

The Hittites at Mersin-Yumuktepe: Old Problems and New Directions

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Abstract

In this paper, after a brief presentation of the excavations undertaken in the 1930's at Mersin-Yumuktepe (Cilicia), the "Hittite" label for the different layers and the dates Garstang assigned to them are reassessed. Equally re-evaluated are the synchronisms proposed between these former excavations and the ones currently undertaken. As a result, Garstang's chronological sequence remains valid as a broad outline, but it is too early to give a detailed picture of the Hittite presence at Yumuktepe. With the new excavations, some points are confirmed while new questions arise, on which some comments are offered here.

Introduction

Yumuktepe is a large mound, covering nearly 5 ha, with a 300 m diameter and a summit 23 m above the current plain (25 m at the time of the first excavations in the 1930's). Since it overlooks the outlet from Rough Cilicia and the entrance into Smooth Cilicia, and lies on the border between these two distinct topographic regions, Yumuktepe in the Hittite period may have been situated near a political border as well. Though this border is not well understood and most probably shifted throughout this time, the Šunaššura Treaty would have it separating the Hittite zone in the west (Rough Cilicia), from the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna in the east (Smooth Cilicia); during the Hittite Empire, Kizzuwatna

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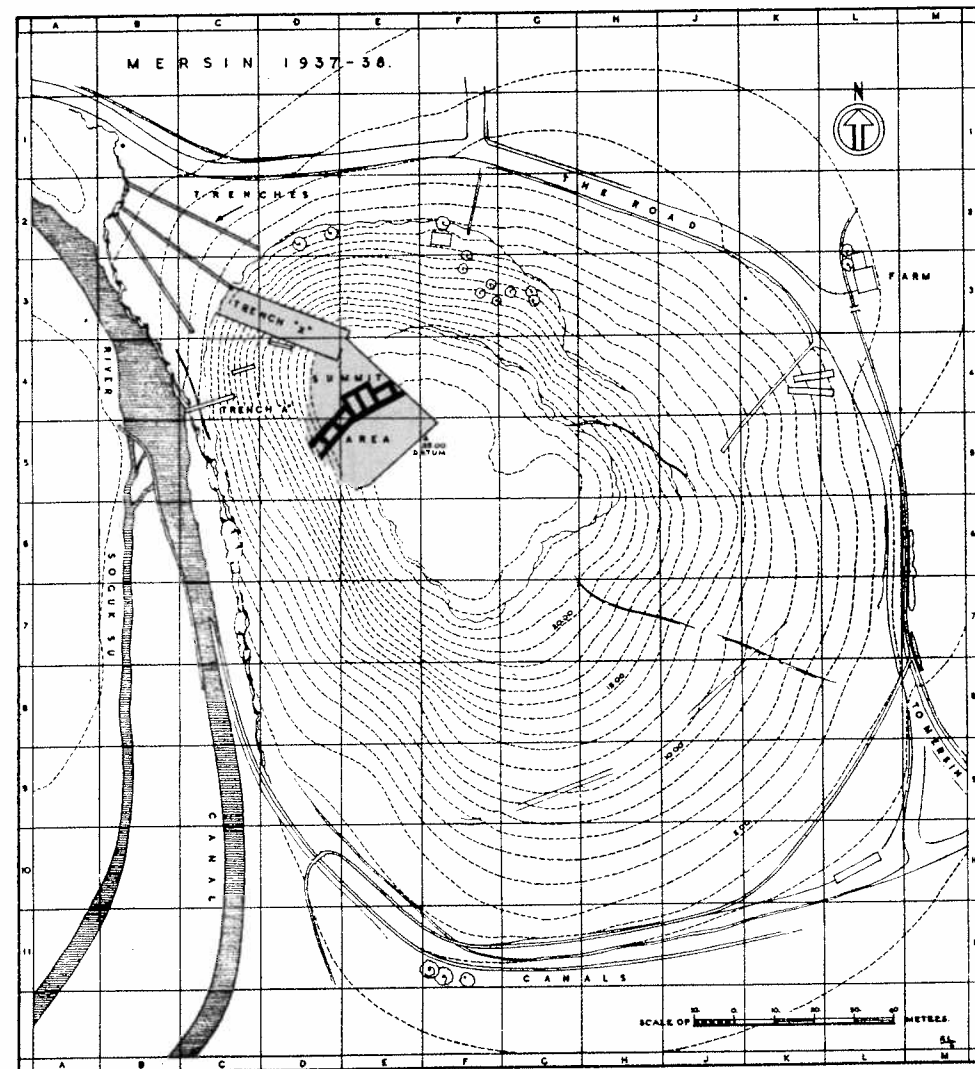


