia, offshore to the island of Alasiya (Cyprus), and through Syria to the Land of Carchemish in the Euphrates region. The text provides us with a broad panoramic view. We are to think of the places which it names primarily in terms of the vast regions which they covered *in toto* rather than as individual political entities. In such a context Arzawa is clearly used in its broadest sense. Indeed in these final years of the disintegrating Bronze Age kingdoms, the carefully defined boundaries which once marked off the individual Arzawa lands from each other were by now probably largely if not completely meaningless.

4. *The Luwians of Southeastern Anatolia*

We have noted the progressive spread of Luwian-speaking peoples through the southern and southeastern regions of Anatolia, particularly during the first half of the second millennium. The region which the Hittites called the Lower Land lying south of the Marassantiya river may, we have suggested, have had a predominantly Luwian population, although it had been absorbed into the Land of Hatti already in the reigns of the earliest known Hittite kings. Stretching along and inland from the Mediterranean coast were two other regions with substantial Luwian-speaking populations, Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntassa.

Kizzuwatna lay in the southeast, its territory extending inland from the plain of Adana to the Anti-Taurus range and covering in part the region of Classical Cilicia. Its chief cities were the cult centres Kummanni, probably to be identified with Classical Comana Cappadociae, and Lawazantiya, where the Hittite prince later to become King Hattusili III met and married Puduhepa, daughter of a Hurrian priest. Other cities within Kizzuwatnan territory included Sinuwanda, Zunnahara, Arana, and Sinahu. The region had a small Semitic population, to judge from the personal names attested there at that time. But Luwians and Hurrians constituted the two predominant population groups. Both groups had apparently occupied the region

by the middle of the second millennium.[71] It has been suggested that the Luwians were located in the western part of the region with the Hurrians concentrated in the northeast (see e.g. Lebrun 1980 23; Houwink ten Cate 1995 268). However the mixture of personal names indicates a relatively high degree of intermingling between the two groups. The name Kizzuwatna is not attested before the reign of the Hittite king Telipinu (ca. 1525-1500). But prior to Telipinu at least part of the territory which it incorporated was probably an independent entity called Adaniya (see Beal 1986 424 with n. 2). Perhaps originally incorporated into the Hittite kingdom in Hattusili I's reign if not earlier, Adaniya had become independent by the time of King Ammuna (mid-sixteenth century), since during his reign it was listed as one of the countries hostile to Hatti. Very likely it was in this period that the kingdom of Kizzuwatna was established, perhaps under Hurrian influence.[72] Its name and that of its chief city (at least in cultic terms) Kummanni are both of Hurrian origin, though in fact the earliest known kings Pariyawatri (who may have fought against the Hittites) and Isputahsu his son had Anatolian names. Father and son are also attested on a seal impression, discovered at Tarsus, with the inscription 'Isputahsu, Great King, Son of Pariyawatri' (see Goetze 1940 73).

Telipinu accepted the independent status of Kizzuwatna and formalized relations with it by drawing up a treaty with its king Isputahsu, the first known Hittite treaty (CTH 21). Fragmentary versions in both Hittite and Akkadian survive. Subsequent treaties were drawn up by Telipinu's successors: Tahurwaili with Isputahsu's successor Eheya, Hantili II(?) (the king's name is now lost from the text) with a Kizzuwatnan king called Paddatissu who probably succeded Eheya, and Zidanta II with Pelliya. Sufficient fragments of the last of these documents have survived to indicate that there had been conflict between Hatti and Kizzuwatna involving the capture or

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[71] On Kizzuwatna's mixed population, see Kümmel (1980 629). Houwink ten Cate (1995 268) notes that a landgrant from the reign of Hattusili I in the late seventeenth century appears to indicate that Hurrians already lived there at that time. Perhaps they were forerunners of later more substantial Hurrian settlement in the region.

[72] See Gurney (1973b 645); Beal (1986 426); Bryce (1986-87 86 n. 8). Wilhelm (1989 23) suggests that it may have first achieved independence during Hantili's reign.

destruction of towns in the border region on each side (see Bryce 1998 121-122).

An effective permanent alliance with Kizzuwatna was of considerable importance to Hatti, particularly in view of Kizzuwatna's strategic location in southeast Anatolia, for it encompassed the main routes of communication between Hatti and Syria. An alliance, or at least a guarantee of benevolent neutrality, became all the more pressing with the rise of the Hurrian kingdom of Mittanni and the threat this posed to Hatti from the southeast. Indeed Zidanta's treaty-partner Pelliya also concluded a treaty with the Mittannian vassal Idrimi who had attacked and conquered seven cities lying within the southeastern periphery of Hittite subject territory. Since a simultaneous alliance with Hatti and Mittanni or a Mittannian vassal would clearly have been out of the question, the Kizzuwatnan king had apparently changed sides, presumably some time after his pact with the Hittite king (see Bryce 1998 126-128).

Kizzuwatna may have switched its alliance several more times until finally, in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II, its king Sunassura concluded a treaty with Tudhaliya which marked the beginning of its permanent attachment to Hatti: 'Now the people of the Land of Kizzuwatna are Hittite cattle and chose their stable. From the Hurrian they separated and shifted allegiance to My Sun. The Hurrian sinned against the Land of Hatti, but against the Land of Kizzuwatna he sinned particularly. The Land of Kizzuwatna rejoices very much indeed over its liberation. Now the Land of Hatti and the Land of Kizzuwatna are free from their obligations. Now I, My Sun, have restored the Land of Kizzuwatna to its independence.' (KBo I 5 i 30-37, after Goetze 1940 39). On the date of the treaty, see Beal (1986). Henceforth, Kizzuwatna maintained its alliance with Hatti. Indeed at some time following the treaty, perhaps while Tudhaliya still occupied the throne, it was annexed to Hittite territory and placed under direct Hittite rule. King Suppiluliuma I appointed one of his sons, Telipinu, as priest in Kizzuwatna,[73] but his role there included important political and military as well as priestly responsibilities. The terms of his appointment were similar in a number of respects to those imposed by treaty on the rulers of Hittite vassal states. Given that the appointment was

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[73] KUB XIX 25 + 26 (*CTH* 44), ed. Goetze (1940 12-16). For the period of the annexation, see Beal (1986 439-440).

made only a short time before his father led his forces into Syria against Mittanni, it was almost certainly connected with Suppiluliuma's first major campaign against the Mittannian king Tushratta.

Hatti's political control over Kizzuwatna in no way diminished the strong Hurrian ethnic and cultural presence in the region, which particularly in the last century of the Hittite kingdom was to exercise a profound influence on Hittite civilization, notably in the kingdom's religious activities, as well as in areas like literary and mythological tradition. In view of the strength and explicit nature of the Hurrian presence in Kizzuwatna, one may lose sight of the fact that it was a Luwian as well as a Hurrian cultural zone. Indeed, as we shall see, Luwian elements were to show the greater resilience in the centuries which followed the end of the Bronze Age. In Kizzuwatna as well as in other parts of southern Anatolia these elements came to figure prominently in the civilizations which emerged during the first half of the first millennium.

Adjoining Kizzuwatna on the west lay the country of Tarhuntassa,[74] a region which was almost certainly occupied by a Luwian-speaking population, as its name adopted from the Luwian Storm-god Tarhunt suggests. Yet its existence is not attested before the reign of the Hittite king Muwattalli II (ca. 1295-1272), and in fact it seems to have been a new entity created by Muwattalli and incorporating the country known as the Hulaya River Land as its frontier zone (see Otten 1988 46; Hoffner 1989 47; Hawkins 1995a 50). It was here that Muwattalli transferred the seat of Hittite power from Hattusa prior to his conflict with the pharaoh Ramses II: 'When, however, my brother Muwattalli at the command of his (patron) deity went down to the Lower Land, leaving the city of Hattusa, he took the gods and the spirits of ancestors of Hatti...and he brought them down to the city of Tarhuntassa and made it his place of residence' (Apology of Hattusili (CTH 81), sec. 6 i 75-ii 1-2, sec. 8 ii 52-53). The reasons for this momentous change have been discussed at some length (see Bryce 1998 251-255 with references) and generally associated with Hatti's forthcoming conflict with Egypt. In any case the move was intended to be permanent. In fact it was very short-lived. Probably under pressure from his advisers, including his uncle Hattu-

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[74] That Kizzuwatna and Tarhuntassa shared a common frontier is an inference rather than an attested fact, based on the list of countries adjoining Tarhuntassa; see Hawkins (1995a 51-52).

sili, Muwattalli's son and successor Urhi-Teshub transferred the royal seat back to Hattusa: 'He raised up the gods from Tarhuntassa and returned them to Hattusa' (KUB XXI 15 (CTH 85 I.B) i 11-12. On the sources relating to the return of the capital to Hattusa, see Houwink ten Cate 1994 234 n. 5).

Even so Tarhuntassa continued to play an important role in the affairs of Hatti as an appanage kingdom of the Great King, initially under the immediate control of a man called Kurunta, brother, or half-brother, of Urhi-Teshub and a second son of Muwattalli. Kurunta was given the kingdom, with virtually the same powers and privileges as a viceroy, by way of reward for his loyalty to Hattusili when the latter seized the throne from Urhi-Teshub. As we have noted, Kurunta features as the treaty-partner of Hattusili's son and successor Tudhaliya IV in the text of the bronze tablet discovered at Hattusa in 1986. The treaty emphasizes Kurunta's past record of loyalty to Hattusili and his heir, and confers further privileges upon him, no doubt in an attempt to ensure his continuing loyalty. But it is likely that he eventually broke from his allegiance to Hattusili's direct descendants and attempted to seize the throne of the Great King for himself (see Bryce 1998 354-355, with references). Indeed he may have succeeded in doing so, if we can so judge from seal impressions found in Hattusa bearing the inscription 'Kurunta, Great King, Labarna, My Sun' (see Neve 1987 401-408 Abb. 20a.b; 1993b Abb. 40-42), and also from the recently discovered rock relief and inscription at Hatip, southwest of Konya, in which Kurunta is called 'Great King, Hero, son of Muwattalli, Great King, Hero' (see Dinçol 1998b). But if so his coup was short-lived, for Tudhaliya regained his throne. We know nothing of Kurunta's subsequent fate. It seems most unlikely that he was reinstated in Tarhuntassa, and may, like his brother Urhi-Teshub, have spent his final years in exile.[75]

We have no precise information about the subsequent history of Tarhuntassa.[76] But there is little doubt that this region of the Luwian-speaking world played a crucially important role in the final decades of the Hittite kingdom. Its importance lay very much in its strategic

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[75] As discussed below, Singer (1996 64-65) suggests a contrary explanation for Kurunta's assumption of the title 'Great King', arguing for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of two 'Great Kings', one of Hatti, one of Tarhuntassa, at this time.

[76] For the question of whether Ulmi-Teshub was identical with, or a successor of Kurunta, see the references cited by Bryce (1998 298 nn. 17, 18).

location. The port of Ura was situated in or at least close to the borders of Tarhuntassa, and it was to Ura that grain shipments were brought from Egypt and Canaan via Ugarit for transportation to Hatti. Particularly at times of food shortages in the Hittite kingdom, it was vital that the grain route be kept open. If the port of Ura lay within the control of a regime hostile to Hatti, or lay close enough to enemy territory to be threatened by it, Hittite communications with Syria and Egypt would be seriously imperilled. The hieroglyphic inscription from the so-called Südburg structure recently discovered in Hattusa records Suppiluliuma II's activities against a number of cities and countries of southern Anatolia, as noted above. It then appears to go on to report the conquest and annexation of Tarhuntassa.[77] This seems to indicate that whatever regime was in power there at this time was hostile to Hatti. The operation thus recorded may belong within the same context as the record of sea battles fought off the coast of Alasiya (KBo XII 38 (CTH 121) iii 1'-13'. See Bryce 1988 365-366, with references). Very likely both sets of operations reflect this last known Hittite king's attempts to keep safe the vital supply routes in the eastern Mediterranean at a time when the Hittite world was becoming increasingly dependent on the importation of food from abroad.

C. THE LUWIANS IN THEIR IRON AGE CONTEXT

1. *The Kingdom of Hartapu*

Luwian population groups and elements of Luwian culture persisted through the centuries which followed the fall of the kingdom of Hatti, and were in some cases to have a marked and long-lasting effect on the Iron Age civilizations which emerged in the regions where the Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti had formerly held sway. In this second stage of our history of the Luwian peoples, we shall focus chiefly on the lands of southern Anatolia where Luwian elements appear to have been most prominent during the first millennium BCE.

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[77] As also noted (n. 65), Melchert disputes that the inscription refers to military conquests. He suggests (2002a 140-141) that the action taken against Tarhuntassa, as recorded in the inscription, was to deport its population and forbid any further settlement of it. In this case too military conquest could have been involved. Deportation was one of the regular aftermaths of successful military campaigns conducted by Suppiluliuma's predecessors against rebel or enemy states.
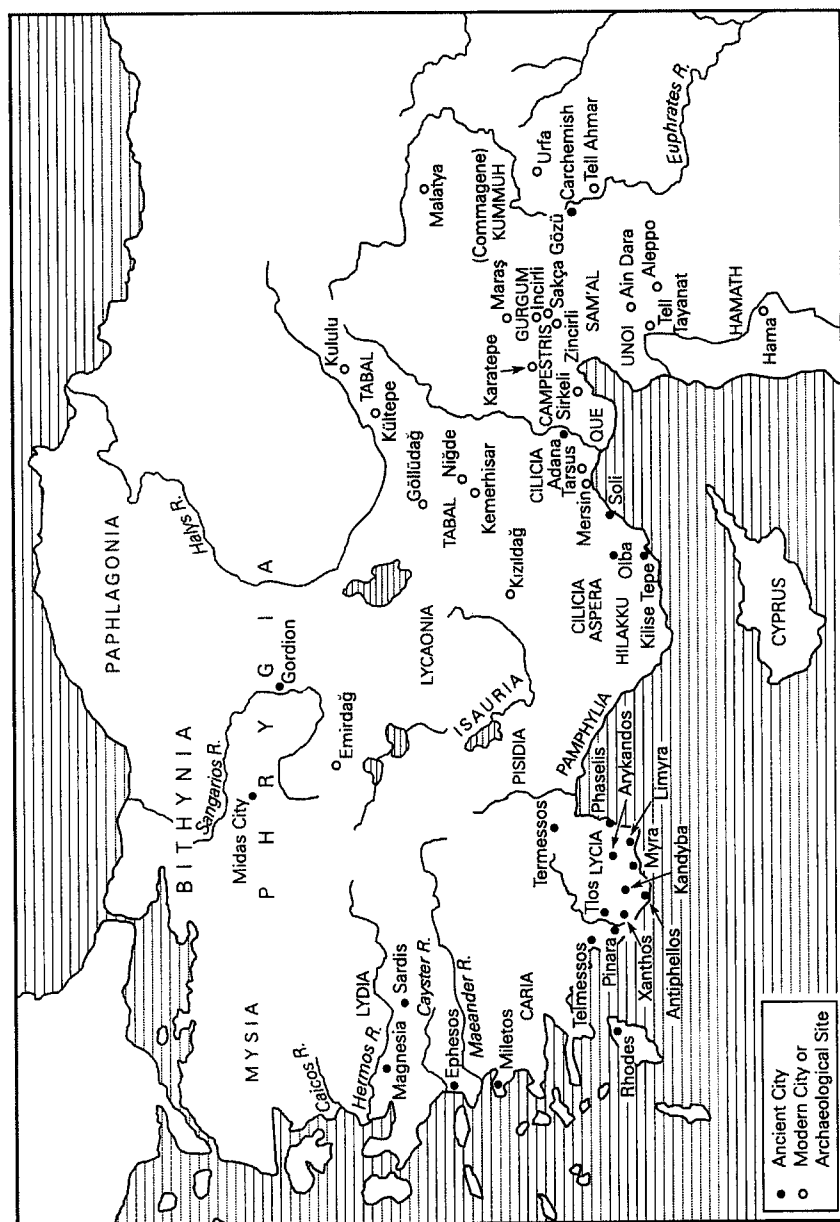
Map 3: Anatolia in the Iron Age (H.C. Melchert)

The region north of and *perhaps* incorporating the former appanage kingdom Tarhuntassa may provide us with one of our earliest and most direct links between the Anatolian Bronze Age lands and their successors. This conclusion has been drawn from a group of hiero-glyphic inscriptions discovered on the mountain-top sanctuary Karadağ and in the city of Kızıldağ, located in the area of the Konya Plain.[78] The inscriptions were composed by a 'Great King' Hartapu, whose father Mursili is similarly entitled a Great King. An inscription on a hill called Burunkaya (18 kms. northeast of modern Aksaray) also features the Great King Hartapu, again with his father, the Great King Mursili (Alp 1974 20; Hawkins 2000 437-438, 442). The parental identification quite possibly indicates a family link with the royal house of Hattusa. It has been suggested, for example, that Hartapu and his father were descendants of Kurunta, former ruler of Tarhuntassa and grandson of Mursili II (Hawkins 1992 270; 1995a 64). Hartapu's father would thus have adopted from the former Hittite royal dynasty one of its most illustrious names, a practice followed by several of the neo-Hittite rulers.[79] An alternative sugges-tion is that the Mursili named in the hieroglyphic inscriptions was in fact the Hittite king Mursili III, more commonly known as Urhi-Teshub, brother of Kurunta; if so, then Hartapu was Urhi-Teshub's son (Mellaart 1974 514-516; Singer 1996a 70. See also Hawkins 1998b 20-21).

In either case, Hartapu's reign has generally been dated to the period immediately after the fall of the kingdom of Hatti, primarily on the grounds that no local Anatolian ruler would have referred to himself as 'Great King' while the throne of Hattusa was still occu-pied (see Hawkins 1992 270). This assumption has recently been challenged by Dr Singer, who argues that the title might well have been used by a king of Tarhuntassa *prior* to the end of the Bronze Age, and that on chronological and stylistic grounds Hartapu's inscriptions belong more appropriately to the period before rather than after the fall of Hattusa.

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[78] Two from the former, five from the latter, published by Alp (1974). See Hawkins (2000 433-441).

[79] It would not be surprising if, as in the Syro-Hittite kingdoms, some post-Bronze Age Anatolian kings assumed the names of illustrious members of the Hittite royal dynasty, whether or not they were closely related to them, in order to legitimate their position or enhance their status.

Singer's proposal has some interesting historical implications. Almost certainly the adoption of the title 'Great King' by Hartapu and his father would, in a Bronze Age context, have represented a defiant assertion of independence from Hittite authority in what had clearly been Hittite subject territory. Particularly so if the Mursili of the inscriptions was in fact Urhi-Teshub. The deposed king had never abandoned his claim upon the Hittite throne, and had successfully resisted all attempts of the man who had seized it, Hattusili III, to recapture him after he had fled his appointed place of exile. For the son of Mursili III/Urhi-Teshub to claim the title of Great King for his father as well as for himself would have amounted to an open denial of the legitimacy of Hattusili's and his lineal heirs' occupancy of the throne. Could this other branch of the royal family have set up a kingdom in exile, in the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya region, the region where perhaps Urhi-Teshub found final refuge? In protesting to Hattusili that Urhi-Teshub was no longer in Egypt but somewhere in southern Anatolia (or northern Syria) (see Bryce 1998 310), the pharaoh Ramses II may well have been speaking the truth.

Did the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya region become part of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa under the rule of Hartapu or his father?[80] If so, then this kingdom must have covered a substantial area of southern Anatolia, with its boundaries extending well to the north of those described in the bronze tablet (see the comments of Singer 1996a 70). On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that the region over which Hartapu held sway was separate from Tarhuntassa, and perhaps called by a name which we have yet to identify. In either case, if it was contemporary with the kingdom of Hatti in the latter's final years, it was almost certainly a breakaway state hostile to Hatti, and was perhaps caught up in the southern campaigns of the last Hittite king Suppiluliuma II.

The arguments put forward by Dr Singer in favour of a Bronze Age date for Hartapu are attractive, and the conclusions he draws may well be right. However the case for a southern Anatolian 'Great King' contemporary with the last king or kings of Hattusa remains conjectural and involves some speculative reconstruction of the meagre evidence available to us for the period. Without more explicit

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[80] For the possibility that the royal seat of Hartapu's kingdom is to be identified with Kızıldağ, see Alp (1995); cf. Singer (1996 69).

evidence to the contrary, we should leave open the possibility that Hartapu was the ruler of a southern Anatolian kingdom which survived, or appeared immediately in the wake of, the fall of Hatti. In any case, the population of his kingdom, which must have covered part of the region called the Lower Land in Hittite texts, was almost certainly a predominantly Luwian-speaking one—as it had been (we have suggested in Chapter 1) since the days of the Hittite Old Kingdom.