Fig. 1 Contour map of Mersin-Yumuktepe 1938 (after Garstang 1953, fig. 2).

was annexed to the Empire. The western region eventually became part of Tarḫuntašša, if not the region of Ura.¹

Garstang's original excavations on the western part of the site² attested the presence of a fortification wall in level VII, in use until level V, and identified by the excavator as "the Hittite fortifications" (figs. 1–2). Associated with a pottery showing its best parallels with Central Anatolia, the sequence of levels VII to V was attributed to the "Imperial Hittite Period" by the British archaeologist, and dated from ca. 1500 to 1200 BC. Garstang had

¹ See Hawkins (1995a, 49–57; 1995b, 144–145; 2002, 144–145, 148–149), who extends Tarḫuntašša as far as Rough Cilicia, where it borders on Kizzuwatna on the coast, *versus* Dinçol et al. (2000; 2001), who discuss the possible location of the territory of Ura within Rough Cilicia, and Casabonne (2005), who makes some proposals about the boundaries of such a territory.

² Garstang 1937; 1938; 1939; 1940; 1953.

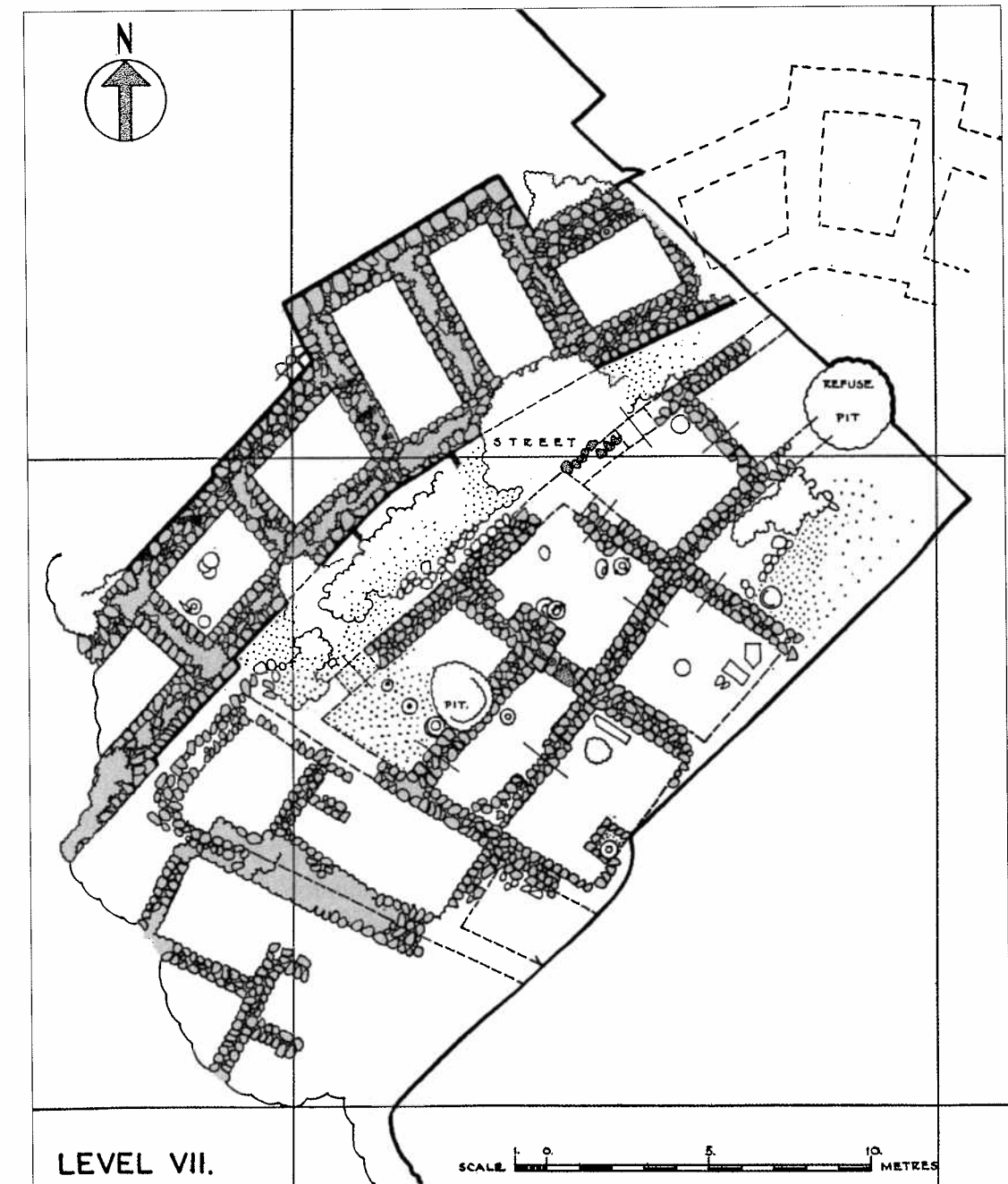


Fig. 2 Architectural remains and fortification wall in the Summit Area. Building levels VII–V (after Garstang 1953, fig. 151).

already pointed out a Hittite presence in the earlier level IX, on the basis of a bronze axe-head (fig. 4) very similar to examples found in Central Anatolia. Level IX was grouped with levels XI–VIII, defined as the "Cilician Hittite Period", and dated from ca. 2000 to 1500 BC. Nearly fifty years after Garstang's last campaign, excavations at Yumuktepe were reactivated under the direction of Isabella Caneva and Veli Sevin (Caneva/Sevin 2004). Late Bronze Age (LBA) levels were investigated again starting with the 1997 season.

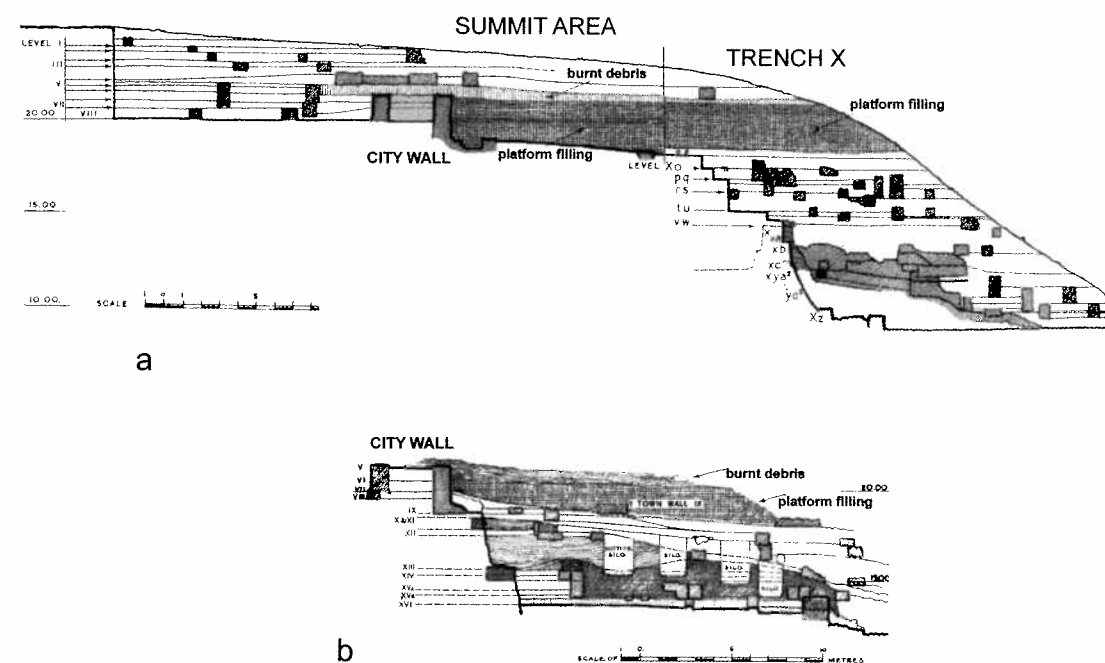


Fig. 3 - Published sections of the old excavations. (a) Composite section of summit area and trench X (after Garstang 1938, pl. XX). (b) Section of trench X (after Garstang 1939, pl. XXVI).