2. *Tabal*

In the early Iron Age the region extending southwards from the southern curve of the Halys (Hittite Marassantiya) River into the Lower Land was called Tabal in Assyrian texts,[81] Tubal in the Old Testament (e.g. Ezek. 32:26; 38:2–3; 39:1). It consisted originally of a series of small independent kingdoms ruled by men who, like Hartapu and his father, assumed the title 'Great King'. By the ninth century there were no less than twenty-four Tabalic kings, according to an inscription on a stele of Shalmaneser III (ca. 858-823) who claimed the submission of these kings to him in the course of a campaign which he conducted into Tabal in 836 (refs. in Hawkins 2000 426-427 nn. 30-31). By the end of the following century, however, the local principalities had amalgamated into two relatively major kingdoms: in the north the kingdom sometimes now referred to as 'Tabal proper' (Bit-Burutash in the Assyrian texts of Sargon II's reign), of which Kululu and Sultanhan were major centres, in the south the kingdom of Tuwana, which covered the region of the classical Tyanitis.

Prior to Shalmaneser's reign, there is no evidence of Assyrian intervention in Tabal, or anywhere else in Anatolia. And it was to be another century before the Assyrians intervened again, this time in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (ca. 745-727), when a number of rulers of Tabalic cities were listed as tributees of the Assyrian king. One of these was Wasusarma (Assyrian Wassurme), son of Tuwatti, whose royal seat was probably at Kululu in Tabal proper, near Kayseri (for his hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Hawkins 2000 451-475). A tablet from Nimrud indicates that Wasusarma, falling out of

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[81] Hawkins includes the Kızıldağ-Karadağ-Burunkaya group in the Tabal category as the western (Hartapu) group.

favour with his overlord Tiglath-Pileser, was deposed and replaced by an apparent nonentity called Hulli, described as a 'son of nobody' (Luckenbill I 1926 288 §802 = Nimrud tablet rev. 14'-15'). But Hulli too seems to have fallen foul of his Assyrian overlord, for he and his son Ambaris were taken off to Assyria by Tiglath-Pileser's successor Shalmaneser V (ca. 726-722). They were, however, repatriated by Shalmaneser's successor Sargon II (ca. 721-705), who subsequently restored Ambaris to the throne once occupied by his father, married his daughter to him, and gave him Hilakku as a dowry.[82] It may have been with no little apprehension that Ambaris regarded this last act of his father-in-law's beneficence, given the difficulties which any foreign overlord faced in exercising control over the remote, rugged region of Hilakku and its fiercely independent population. We shall have more to say about this below.

One of the most prominent of the southern Tabalic kings was Warpalawa, ruler of Tuwana and a contemporary of Wasusarma. He figures in several hieroglyphic inscriptions of the region (see Hawkins 2000 514-521), one of which is associated with a monumental relief sculpture where he is depicted paying homage to the Storm-god, another with a stele on which he is again offering up a prayer to his god (Hawkins 2000 Plates 294, 296 respectively). He is also mentioned in Assyrian texts, under the name Urballa, on two occasions in a list of tributees of Tiglath-Pileser, and subsequently in Sargon's letter to the Assyrian governor of Que (see below).

Very likely Assyria's renewed interest in Tabal at this time was prompted by the rise of another power in the region. Towards the end of the eighth century the Phrygians, who had become firmly established in central Anatolia before the end of the second millennium, amalgamated with a people called the Mushki, who had already been in conflict with Sargon's predecessor but one, Tiglath-Pileser.[83] The Mushki king Mita, well known as Midas in Greek tradition, was almost certainly the architect of the amalgamation. From his capital at Gordion, ca. 96 kilometres from modern Ankara, Midas ruled a

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[82] From Sargon's Annals; see Luckenbill (II 1927 11 §25). Hawkins (2000 427) notes that Sargon refers to Ambaris' kingdom as the 'land of Bit-Burutash', a term of uncertain reference used only in Sargon's inscriptions.

[83] Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III, Grayson (1976 6-7 §12). Further references to the Mushki occur in texts from the reigns of the Assyrian kings Tukulti-Ninurta II and Assurnasipal; see Luckenbill (I 1926 132 §413, 144 §442 respectively).

kingdom which extended southwards to the Cilician plain, and westwards as far as the Aegean sea. Inevitably his territorial and military aspirations brought him into conflict with the Assyrians during the period when the Assyrian throne was occupied by Sargon. And inevitably the region of Tabal became contested territory between the two Great Kings.

In seeking to thwart Midas' ambitions Sargon, like a number of the Hittite kings of the Late Bronze Age, sought to encourage by one means or another the loyalty and support of his local rulers in the region. Hence his apparently generous treatment of Ambaris, despite the offences (whatever they may have been) which his father had committed against his Assyrian overlords in the past. Midas for his part set out to win over the local Tabalic rulers from their Assyrian allegiance, and apparently had some success in doing so. These rulers may well have seen themselves as caught in a 'meat-in-the-sandwich' situation. Declaring their allegiance to either king would almost certainly bring down upon them the wrath of the other. It was clearly impossible to remain neutral. In the event, several of the Tabalic kings apparently switched allegiance to Midas, perhaps partly on the grounds of the relative proximity of his kingdom, and thus his striking capacity against them.

Responding promptly to the crisis, Sargon succeeded in reasserting his authority in the Tabalic region, and transported the rebel leaders to Assyria, handing over their cities to other local leaders who had remained loyal to him. Ambaris was one such rebel to be carried off, along with his family and chariotry (from the Annals of Sargon = Luckenbill II 1927 11 §25)—the third occasion, in fact, on which this particular royal family was shuttled between Tabal and Assyria. It may be that his wife, Sargon's daughter, remained in Tabal and retained her authority in her husband's kingdom following his disgrace (see Hawkins 2000 428 with n. 46), an indication perhaps of her refusal to support her husband in his intrigues against her father. Sargon further consolidated his authority in the Tabalic and adjacent regions by settling Assyrians and other foreigners in Tabal, and establishing Assyrian governors in the neighbouring countries of Hilakku and Que (see below). But the most significant step he took to bolster his power in these regions was a settlement he reached with Midas. The latter, faced with the threat of a powerful group who had recently invaded Anatolia from the north ca. 714, the Cimmerians,

probably conceded Assyrian territorial claims in southeastern Anatolia in return for Sargon's support against this dangerous new enemy.

In the seventeenth and last year of his reign (ca. 705 B.C), Sargon undertook an expedition into Tabal (Grayson 1975 76, Chron. 1 ii 6') and was probably killed in the course of this campaign, perhaps while fighting the Cimmerians (see Hawkins 2000 428), who subsequently destroyed Midas' kingdom. This almost certainly marked the end of direct Assyrian authority in the region. For a time, however, Tabal continued to figure in Assyrian activities in southeastern Anatolia. The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (ca. 680-669) engaged in military operations there, against the Cimmerians, from his base in Que (see below). And a Tabalic king called Mugallu, after having successfully resisted Esarhaddon, apparently offered his submission to Esarhaddon's successor Assurbanipal (ca. 668-631) and paid him a yearly tribute.[84] Fear of the Cimmerians, Hawkins suggests, was the likely cause of Mugallu's about-face, though his son subsequently broke with Assyria and joined forces with the intruders. This act of treachery, from the Assyrian point of view, brought the wrath of the gods upon its perpetrator (references in Hawkins 2000 428 n. 59)— and an end to references to Tabal in Assyrian sources.

The inscriptions also indicate the prominence of the cult of the goddess Kubaba in the region. From at least the Old Babylonian period Kubaba had been the city goddess of Carchemish. She had been adopted into the Hittite pantheon when King Suppiluliuma I conquered Carchemish and made it a vice-regal kingdom. In the neo-Hittite period, she achieved high prominence in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia, reflecting the persistence of Hurrian elements in these regions. We may thus conclude from the monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions and the cult of Kubaba the continuance of an admixture of Luwian and Hurrian elements in the Tabalic-Lower Land region through the Dark Age and down into the first millennium.

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[84] On the identity of this king with Mugallu, king of Melid, see Hawkins (1995b, 2000 428), who suggests that his reappearance as king of Tabal may indicate a unification of Tabal with Melid.

3. *Luwian Elements in Lycia and Cilicia*

The continuing attestation of Luwian names across southern Anatolia through the first millennium BCE indicates the survival of Luwian elements and, in some areas at least, the probable continuation of Luwian population groups down to the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Luwian onomastic elements are found in the inscriptions of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, the Classical names for the regions covered by the Bronze Age Lukka Lands (in the narrower sense), the Hittite Lower Land, Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna.

While Luwian names are widely distributed through these countries, there is a particular concentration of them in two regions, Cilicia Aspera (Tracheia) in the east, and Lycia in the west. On the basis of the concentration of Luwian names in and around them, we can reasonably conclude that these were the main centres of Luwian occupation in Anatolia during the first millennium (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 1-2, 43, 190-191), particularly after the demise of the neo-Hittite kingdoms. It is hardly coincidence that both regions were located in rugged mountainous terrain less easily accessible by either land or by sea than their neighbours. Their relative isolation may well have given some security to their inhabitants against foreign intrusions during the upheavals which accompanied and followed the end of the Bronze Age, or served to provide refuge to various kindred groups from neighbouring areas more vulnerable to such intrusions. In any case, the populations of these regions were able to maintain a higher degree of independence for a longer period than their neighbours, and for this reason probably a greater retention of their traditional features, at least during the first half of the first millennium. Hence the likelihood of greater continuity in these regions between their Bronze Age inhabitants and their Iron Age successors. From a historian's viewpoint, this has obvious drawbacks, since the more isolated a group the less likely it is to figure in the written records of the period. We know significantly more about other Anatolian regions, from both Near Eastern and Greek sources, which were more exposed to foreign access and conquest.

The question must of course arise as to what precisely we can deduce from the persistence of Luwian names in a particular region. To what extent do the names really indicate a significant continuing population of Luwian or at least partly Luwian origin? And do the

names indicate that those who bore them still continued to speak the Luwian language or a derivative of it? Moreover, in addressing this final stage of the history of the Luwian people, we are in effect writing a history of the regions in which a greater or lesser number of people of Luwian origin lived rather than a history of the Luwian people *per se*. (This of course is a similar *caveat* to that which prefaced our treatment of the Bronze Age Luwian peoples.)

As we have commented, the concentration of Luwian names in Lycia and Cilicia Aspera give good reason to suppose that these were the most important areas of Luwian settlement in the first millennium BCE, and it is on these that we shall focus our attention. We know that Lycia at least was a Luwian-speaking region for the best part of the first six centuries of the millennium—on the basis of the surviving epichoric inscriptions which clearly demonstrate that the language of the region was a descendant of Bronze Age Luwian. Unfortunately Cilicia Aspera provides us with no epichoric inscriptions. But Professor Houwink ten Cate has argued that what can be inferred in this way for Lycia probably holds good for Cilicia Aspera too, noting the high degree of similarity between the onomastics of Cilicia Aspera and Lycia.

4. *Cilicia in non-Classical Sources*

The name Cilicia appears to have been derived from Hilakku, the Assyrian designation for part of the region in southeastern Anatolia covered by Cilicia in the Greco-Roman period. In Classical tradition the name's origin was attributed to a legendary Greek people called the Cilices, who according to Homer (*Iliad* 6.397) were originally one of the peoples of the Troad; they were presumably displaced during the upheavals which followed the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations and retained the name of their original homeland in their new place of settlement. Cilicia consisted primarily of two distinct parts, known by the terms Cilicia Aspera, 'Rough Cilicia', and Cilicia Campestris, 'Cilicia of the Plain'. Cilicia Aspera (Greek Tracheia) was the rugged mountainous western part of the region, Cilicia Campestris (Greek Pedias) the 'smoother', fertile eastern part. Jones (1937 192) noted that the contrast in physical conditions corresponded to a contrast in civilization: 'In Cilicia Pedias trade and industry fostered the growth of towns. In Cilicia Tracheia a primitive tribal life prevailed; only along the coast did a few small towns manage to

subsist, as port of call for the coastal trade and export depots for the timber from the mountains inland.' Our sources on Cilicia have little to say about Cilicia Aspera. From this, Houwink ten Cate (1961 17) comments, we may conclude that Cilicia Aspera continued to exist practically undisturbed in almost complete isolation from the outside world, and that until well into the Roman period only a small strip of coast in Cilicia Aspera was effectively controlled.

We have noted the persistence of Bronze Age elements in southern Anatolia after the collapse of the Hattusa-based kingdom of Hatti. But new names began to appear. Cilicia Campestris was called Qaue, later Que, by the Assyrians, and was subsequently referred to as Hume in neo-Babylonian texts. At the time of Shalmaneser III, the Assyrian king under whom Assyrian power was first extended into Anatolia, Que may have covered much of Bronze Age Kizzuwatna, which incorporated neighbouring parts of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains, but by the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, a century later, was probably limited to the Cilician plain (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 21; Macqueen 1995 1103, map). Its seat of power very likely lay in the city of Adana.[85]

The continuing presence of Luwian elements in the region during at least the early centuries of the first millennium is indicated by the Phoenician-hieroglyphic bilingual inscription appearing on the North and South Gates of the fortifications at Karatepe-Aslantaş (Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000 45-70). The inscription was authored or commissioned by a local ruler called Azatiwada who owed his elevation to Awariku, king of Adana. Azatiwada claims to have fortified and extended the land of Adana, to have brought peace and prosperity to it, and to have established his overlord's family on its throne. He also links his name with the house of Muksa, MPŠ in the Phoenician version. These names equate precisely with Μόξος and Μόψος of Greek legendary tradition, and through them relate to the cities Mopsoukrene and Mopsuestia which were located in the same general area as Adana and Karatepe (see also Hawkins 1995c 413). The name-equation has led a number of scholars to link the remote ancestral figure of the Karatepe inscription with the seer Mopsos, frequently attested in Greek sources, who emigrated from western

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[85] Hawkins (2000 41) notes that the title 'king of Danuna' is shown by the Karatepe inscription to refer to the king of Que, ruling in Adana.

Anatolia to Cilicia and whose name is associated with the foundation of a number of cities in southern Asia Minor (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 46-47). The Mopsos tradition may have originated within the context of the movements of displaced western Anatolian peoples at the end of the Bronze Age. Quite conceivably the founder of a ruling house in Que/Cilicia Campestris—Luwian Muksa, Phoenician MPŠ, Greek Mopsos—was in fact the leader of a western Anatolian Luwian population group who eventually resettled in the southeast some time after the fall of the Hittite empire.

In discussing the question of the date of the Karatepe inscription, Hawkins (2000 41-42, 44) notes that the name of Azatiwada's patron Awariku can be identified with Urikki, the name of a king of Que appearing in Assyrian lists of tributary kings during Tiglath-Pileser's reign,[86] and still alive in 709. Palaeographic considerations seem to support the identification, although stylistic features of the monument's sculptures continue to raise doubts about the date of the monument and its inscriptions (see Hawkins 2000 44). This last aside, the reign of Sargon's successor Sennacherib (ca. 704-681) would provide a plausible scenario for Azatiwada's exploits—which show a good deal more initiative on the part of a local ruler than might be expected while Que was under the direct control of an Assyrian governor. At least initially under Sennacherib Que appears to have enjoyed a higher degree of autonomy than it had under his predecessor, and it is possible that Sennacherib had the willing support of men like Azatiwata in his expedition against Cilician rebels further to the west.[87]

Bordering Que on the west lay the country called Hilakku in Assyrian texts. Hilakku was adjacent to Tabal, which lay to its north, and in broad terms probably extended over much of the same territory as the later Cilicia Aspera. Under their respective kings Kate and Pihirim, Que and Hilakku joined an alliance of northern Syrian states which was formed against Shalmaneser III in 858.[88] The alliance was crushed, but twenty years were to pass before Shalma-

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[86] Tiglath-Pileser's Annals 1.87 and 1.151; see Luckenbill (I 1926 273 §769, 276 §772 respectively).

[87] Hawkins (2000 44) suggests this possibility on the basis of Azatiwada's reference to the 'bad men in the west' in secs. XX-XXXI of the Karatepe inscription.

[88] See references in Hawkins (2000 41 n. 38). Hawkins concludes from a reference to the king of Danuna on the stele of Kulamuwa of Sam'al that Kate's power extended east of the Amanus into northern Syria.

neser could turn from his military enterprises in Syria, especially against the southern Syrian states who fiercely resisted him, to launch a campaign into southeastern Anatolia. In 839 he conducted an expedition across the Amanus mountain range into Tabal and Que, capturing a number of cities in these regions, including Lusanda (Lawazantiya), Abarnani, and Kisuatni (Kizzuwatna-Kummanni). He led three further expeditions into Que, in the years 833, 832, and 831, the last of which was followed by a temporary cessation of Assyrian military enterprises in Anatolia. Hilakku, a more remote and less easily accessed region, apparently remained free of the threat of Assyrian intervention throughout this period.

In the reign of the later king Shalmaneser V (ca. 726-722), or his successor Sargon, both Hilakku and Que became Assyrian provinces. As we have noted, Hilakku was assigned by Sargon to the Tabalic king Ambaris after he had restored him to his father's throne and made him his son-in-law. During Sargon's reign, Que was under the direct authority of an Assyrian governor called Assur-sharru-usur who undertook expeditions against the Phrygian king Midas on behalf of his Assyrian overlord.[89] Already in the reign of Shalmaneser's predecessor Tiglath-Pileser III the Assyrians had exercised some measure of control over at least part of the Cilician region as well as over the Tabalic region beyond. But rebellions against Assyrian rule under Sargon's successors, beginning with Sennacherib, ensured that the Anatolian states' links with Assyria remained tenuous. Sennacherib probably succeeded in reestablishing Assyrian control over Que (perhaps with the collaboration of men like Azatiwada), but Hilakku repeatedly resisted attempts to bring it to heel, in spite of the claim made by Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon that he had subdued its rebellious population (see Luckenbill II 1927 206 §516; Borger 1956 51 iii 47-55).

Certainly by the reign of Assurbanipal Hilakku had regained its independence from any form of Assyrian control, though Que seems to have remained under Assyrian sovereignty for at least the duration of Assurbanipal's reign. In the early decades of the sixth century, Babylonian kings undertook several expeditions into Que (which they called Hume) and possibly also into Hilakku. There is no firm

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[89] As recorded in correspondence between Sargon and his governor; see Hawkins (2000 42 with n. 58).

evidence that Babylon ever succeeded in establishing control over these regions, though Nebuchadrezzar (ca. 605-562) claimed Hume amongst his conquests in Anatolia,[90] and another text from his reign makes reference to prisoners from Pirindu (Weidner 1939 pl. II, A rev. 7; p. 935), which must have been largely co-extensive with Hilakku, or Cilicia Aspera (see Houwink ten Cate 1961 28, 43). Hawkins (2000 44) suggests that hostilities between this kingdom and Babylon may have arisen over control of Hume. Several years after the death of Nebuchadrezzar in 562, his successor but one, Neriglissar, conducted a campaign against Appuashu of Pirindu (557/556) (Grayson 1975 103, Chron. 6 1-13) and two years later we hear of an expedition into Hume undertaken by his successor Nabonidus (Grayson 1975 105, Chron. 7 i 7-8).

5. *Cilicia in Classical Sources*

The earliest historical reference we have to Cilicia in Classical sources is Herodotos' statement (1.28) that the Cilicians and the Lycians were the only peoples whom the Lydian king Kroisos (ca. 560-546) failed to subdue during his campaigns west of the Halys river. We cannot be sure whether this means that they successfully resisted any attempts he made to conquer them, or whether he simply decided that the rewards to be won did not warrant the risks entailed in campaigning against them. Subsequently, from the last decades of the sixth century onwards, both peoples were subject, at least nominally, to Persian rule. During the first period of Persian sovereignty, from ca. 542 to 401 BCE, the Cilicians appear to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy under a line of local kings called by the title Syennesis.[91] The title was probably adopted from the name of the founder of the dynasty, who was, according to Herodotos (1.74), one of the mediators in the conflict between the Medes and the Lydians in 585 BCE. The dynasty's seat of power may have been located at Tarsus. Throughout the period of Persian domination as in other periods, it is likely that Cilicia Aspera remained effectively independent, except perhaps for a narrow strip along the coast (cf. Houwink ten Cate 1961 31).

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[90] CT 46, no. 45, cited also by Hawkins (2000 43 n. 76), who notes that the attribution to Nebuchradezzar is not absolutely certain.