The aim of this paper is to see how far it is possible to define and date a *terminus a quo* and a *terminus ad quem* for the Hittite presence at Yumuktepe, and to evaluate the evolution of the material culture of Yumuktepe during the Hittite period in order to explain this presence. After a brief presentation of Garstang's results and interpretations, a reassessment of his "Hittite" labels and dates will be undertaken; then an evaluation of what the new excavations brought to light will be made. At the same time, the difficulties peculiar to Yumuktepe will be underlined, as will the potential offered by the site for a better understanding of Hittite archaeology.

1. Garstang's results and interpretations

The earlier excavators recognized two "Hittite" periods at Yumuktepe: the "Cilician Hittite" and "Imperial Hittite" periods, stratigraphically well separated by a city-wall and a "platform" in Level VII (figs. 2–3).³ As the city-wall was intended to be restored, no excavation was undertaken below it. Correspondence between the zones inside and outside the wall was made through the comparison of their ceramic material. In fact, the discovery of the same "platform" in Trench X, an 8 × 15 m sounding outside the wall, and in the "Main" or "Summit Area" (where the wall was exposed) also made it possible to connect the two areas stratigraphically (fig. 3a).

³ Garstang's results are summarized in Sevin/Koroğlu 2004, 73.

1.1. Levels XI to VIII: the "Cilician Hittite Period" (ca. 2000 to 1500 BC)

From the lower level to the upper one, the "Cilician Hittite" period consisted of levels XI to VIII. Garstang used the pottery types of Alişar Höyük as references to date the material (Garstang 1937, 53–54). Because of a real change from the pottery of preceding levels, level XI was dated to the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) according to synchronisms based on the presence at Kültepe of typical decorated pieces of the so-called Syro-Cilician Painted ware (e.g. Özgüç 1950, pl. LXXIX.617), a pottery well represented at Yumuktepe. This ware is characterized by its reddish brown to black decoration, with geometric motifs – triangles, hatching and "double-axe" or "butterfly" motifs – painted on pedestalled cups, carinated bowls (e.g. fig. 5.2) and jugs. The most diagnostic element of the jugs is the "eye" painted on either side of the rim, a zoomorphic feature reinforced by the globular body, narrow neck and trefoil mouth of the vase, which suggests a bird-like form (Garstang 1953, fig. 143.2). Garstang supposed that this painted eye- or "hawk-eye"-vase had a Syrian origin and would have reached Cilicia when the Assyrians went through this region on their way to Kültepe via the Cilician Gates (Garstang 1953, 210).

Syrian influence would not have stopped, however, the Anatolian monochrome pottery tradition dating back to the Early Bronze Age (EBA). This would give a local character to the evolution of the site (Garstang 1953, 214–215, figs. 145–146) and would explain the first term defining the period, "Cilician", which seems to refer to levels XI, X and probably IX; while the second term "Hittite" would concern the last level, its pottery indicating that the "Hittite period begins to develop at Level VIII" (Garstang 1953, 215). The "earliest trace of Hittite intervention" was however attributed to level IX, with the discovery of a bronze lugged axe-head similar to examples found in Central Anatolia, an "intervention" dated from ca. 1600 BC and synchronized "with the descent of Muršili I towards Aleppo" (fig. 4).⁴ The possibility of a city-wall existing in the same level was proposed, a wall which would have enclosed a larger city than the one in the later level VII (fig. 3b).⁵ Level VIII appears actually to have been considered a transition between the two periods, since it is included in the title of both parts, I and II, of the final report's chapter X (Garstang 1953, vii, 209, 237).

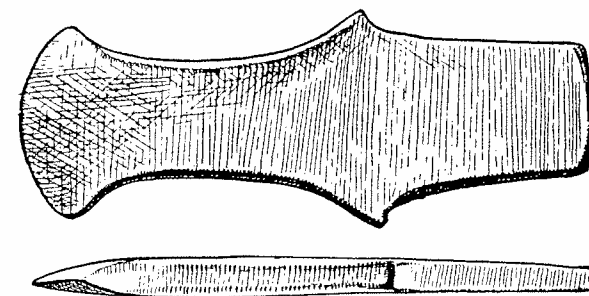


Fig. 4 Bronze axe head of Level IX (after Garstang 1953, fig. 129).