[91] In the following period, from 401 to the conquests of Alexander the Great in 333, Cilicia was directly governed by a Persian satrap.

During the Hellenistic period the Seleucids and the Ptolemies contested control over the Cilician region. But Cilicia Aspera was probably little affected, and again with the possible exception of a narrow coastal strip maintained its independence from both powers. In the second century BCE its coast area served as a base for the notorious Cilician pirates who infested the eastern Mediterranean until crushed by Pompey the Great in 67 BCE. During Pompey's campaign against the pirates, Cilicia Aspera succumbed, finally, to foreign rule. It became part of the new Roman province Cilicia, which extended through southern Anatolia between the provinces of Asia in the west and Syria in the east. Even then, notes Houwink ten Cate (1961 34), Cilicia was to a large extent governed by indigenous monarchs, including the Teucrid dynasty in Olba, a site whose inscriptions have provided a particularly large number of names that are characteristically Luwian. Subsequently, in the late Roman Republic, the province was divided up in a series of new administrative arrangements between local client kings, Syria, and the newly formed province of Galatia. Further changes were made in the first century CE by the emperor Vespasian. In the second century Cilicia became one of the components of the Triple Province, along with Lycaonia and Isauria.

6. *Lycia*

The country in southwestern Anatolia called Lycia by the Greeks and Romans provides the best attested and most striking example of continuity of Luwian population groups and culture in the first millennium BCE. Bordered by Caria to the northwest and Pamphylia to the northeast, and largely cut off from the inland by the Taurus mountain range, Lycia was part of the region referred to in Hittite texts as Lukka or the Lukka Lands. We have noted the inclusion of Lukka people in the first major Sea Peoples' incursions in the late thirteenth century as recorded by the pharaoh Merneptah. The fact that they are not mentioned in the record of the full-scale Sea Peoples' movements by both land and sea as recorded a few years later by Ramses III may or may not be an error of omission. But it seems that Lukka, or at least that part of it which later became known as Lycia, was one of the few regions of Anatolia to remain relatively unaffected by the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age. It may also have provided a new homeland for a number of Luwian-speaking groups

displaced from their original homelands in the Arzawa region and other Luwian-speaking regions of western Anatolia. Lycia's rugged terrain and relative isolation from the interior of Anatolia may help account for the persistence of Luwian ethnic and cultural elements in this region.

The first millennium names 'Lycia' (Λυκία) for the region and 'Lycians' (Λύκιοι) for its inhabitants are Greek names, first attested in Homer's *Iliad*. The actual occupants of the region called their country *Trm̃misa* and themselves *Trm̃mili*, for reasons we shall discuss below. The Greek names are almost certainly an unwittingly preserved relic of the Bronze Age name Lukka (cf. Laroche 1987-90 183-184). Presumably the name had found its way into early Greek tradition where it was retained on the mistaken assumption that it was Greek in origin. Hence the various attempts to explain it in Hellenocentric terms. According to Herodotos (1.173, 7.92), it was due to the Athenian refugee Lykos, son of the Athenian king Pandion, who had been banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus and found refuge in the country of the Termilae which was subsequently named after him. An alternative and rather more attractive tradition is that recorded by Antoninus Liberalis: the country's name was changed to Lycia by Leto, in honour of the wolves (λύκοι) who had guided her to the river Xanthos in her flight with her baby children Apollo and Artemis from the wrath of the goddess Hera (Antoninus Liberalis, *met.* 35.3, citing Menekrates of Xanthos and Nikander of Kolophon as his sources). In another version appearing in Alexander Polyhistor (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη), it was the Greek Bellerophon who changed the name of the people—from Tremili to Lykioi. In each case the explanation is based on the assumption of a Greek origin for the name. Coupled with this is the more general assumption that the name-change reflects the presence or the arrival of Greek elements in Lycia in the early stages of its development. We shall discuss below the period and extent of Greek influence in the country.

Although Lycia's first millennium inhabitants no longer used the name Lukka, they nonetheless retained a significant number of other Bronze Age place-names. Thus *Arñna* (the Lycian name for Xanthos)

is the Lycian derivative of Late Bronze Age Awarna,[92] Pinara of Pina[. Awarna and Pina[ ] are associated on two occasions in the Bronze Age texts. In the Milawata letter they appear in the context of an agreement between the Hittite king and the letter's recipient to exchange hostages; the former had agreed to hand over hostages from Awarna and Pina[ ] in exchange for hostages held by the latter from Utima and Atriya. Awarna and the forerunner of Pinara also appear together in the so-called YALBURT inscription, which records the conquests of Tudhaliya IV in the Lukka Lands.[93] Tlawa (the Lycian name for Tlos) is the Lycian derivative of T/Dalawa, Pttara (Greek Patara) of Patara,[94] Oenoanda of Wiyanawanda. With the exception of the last of these, all are names of settlements in the Xanthos valley, the homeland in Homeric tradition of the Lycian participants in the Trojan War (see Bryce 1986 13).

The survival of such a cluster of names of Bronze Age origin denoting towns or communities in close proximity to each other seems to point to stable, continuing settlement in the region, which remained relatively unaffected by the upheavals associated with the demise of the major Bronze Age kingdoms. Of course we cannot be altogether sure that the places so called in the first millennium were in fact Bronze Age foundations of the same name, or indeed that they were built on sites with an earlier occupation level. To date, Bronze Age finds in Lycia have been meagre in the extreme.[95] In fact it is only by cross-referencing information contained in the second millennium texts that we can claim Lycia to have been part of the Lukka Lands and thus inhabited by a Luwian-speaking population. Absolute proof of this still requires confirmation from archaeological evidence.

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[92] For the former equation of *Arñna* with the Bronze Age place-name Arinna and the possibility that Awarna and Arinna are different names for the same place, see Keen (1998 57).

[93] The full form of the name for Pinara is not preserved in the Milawata letter. For very different interpretations of the spelling in YALBURT see Poetto (1993 29 n. 43) and Hawkins (1995 81).

[94] A Mt. Patara is referred to in Block 4 of the Yalburt inscription. The identification with Lycian Patara is discussed by Poetto (1993 33, 80); Mellink (1995 190); Carruba (1996 32).

[95] Except in parts of the interior, particularly in the region of the Elmalı plain where there are a number of Bronze Age mounds, including the excavated Early Bronze Age site of Karataş Semayük.

At present, the earliest known site in Lycia is Xanthos whose discovered remains date back to no earlier than the eighth century. A number of buildings of this period have been excavated on the city's acropolis. But we may reasonably assume settlement on or near the site prior to this, given its prime location on the river also called Xanthos by the Greeks,[96] and assuming that Lycia was part of Bronze Age Lukka territory. More generally, there is no reason why the Xanthos valley should not have been as favoured an area for settlement in the second millennium as it was in the first, with continuity between the two periods. That may well explain the location of a number of first millennium settlements in the valley with Bronze Age names. One can but hope that clear evidence for Bronze Age settlement at Xanthos and other Xanthos valley sites will one day emerge.

6.1 *Legendary Traditions*

Several Greek legendary traditions are suggestive of links between the first millennium inhabitants of Lycia and their Bronze Age ancestors. Most notable is the Homeric tradition which makes the Lycians under their leaders Sarpedon and his cousin Glaukos Troy's chief and most aggressive allies in the Trojan War. The Lycians' prominence in the conflict is particularly noteworthy given that they were the most remote of Troy's allies. Homer himself emphasizes this in expressions like τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης ('from far-off Lycia') (*Iliad* 2.877). Does the Homeric tradition have some basis in fact? We have drawn attention to the name *LJuqqa* which appears first in the list of twenty-two countries terminating with *Wilusiya* and *Taruisa* in the so-called Assuwan confederacy. However, we have noted that the confederacy cannot be regarded as the prototype for Homer's Trojan Catalogue, as once suggested, and in any case dates to a period some two centuries before any feasible date for a Trojan War. On the other hand, alliances of the kind described in the *Iliad* did occur in Late Bronze Age western Anatolia, and undoubtedly Luwian-speaking peoples were directly involved in such alliances. It is not inconceivable that the tradition of Lycian participation in the Trojan War reflects one or more western Anatolian military alliances in which

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[96] It apparently had an alternative name Sibros or Sirbis; Panyasis ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη, Strabo 14.3.6.

the Lycians' Bronze Age ancestors played some part. This is more likely, I believe, than the suggestion that Lycia's involvement in the war is a purely Homeric invention, with Sarpedon introduced into the conflict to provide a worthy opponent for Patroklos, or that Homer's knowledge of the Lycians was based on a Lycian epic composed by a Greek poet for a Lycian prince some time before the end of the eighth century (thus Frei 1978).

In Book VI of the *Iliad*, Glaukos claims to be the grandson of the Greek hero Bellerophon. By implication, his cousin Sarpedon was also Bellerophon's grandson. This provides one of several links in legend between Lycia and the Greek world. Bellerophon, from Argos in the Peloponnese, had been sent to Lycia by the Argive king Proitos with a letter (in the form of folded tablets) for Proitos' father-in-law Iobates, the king of Lycia. Proitos wrongly believed that Bellerophon had attempted to seduce his wife Anteia, and called on Iobates to put him to death. Unwilling to carry out the death penalty himself, for the letter-bearer was his guest and deserved his protection, Iobates called upon Bellerophon to engage in combat with three formidable enemies of the kingdom—the fire-breathing monster Chimaera, the Solymians (an aggressive native tribe of the region), and the tribe of female warriors called the Amazons. He assumed that his guest would be killed in one or other of these conflicts. But Bellerophon survived them all, defeating each of his adversaries in turn. As a reward Iobates married him to his daughter and presented him with half his kingdom.[97]

The several narrative themes in Homer's Bellerophon episode reflect common literary *topoi* which obviously have little value for any historical purposes.[98] Even so, the fact that our earliest Greek literary source claims family links between Lycia and a mainland Greek kingdom may not be altogether without significance. Of particular interest is the letter which Bellerophon delivered to the Lycian king: 'So into Lycia he (Proitos) sent him, charged to bear a deadly cipher, magical marks Proitos engraved and hid in folded tablets' (*Iliad* 6.168-169, transl. R. Fitzgerald). This is the only occasion on which Homer makes reference to writing in either the

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[97] The *locus classicus* for this story is Homer, *Iliad* 6.155-197.

[98] There are, for example, a number of well known parallels to the story of Anteia's false claim against Bellerophon, including the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphor's wife (*Genesis* 39).

Iliad or the *Odyssey*. It shows at least a knowledge of writing in Homer's time, and an assumption that literacy was a feature of the age in which the *Iliad* is set, the last century of the Bronze Age by our reckoning. In fact Homer's words reflect a common scenario in Bronze Age international communications: two kingdoms are linked by a marriage alliance; the ruler of one, who is the husband of the other's daughter, makes a request of his father-in-law; he does so in a letter written in a language accessible to both parties, though quite possibly the native language of only one of them, or neither of them. Indeed it has been suggested that the 'magical marks' and 'deadly cipher' of the letter might indicate that the letter was written in Luwian cuneiform, perhaps by a Luwian scribe living in the court of the Greek king (first suggested by Tritsch (1967); cf. Bellamy (1989)).

We have referred above to the tradition which credits the building of the walls of Tiryns in Mycenaean Greece to giants from Lycia. This provides us with a rather more tangible link between the Lycians in Greek sources and the Bronze Age Luwians. As we have noted, the tradition is entirely consistent with Hittite references to the importation of large numbers of western Anatolians, specifically Lukka people, into the Mycenaean Greek world, and at least compatible with Linear B references to the recruitment of labour from western Anatolia for the Mycenaean palace workforces.

In addition to the part he plays in the *Iliad* as leader of the Lycian forces at Troy, Sarpedon appears elsewhere in Greek literary tradition as leader of a group of migrants from Crete to Anatolia called the Termilae. According to Herodotos, the Termilae resettled in Lycia under Sarpedon, who was a Cretan prince forced to flee his homeland after quarrelling with his brother Minos (Herodotos 1.173; cf. Strabo 12.8.5, 14.3.10). In a slightly different tradition, Sarpedon founded Miletos, Bronze Age Millawanda, naming it after the Cretan city of his origin (Strabo 12.8.5, 14.1.6, citing Ephoros). Several ancient commentators have attempted to reconcile the Homeric and 'Cretan' traditions, for example by making the Lycian leader at Troy the grandson of the migrant from Crete (e.g. Diodoros 5.79.3). But the apparent discrepancy can most readily be explained as an instance of the quite common practice of associating many events in a country's

legendary or historical past with the name of a single local hero, irrespective of whether these events were spread over many centuries.[99]

In any case the claim that Lycia was settled by immigrants from Crete called the Termilae may have some validity, particularly since in their own language the Lycians invariably called themselves *Trm̃mili* and their country *Trm̃misa*.[100] Termilae is simply a Hellenized form of *Trm̃mili*, a name which also occurs in a neo-Babylonian cuneiform inscription from Nippur (dating to ca. 420 BCE) in the form [lú]*ta-ar-mi-la-a-a* (see Eilers 1940 208-10; Houwink ten Cate 1961 4). We might further note that the workmen referred to in the Persepolis fortification tablets as *Turmir/la, Turmir/liya* are probably also to be identified as Lycians (see Hallock 1969 29). Does the name then indicate a Cretan element in the Lycian population? Although several scholars have attempted to explain it linguistically within a Luwian context (e.g. Laroche 1976 19; Watkins 1986 47), none have done so conclusively. We cannot rule out the possibility that there was a population component in first millennium Lycia whose ancestors were of Cretan origin (perhaps originally settlers in western Caria) as consistently represented in Greek tradition (see also Bryce 1986 31). That would of course still leave open the question of when and how the name *Trm̃mili* came to be applied to the inhabitants of the entire region. We can simply note that if the name did represent one of the early population groups which occupied Lycia, this group must have exercised a strong political and cultural influence in the country, which led to the eventual adoption of its name as a general designation for the country's inhabitants as a whole.

There may well have been a number of foreign, non-Luwian elements in the early first millennium population of Lycia, including peoples from the Aegean world, who may have come to this region during the unsettled conditions of the twelfth century and later, including some of the so-called Sea Peoples whom Ramses III claims to have defeated and driven from the shores of Egypt. The inhospitable Lycian coastline is punctuated with several good harbours where landfalls by potential new settlers could have been made.

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[99] Cf. the exploits of Theseus who in Greek legendary tradition is a contemporary of the Greek warriors who fought at Troy, but also appears in Thucydides 2.15 as the author of *synoikismos* in Attica.

[100] For further detail on the sources relating to the Termilai/*Trm̃mili*, see Keen (1998 30).

Population movements associated with the arrival of new groups of Greek settlers along the Aegean coast of Anatolia ca. 1000 BCE could have extended to the southern coast as well. But during at least the first half of the first millennium, the Lycian population was almost certainly dominated by Luwian elements, as attested by their inscriptions and the names of their most significant deities. Some were no doubt the descendants of those who had long inhabited the region, others of those who had sought a new home there after their displacement from the more turbulent Luwian regions in the final years of the Late Bronze Age.

6.2 *Sources for the History of Lycia*

Our knowledge of Lycian history, like our knowledge of Bronze Age Luwian history, is very largely dependent on information provided by foreign sources. Again we must sound a warning about the limitations of such sources and the biasses and distortions which they often entail. Further, the first genuine historical references to Lycia date to no earlier than the sixth century BCE, and even then the information we can extract from such sources is scattered and largely incidental. We do have the name of a fourth century Lycian writer Menekrates of Xanthos, who composed a work called the *Lykiaka*.[101] But even if his composition had survived (it was in two volumes, of which only five fragments remain), it would probably have been of very limited value as far as the indigenous history of the region was concerned. At the time he wrote Lycia was already becoming strongly Hellenized, and Menekrates himself may have been a Greek immigrant to Lycia, or a first generation Lycian of Greek origin. (For other known writers of likely Lycian origin, see Keen 1998 4-5).

The first traces of epichoric inscriptions also date to the sixth century, though they do not begin to appear, or have not survived, in significant numbers until the latter part of the fifth century, and cease to be attested by the last quarter of the fourth century. What information of a historical nature they do supply is again very limited, even apart from the fact that the Lycian language is still, with the exception of a number of formulaic expressions, largely unintelligible. Most of the inscriptions simply provide burial instructions, and once

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[101] Referred to by Antoninus Liberalis *met.* 35 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Αρτύμνησος; see Asheri (1983 125-166).

we move beyond the simple stereotypical statements and instructions which they contain, the rest of the epigraphic material largely defies translation. Even so, the inscriptions do provide a few scraps of historical information which complement and occasionally supplement what we know of Lycian history from non-Lycian sources. Coin-legends also make a valuable contribution, particularly in view of the paucity of other material, to our knowledge Lycian history, or rather to our knowledge of a number of persons who figured prominently in the history.

6.3 *Patterns of Settlement*

If we think of Lycia as part of a region inhabited by a number of communities or tribal groups of (primarily) Luwian-speakers, many of which were nomadic or semi-nomadic in character, pasturing herds and flocks in the mountains through the hot summer months, and all largely independent of each other, that is probably the pattern that is in place in Lycia at the end of the Bronze Age and continuing until the early first millennium BCE. At the same time there were probably several settlements which achieved some prominence already in the Bronze Age, occupying a region which was conducive to a more stable, settled existence.

Almost certainly the Xanthos valley was the main area of settlement in Lycia in the early first millennium BCE. Indeed in Homeric tradition Lycia and the Xanthos valley appear to be virtually synonymous. Here along the banks of the tawny Xanthos river lay the deep-soiled kingdom of Sarpedon and Glaukos, rich in crops and orchards. The city of Xanthos, to use its Greek name, was probably the origin of a number of settlements in or near the Xanthos valley. According to Menekrates, Pinara and Artymnesos (the latter's precise location is still unknown), were founded by colonists from Xanthos (Menekrates ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Αρτύμνησος). And a tradition recorded by the fifth century BCE writer Panyasis (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη; see Bryce 1986 22) suggests that Xanthos, Tlos, and Pinara were regarded as forming an interrelated group of Lycian settlements, perhaps with close ethnic and kinship ties. These settlements may well have been early centres of the Lycian population, with the territory which they incorporated, or which lay between them, constituting the region politically identifiable as Lycia at least up to the time of the Persian conquest ca. 540 BCE. This does not mean that other areas which

later became part of the political organization of Lycian were uninhabited at this time. But for the most part their population was probably sparse, living in small communities, and perhaps largely semi-nomadic in character. They may have had a number of cultural and ethnic affinities with the Xanthos valley population, without being politically integrated with it.

We should probably then think of a politically identifiable unit called Lycia as originally just one part of a broader region which we might think of as Lycia in an ethno-cultural sense—a region whose population had a common basic culture but no overall political coherence. Perhaps the terms *Trm̃mili* and *Trm̃misa*, whatever their origin, were used initially of Lycia in a narrow sense but came to have increasingly wider application as the whole of 'cultural' Lycia became absorbed within a single political framework. This had occurred by the late sixth or early fifth century. We shall consider below how this process may have occurred.

6.4 *Some Historical Information*[102]

The first foreign state to have any significant contact with Lycia in the first millennium was almost certainly Rhodes. Throughout its history Lycia's relationship with Rhodes seems to have been a consistently hostile one. Indeed the tradition of enmity between the two neighbours may already have been foreshadowed in Sarpedon's contest with the Rhodian Tlepolemos in the *Iliad* 5.628-669. This is perhaps one of the later additions to the epic, possibly reflecting actual conflicts between Lycians and Rhodians early in the first millennium. In any case, the Rhodians had established one or more settlements on the southern Anatolian coast, in what was later to become the eastern part of Lycia (from the Arykandos river eastwards), dating back in one case at least to the early seventh century. Phaselis was founded by Greek colonists, almost certainly from Rhodes, in 691 BCE (see Bryce 1986 38 n. 47).

Apart from early conflicts with Rhodes, Lycia seems to have remained free of foreign interference until the last half of the sixth century due largely, perhaps, to its relative isolation from the Anatolian interior. As we have noted, Herodotos claims that the Cilicians

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[102] In general on Lycian history, see Bryce (1986); Frei (1990); Keen (1998). Keen provides the most comprehensive, up-to-date treatment.

and the Lycians were the only people unsubdued by the Lydian king Kroisos. However, like the Cilicians, the Lycians were eventually forced to submit to foreign overlordship ca. 540. This occurred when the Persian commander Harpagos campaigned in the region and met and defeated a small Lycian army on the plain lying north of the city of Xanthos. According to Herodotos (1.176), when the Lycians realized that defeat was inevitable they herded their wives, their children, their property, and their slaves into the acropolis, which they set ablaze and burnt to the ground. Then they made one last suicidal attack on Harpagos' troops and were killed to the last man. (For a detailed treatment of the Persian conquest and its aftermath, see Keen 1998 71-86.)