To sum up, level XI was dated to the Assyrian Trading Colony period and would have begun ca. 2000 BC, whereas levels X, IX and VIII would date to the beginning of the Hittite historical period, the Old Kingdom, this first Hittite presence being determined by the axe-head of ca. 1600 BC. Finally, the end of the whole period was sealed and dated by the beginning of level VII.

⁴ Garstang 1953, 211–213, fig. 129, pl. XXIXb.

⁵ Garstang 1953, 213, fig. 128; 1939, pl. XXVI; Lloyd 1940, pl. LXI top note.

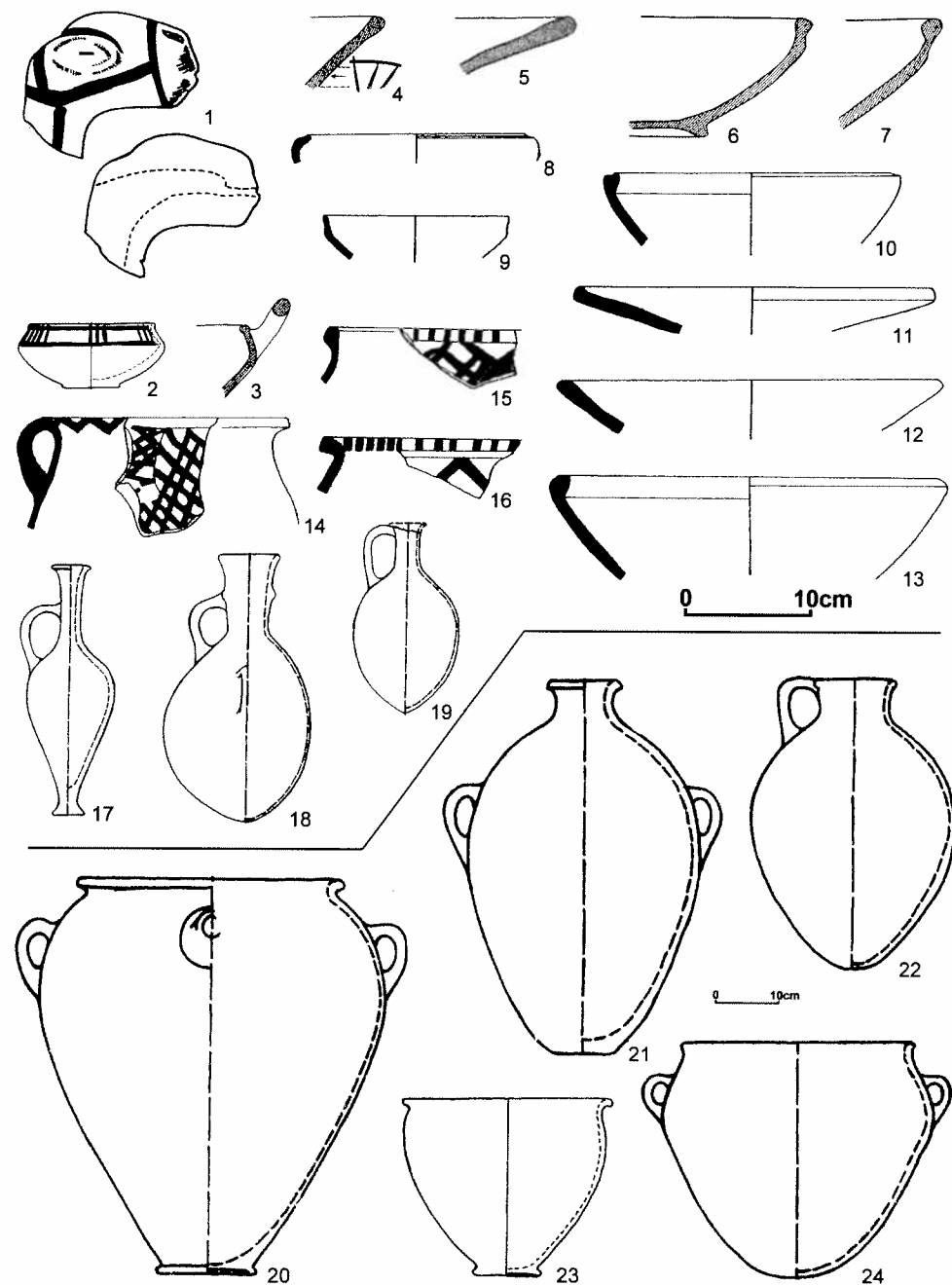


Fig. 5 Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery from the old (1-7, 17-24) and the new (8-16) excavations at Mersin-Yumuktepe. (1) Head fragment of a horse-shaped rhyton, level X (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LXV.11; no scale). (2) Red matt painted bowl, level IX (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LXVI.15). (3) Carinated bowl, level VI? (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LIV.13). (4) Deep bowl with hieroglyphic sign, probably REX = king, level V (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LVII.1). (5) Baking plate, level V (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LIV.8). (6-7) Carinated bowls (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LIV.10 [level VI?]; pl. LIV.11 [level VI]). (8-13) Different types of bowls from the South Step Trench (after Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 4.1, 5, 7; fig. 5.8; fig. 6.8-9). (14-16) Painted pottery from the South Step Trench (after Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 7.4-5, 8). (17-19) Small jugs (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LV.1-2 [level V], 4 [level VI?]). (20-24) Large vessels from levels IV-V (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LV.7 [level V], 11 [level V?], 12 [level VI?], 14 [level IV or V], 15 [level V]).

1.2. Levels (VIII-) VII to V: the "Imperial Hittite Period" (ca. 1500 to 1200 BC)

During this period, the site was defined as belonging to the Hittite cultural horizon, according to the pottery from level VIII onwards, and associated with the fortified city-wall, from level VII onwards. Garstang dated the beginning of this period ca. 1500 BC by associating wares resembling early Hittite pottery with the approximate date of the treaty signed between Telepinu of Hatti and Išputahššu of Kizzuwatna (Garstang 1953, 237-238). The reciprocal character of various treaties concluded between the two kingdoms suggested that the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna was not yet under the rule of Hatti. So, in Garstang's mind, "imperial" covered not only the 14th and 13th c., but also the preceding period, from Telepinu