Henceforth Lycia became a subject state of the Persian Empire. Xanthos was rebuilt and repopulated, probably with Persian backing, and in 516/15 it was included among the countries constituting the first satrapy (Herodotos 3.90). Around this time, a local ruling dynasty was established in Xanthos. Almost certainly owing its elevation to Persian backing, it was to exercise authority over much of the country until the early years of the fourth century BCE. During this period, Lycia remained closely aligned with Persia, except in the middle decades of the fifth century when it became part of the Athenian Confederacy (see most recently Keen 1998 97-111). Its shift in allegiance at this time may not have been a voluntary one. Very likely the Athenian commander Kimon had used threats and intimidation to win it away from Persia during his campaigns in southern Asia Minor in the early 460s (see Bryce 1986 103-104). But Lycia had broken its ties with Athens by the beginning of the Peloponnesian War at the latest (431), and by the 420s had once more resumed its allegiance to Persia. This, no doubt, under the influence of the dynasty which appears to have retained its power in Xanthos during the preceding decades, in spite of its pro-Persian loyalties.

Yet the country seems to have been far from united in these loyalties. The Xanthian dynasty's adherence to its Persian overlords was probably the prime cause of the mounting opposition it now faced, leading to its decline and disappearance in the early years of the fourth century. In the wake of its demise a new leader emerged in the country, a man called Perikles from the city of Limyra, on the coast to the east of the Xanthos valley (see Bryce 1980; Keen 1998

148-170). The name of the famous fifth century Athenian statesman was very likely adopted by the new Lycian leader himself, to symbolize a renewal of cultural if not also political ties with the Greek world. After establishing his authority in eastern and central Lycia, Perikles extended his operations across the Xanthos river into western Lycia, where he encountered and defeated Artturñpara, probably the last of the pro-Persian rulers in the west, and conquered the western Lycian city of Telmessos.[103] Very likely it was under Perikles' leadership that Lycia participated in the satrap rebellion, which broke out in 367 BCE against the Persian king Artaxerxes II. If so, Perikles may well have perished in the conflict, for he is heard of no more, and the rebellion was decisively crushed nine years after its outbreak. Lycia once more had Persian sovereignty imposed upon it, and in the new administrative arrangements which followed, it lost much of the autonomy it had previously enjoyed under Persian rule. It was now placed under the immediate authority of the Carian satrap Mausolos and his successors.[104] This situation continued until the year 334/3 BCE, when Lycia was invaded by Alexander the Great and the country was henceforth permanently removed from Persian control (Plutarch, *Alex.* 17, Arrian *anab.* 1.24.4-6).

Our knowledge of these events is derived from a number of sources, mainly foreign, occasionally indigenous. From Herodotos we learn of Lycia's subjection to Persia, from Diodoros and the Athenian Tribute Lists of its alliance with Athens,[105] and from Thucydides (2.69) of Lycia's confrontation with Athenian forces early in the period of the Peloponnesian War, resulting in the death of the Athenian commander Melesander. Perikles' military exploits are referred to briefly by two Greek writers, Polyaenos (*strat.* 5.42) and Theopompos (as in n. 103), and these references are complemented by a few scraps of information that can be gleaned from the epichoric inscriptions. As we have noted, TL 104b records Perikles' defeat of Artturñpara.

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[103] His defeat of Artturñpara is recorded in the inscription TL 104b. His conquest of Telmessos is recorded by Theopompos ap. Photius, *bib.* 176, 120a, 14-17 (Jacoby 115 F 103, 17).

[104] Information relating to this is found in the 'trilingual inscription', in Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic versions, discovered in the Letoon and published by Neumann (1979a 44-47) as N 320.

[105] Diodoros 11.60.4. For the references to Lycia in the Tribute Lists, see Bryce (1998 105).

6.5 *The evidence of the coinage*

One of our chief sources of information on the internal organization of Lycia is provided by the Lycian coinage. Several thousand coins are known from Lycia, the overwhelming majority of which are silver, though there are a small number of bronze coins dating to the early decades of the fourth century. The coins have come to light in a total of twenty-eight coin-hoards from a variety of provenances— some within Lycia, some outside it. Although a large number of the coins have only figural motifs, many also bear legends, either a personal name, a city-name, or both. Approximately forty prominent Lycians, including members of the Xanthian dynasty, issued coins bearing their own names in various regions of the country (see Mørkolm and Neumann 1978), and using several several different weight standards (see Mørkholm 1964). These coins throw important light on the administrative organization of the country during the dynastic period.

The earliest inscribed coins date from ca. 500 BCE and bear the Greek letters KYB, very likely the first three letters of the Greek name Kybernis, the leader according to Herodotos (7.98) of the Lycian naval contingent in Xerxes' armada.[106] His name is almost certainly the Hellenized version of the epichoric form Kuprlli. This is a prominent name in the Xanthian dynasty, set up in Xanthos in the wake of the Persian conquest. It appears in abbreviated form in epichoric coin legends dating to the period 460-40 BCE, where it is doubtless the name of a descendant and namesake of Herodotos' Kybernis (on the younger Kuprlli, see Keen 1998 112-124). It also appears in the 255-line inscription on the so-called and still largely unintelligible Xanthos stele inscription (TL 44a 1-3, 30-31), datable to the late fifth-early fourth century, along with the names of other persons who belong within the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasty. Other inscriptions, in Greek as well as in Lycian, and other coin legends provide complementary information about the members of this dynasty which include Kheriga, the grandson of the Kuprlli named on the Xanthos stele. From die-linked coins bearing the names of grandfather and grandson, we learn that Kheriga succeeded his grandfather in the dynastic seat, and like his predecessors issued

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[106] The name and paternal identification in Herodotos should be read 'Kybernis, son of Kossikas', and not, as usually read, 'Kyberniskos, son of Sikas'.

coins in various regional centres of the country as well as in Xanthos itself. Other members of the dynasty include Kherẽi, the younger brother and successor of Kheriga, Merehi, and Kheriga's son Erbbina, probably the last member of the dynasty.[107]

Apart from the Xanthian dynasts some forty or more other Lycians are known to have issued coins in various parts of the country, most of them in the period extending from the first half of the fifth century through the first half of the fourth; and in several cases, the same person apparently minted coins in different parts of the country, both east and west of Xanthos. How do we account for all these within the country's administrative structure? The local coin-issuer probably functioned as some kind of regional administrator who was account-able to the dynast in Xanthos, who was in turn accountable to the Persian satrap and he in turn to the Persian king. The authority of the Xanthian dynasty depended on the support and cooperation of the coin-issuers as well as of other important persons and family groups in the regional centres. The Xanthos stele inscription makes reference to many prominent Lycians, known from coin legends and other inscriptions, who were apparently involved in collaborative enter-prises with the Xanthian dynasty—until the dynasty disappeared in the years prior to the satrap rebellion.

6.6 *Lycia in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*[108]

With the disintegration of Alexander's empire after his death in 323, Lycia came first under the control of Antigonos of Macedon, and subsequently under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule. However, on the defeat of the Seleucid king Antiochos III by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 190 BCE, Lycia was brought within the Roman sphere of influence. In 43 CE, the emperor Claudius joined Lycia with the neighbouring country of Pamphylia and made it a Roman province. For the next three centuries, Lycia remained firmly under Roman rule.

Early in the second century BCE, the Lycians formed a federation amongst their cities which was to continue in existence until the fourth century CE. The Lycian League, or *koinon*, met regularly to

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[107] On the dynasty in general and the family relationships within it, see Bryce (1982).

[108] See also Keen (1998 175-181).

discuss and decide upon matters of war, foreign alliances, and diplo-matic missions. It also had important judicial functions. There were twenty-three member-cities of the League, categorized according to their size and importance, with corresponding voting powers (for primary information on the League, see Strabo 14.3.3). The six most important cities were Xanthos, Patara, Pinara, Olympos, Myra, and Tlos. Meetings of the League were conducted under the presidency of an annually elected Lykiarch. Although the League lost much of its autonomy when Lycia became a Roman province, it continued to give the Lycians a strong sense of social and political coherence throughout the period of the Roman domination.

6.7 *Greek elements in Lycia*

By the second half of the sixth century BCE, Lycia had established a number of contacts with the Greek world, as reflected in its adoption of the Greek alphabet for writing its own language and the finds of Greek pottery in the region, especially east Greek and Attic. Through-out the fifth century Lycia became increasingly receptive to Greek commercial contacts and cultural influences, despite its political alignment with Persia. This is indicated both by the apparent increase in Attic imported pottery in this period (see Metzger 1972 192-195) as well as by the Greek iconography and style of a number of the tomb reliefs (see Childs 1981 61). Further evidence of increasing Greek influence on the indigenous civilization is provided by the growing number of Greek deities making their appearance in Lycia from the late fifth century onwards. Images of these deities now begin to feature on the coinage of the country (see Mørkholm and Zahle 1976 70-79), and by the end of the century they appear in inscriptions as recipients of sacrificial and votive offerings.

By the early fourth century a syncretistic process seems to have been underway. Beginning in the late fifth century, this had led to several explicit identifications between Luwian and Greek deities. Most notably, the Luwian mother goddess appearing in the epichoric inscriptions as *ẽni mahanahi*, 'mother of the gods', was equated with and eventually supplanted by the Greek goddess Leto (see Bryce 1983). Leto's daughter Artemis first appears in a Lycian context in the Xanthos stele inscription (TL 44c 8), and subsequently the cult of Apollo was established in the country. Under Greek influence the cult of mother and children gained in importance through the Hellenistic

and Roman periods, as indicated by the substantial remains unearthed at the sanctuary near Xanthos called the Letoon, where temples associated with the three deities have come to light, and by the designation of the divine triad as the πατρῶι θέοι, the country's national gods.

The sheltered harbours of Lycia provided several convenient ports of call for commercial shipping in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greek shipping in a world of expanding Greek commercial enterprise along the coastlands of the eastern Mediterranean following the end of the Peloponnesian war. And no doubt Greek commercial contacts with Lycia greatly facilitated the spread of Greek culture in the country and the reception into Lycian society of increasing numbers of resident Greeks. This may in part be reflected in the appearance of Greek inscriptions from the late fifth century onwards alongside the epichoric inscriptions. Greek appears on some twenty occasions in the inscriptions, generally paired with the native language in full bilingual or part bilingual texts, in both sepulchral and votive contexts.

Twenty-eight Greek names, some in Lycian form, appear in the Lycian inscriptions and coin legends. Of these we can conclude that at least twenty-two were permanent settlers in Lycia (Bryce 1990 537-539). While it is possible that Greek names were occasionally assumed by Lycians of purely indigenous stock, we should allow the possibility that most if not all of these twenty-two persons were at least partly Greek in origin. Even so, the Greek names represent only a small proportion of the total number of personal names attested in our sources for this period. The overwhelming number of names are of indigenous origin and, as such, provide a strong argument against any suggestion that Greeks settled in Lycia in significant numbers during the epichoric period. At least, that applies to persons who were likely to own inscribed tombs or be granted burial space in such tombs.

But following Alexander's conquest, Lycia became increasingly subject to the political, military, and commercial interests of a range of foreign powers, both Near Eastern and Greek. Foreigners were now settling in Lycia in ever greater numbers. And by far the greatest proportion of these came from the Greek world. From the third century onwards the number of Greek inscriptions found in Lycia rapidly increases, indicating a substantial growth in the Greek

population of the country, the thousands of Greek names in the inscriptions far outweighing the small number of Lycian, Persian, and other foreign names. Indeed in the first century BCE Cicero, who knew something of the Lycians since there were Lycians in his army during his governorship of Cilicia, refers to them simply as a 'Greek people' (*In Verrem*, 4.10.21).

To what extent did indigenous elements survive in Lycia in the Greco-Roman period? In this case arguments from silence are not entirely conclusive. As we have noted, most of our information about the country is based on the observations or second-hand information of foreigners who for the most part have a Hellenocentric bias and show little understanding of or interest in the country's indigenous practices. Undoubtedly the ever-increasing Greek influence on Lycia led to a corresponding decline in the indigenous practices and customs of the country, many of which may have extended back into the days of the Lycians' Bronze Age ancestors. And indeed much of our written information about Lycia, especially that which appears in literary sources, refers to a civilization that had already been substantially Hellenized. Strabo (14.3.3) claims that because of their good government the Lycians remained free under the Romans, retaining many of their ancestral customs. But the customs to which he refers were probably Greek in origin. Already by the end of the fourth century BCE Lycia had become in many respects an extension of the Greek world. Even the fact that the Lycians had a language of their own seems to have aroused little interest, to judge from the silence of our literary records on the matter.

In fact it is difficult to identify in our sources any custom or practice which might be regarded as distinctively Lycian. The few references we have in Greco-Roman literature to Lycian social traditions, customs, and characteristics are largely anecdotal and in some cases misleading. For example, the account of matrilineality, which Herodotos (1.173) claims sets the Lycians apart from all other people, almost certainly represents exceptional rather than standard practice in native Lycian society, to judge from the sepulchral inscriptions. The custom of interring the dead in rock-cut tombs or sarcophaguses represents a certain continuity in tradition, though to judge from the names of the tomb occupants in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the continuity of the custom was due to the Greeks rather than to an ongoing indigenous element in the Lycian population.

Yet we should not too readily assume that the indigenous civilization succumbed uniformly throughout Lycia to the influences of Greek and Roman civilization. These influences were probably most marked in the important urban centres of the region, particularly those most accessible to the sea. In the less accessible regions, and particularly in small rural communities, there may well have been a much greater persistence of elements of the indigenous civilization. Of course by their very nature such communities were unlikely to leave their mark on either the material or the written record, or to attract the attention or the interest of those who put their observations on the Lycians into writing.

Until the late fourth century BCE the Lycians can probably be identified as primarily a Luwian people, perhaps in the majority of cases direct descendants of the Bronze Age Lukka people. This on the basis of the language of their inscriptions, and many of the personal and divine names which figure in these inscriptions. And some of their legendary traditions may derive at least in part from their Bronze Age past. We have yet to determine the extent to which other traditions observable in Lycian society are relics of this past or represent new developments, new departures in the dramatically changed world that came about following the end of the Bronze Age.

7. Some Final Observations

Our attempts to construct a history of the post-Bronze Age Luwian peoples in other parts of southern Anatolia during the early centuries of the first millennium involve a major assumption: that the appearance of small numbers of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions in particular regions reflects an actual presence of Luwian populations in these regions. Such an assumption does not of course preclude the presence of non-Luwian elements there as well (particularly in Que, covering in part Bronze Age Kizzuwatna, where there may well have been a continuing Hurrian element), nor does it necessarily imply that Luwian elements were numerically dominant in these regions. We should allow that the inscriptions could have been the work of a minority ruling class, or caste, ethnically and culturally different from those over whom they exercised authority. Similarly, the 'recognizably Anatolian' names of Tabalic rulers like Tuatti, Kikki, and Puhamme as attested in Assyrian texts (see Hawkins 2000 427) do not necessarily reflect the ethnicity of the population of the region

as a whole.[109] Nor can we tell whether those who spoke the language of the inscriptions had longstanding local connections. It is possible that in some cases they were the descendants of comparatively recent arrivals in search of new lands to settle after displacement from their original homelands. That is suggested, for example, by the Mopsos tradition.

We should bear in mind that the hieroglyphic script was initially adopted by the Great Kings of Hatti as the preferred medium for recording their exploits in monumental form, more suitable for this purpose than the cuneiform script most commonly used for communications and records on clay. Luwian began as and remained the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, even though, in the Late Bronze Age at least, this was very rarely the language of the authors or commissioners of the inscriptions.[110] In other words, the discovery of a hieroglyphic inscription in a particular region is not in itself an unquestionable indicator that this was a Luwian-occupied zone. Late Bronze Age hieroglyphic inscriptions, even in provincial areas of the Hittite kingdom, were generally a hallmark of Hittite royalty. An obvious exception is the Karabel inscription of Tarkasnawa, the thirteenth century ruler of the Luwian-speaking western Anatolian kingdom of Mira. But that was inscribed in the final decades of the Late Bronze Age, at a time when Mira's king had assumed an unprecedently powerful role in western Anatolian affairs, and very likely enjoyed a far higher status in his relations with the Great King of Hatti than had any of his predecessors or contemporaries in the Hittite subject states.

We should therefore be careful not to make any *a priori* assumption that the language in which the Iron Age hieroglyphic monuments were written was in common use in the regions where they were found. The significant point is that the hieroglyphic tradition was a carry-over from Hittite royalty, and like the title 'Great King' was one of the trappings of kingship adopted by later and lesser kings. The royal titulature was subsequently maintained by post-Bronze Age kings and princes who often sought to represent themselves in the mould of the Great Kings of Hatti.

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[109] Though a broader cross-section of the local populace appears in the Anatolian-type names found in the KULULU lead strips; see Hawkins (2000 431, 503-513).

[110] For a summary of suggested reasons for the use of Luwian rather than Hittite (Nesite) for the monumental inscriptions on stone, see Hawkin (2000 3 n. 17).

While this point needs to be made, it by no means implies that the populations where the post-Bronze Age Anatolian inscriptions have been found were *not* predominantly Luwian. Indeed we have suggested that already by the middle of the second millennium these regions had a substantial Luwian population, and that the Luwians as a whole constituted the largest population groups in Anatolia. If anything the Luwian populations of southern Anatolia may have increased with the collapse of the Bronze Age civilizations and the likely displacement of western Anatolian Luwian groups southwards and eastwards, and perhaps even beyond the southeastern corner of Anatolia into northern Syria. But are the arguments for this any more than circumstantial?

The attestation of a significant number of Luwian names in the regions of the hieroglyphic inscriptions would provide strong additional evidence that these regions had substantial Luwian populations. Unfortunately few correlations of this kind can as yet be established. The total number of Luwian names in the regions where hieroglyphic inscriptions have been found is at present very small. On the other hand, we have noted that Luwian onomastic elements are clustered particularly in Cilicia Aspera and Lycia, neither of which has produced any hieroglyphic inscriptions. Nevertheless these regional onomastic clusters seem clearly to attest the survival of Luwian elements in parts of southern Anatolia long after the cessation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions and well into the Hellenistic period. A distinctive feature of the Lycian civilization is the survival of some 200 Luwian-based epichoric inscriptions written in a Greek-derived alphabetic script and ranging in time from the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE. These inscriptions, taken together with the many examples of Luwian onomastic elements which they provide, indicate that Lycia retained a strong Luwian presence, almost certainly a continuation from Bronze Age Lukka, until at least the last third of the first millennium when this presence seems to have gradually faded before the ever-increasing influx of Greek population and cultural elements.

Finally, do we have evidence for Luwian settlement in Iron Age Syria? It may be that Luwians came here in increasing numbers in the post-Bronze Age centuries, though there is little material or historical evidence for a significant Luwian presence in the region. The *comparatively* large number of hieroglyphic inscriptions found at neo-Hittite sites in Syria should not have undue significance

attached to them in this respect, for reasons similar to those given above in connection with the hieroglyphic inscriptions of southern Anatolia. Admittedly the appearance on lead strips of letters and economic documents written in the hieroglyphic script seems to indicate a wider use of the script in this period, as Hawkins (2000 3) points out. He adds that since documents of this kind would normally have been written on perishable materials like wood, leather, and papyrus, there is a likelihood that all types of texts for which the Hittites used cuneiform were now written in this way (and for that reason lost for all time).

That is quite possible, and raises the question of why the cuneiform script apparently died out in the neo-Hittite world, given that it had behind it a strong scribal tradition, and in many respects must have been a much more practicable medium of communication than the more cumbersome hieroglyphic script. While the lead strips *suggest* the possibility of Luwian chancelleries in the neo-Hittite states, we must await a greater range of finds of this nature before speculating at any length on the existence of such chancelleries and the implications of their existence. In any case, other independent forms of evidence would have to be produced in order to warrant the assumption that Luwian epigraphic developments reflected or arose out of a substantial Luwian population in the neo-Hittite states of northern Syria. That is to say, we need more comprehensive indications of a significant Luwian presence in Iron Age Syria before we can justifiably include the neo-Hittite states of the region in a historical survey of the Luwian-speaking peoples.[111]

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[111] On the history of these states see Jasink (1995) and the respective sections on historical context in Hawkins (2000).