onwards, when Kizzuwatna was independent but linked to the Hittite Kingdom by treaties. On that basis, Garstang thought the fortification walls could have been built during Telepinu's reign (Garstang 1953, 238; 1939, 38), and proposed that Yumuktepe was the border city of Pitura, mentioned in the Šunaššura treaty (Garstang 1953, 241 n. 3). One important change was detected in level VI, with the total rebuilding and reorientation of the domestic architecture, while continuity was observable in level V, with the same houses reoccupied as in VI.

According to analysis of the pottery, this period was subdivided into two phases. The first one involved levels VIII and VII, where some continuity with the forms and Syrian motifs of levels X and IX was observed together with a change defined by a significant presence of painted pieces and burnished wares comparable to material from Central Anatolian Hittite centers (Garstang 1953, 241). The second phase concerned levels VI and V, with burnished sherds still numerous, some of them possibly from fragments of Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware (RLW-m ware) (e.g. fig. 6.5); but especially distinguished by a monochrome pottery similar to the "drab ware" of the Hittite Empire (figs. 5.4-7, 17-19), and a decrease in the painted ware. In this evolutionary scheme, Level VI represented a transition between levels VII and V. Indeed, whether still numerous or totally missing, depending on the various exposures of level VI, the painted pottery had almost disappeared in level V, in which the largely dominant pottery was "drab ware". An evolution was also detected in the imported ceramics of Cypriot origin, which were apparently absent in levels VIII and VII but found in VI and V (albeit in small numbers). The Base-Ring ware of level VI (e.g. see the probable "bilbil" in fig. 6.3; Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LV.5) was replaced by milk bowls with wishbone handles in level V (e.g. fig. 6.4; Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LVIII.4, 6). The occurrence in level VI or V of two sherds considered to be Late Mycenaean (fig. 6.1-2) and, in the Iron Age level IV, of five others considered Hellado-Cilician, suggested that level V, the last LBA level at Yumuktepe, ended ca. 1200 BC and that its destruction was connected to the invasion of the "Sea Peoples" (Barnett 1940, 100). Finally, the absence of "Granary" style pottery, in contrast to its presence at Tarsus, suggested that this destruction occurred earlier at Yumuktepe than at Tarsus, though it was prudently added: "We must bear in mind that only part of our site has been excavated, so this negative evidence is not conclusive." (Fitzgerald 1940, 131).

Level VII would date to the 15th c., the time of the treaties; Levels VI and V to the 14th and 13th c., the period following the annexation of Kizzuwatna by Hatti.

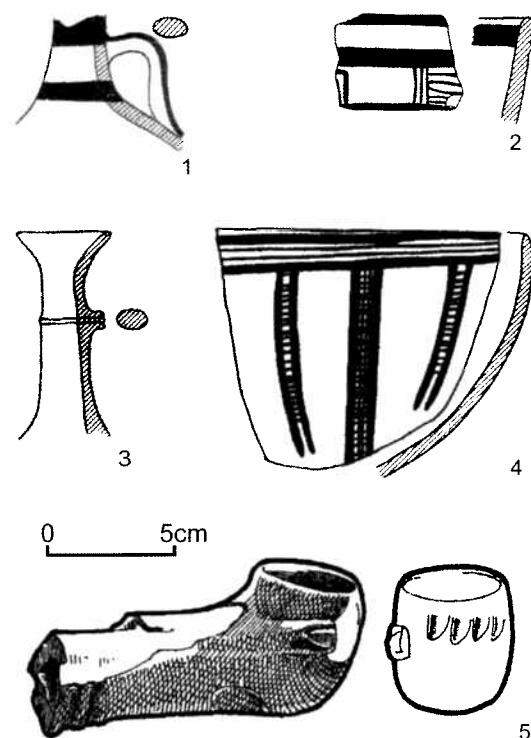


Fig. 6 Foreign pottery from Hittite levels at Mersin-Yumuktepe. (1-2) "Mycenaean" sherds, levels VI-V (after Garstang 1953, fig. 160.1-2). (3-4) Cypriot Pottery (after Fitzgerald 1940, pl. LV.5 [level VI?], pl. LVIII.4 [level V?]). (5) Arm-shaped vessel of Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware, level VII (after Fitzgerald 1940, fig. 2a.10; no scale).

2. Problems and comments

Garstang's judicious interpretations based on historical events were always proposed with caution. In fact, his chronological sequence remains valid as a broad outline. Nevertheless, moving beyond the general framework of this chronology to refine details in the site's evolution, one notices that the data he presented as evidence usually do not provide definitive proofs in themselves; in consequence, one feels a lack of chronological markers and some difficulty in defining the material identity clearly. This is partly due to limited excavation exposure and partly to the limits of knowledge at that time. Does another half-century of research in the eastern Mediterranean, in general, and Anatolia, in particular, allow a better understanding of Garstang's excavations at Yumuktepe? As already mentioned, according to the excavator, the Hittite character of the pottery begins in level VIII (Garstang 1953, 253); to evaluate more clearly this change, level VIII will be reviewed in the second period only.

2.1. Levels XI to IX

Concerning level XI, Syro-Cilician Painted ware is well represented in North Syria, but a Syrian origin is not yet demonstrated. A primary concentration in the Orontes Valley has been argued by some archaeologists, who thus call this pottery "Cilician-Amuq ware",

referring to a possible local development in both areas: the Amuq and Cilicia (Jamieson 2005 with references). On the strength of chronological synchronisms with Tell Açana and other sites, Merrillies and Tubb report that this ware is generally dated – in Palestinian chronological terms – to MB IIA (ca. 1900–1750 BC) (Merrillies/Tubb 1979). Syro-Cilician Painted pottery occurs in Kültepe-Kanesh II but not in Ib, where it seems to be replaced by Habur ware, which is not represented at Yumuktepe. This may be an indication of the local or regional development of Yumuktepe.

Thus, based on the Syro-Cilician Painted ware and parallels with Kültepe, level XI may be clearly dated to the MBA and approximately contemporary with Tarsus levels A.I–III, according to the new phasing proposed by Slane in her reassessment of the MB and LB architecture and pottery of Gözlü Kule (Slane 1987). Level XI with its several sub-levels (A, B, Z) may have lasted until ca. 1750 BC, roughly the end of the Assyrian Trading Colony period, if one accepts the dating of the Syro-Cilician Painted ware and the generally accepted MB IIA timeline of the Palestinian chronology.

Unfortunately, the dating of Yumuktepe levels X and IX remains a problem: was there a hiatus or continuity between the well-defined MB level (XI) and the probable first LB ones? A study of their architecture does not help to answer this question. The architecture of levels X and IX belongs to Anatolian traditions (see Schachner 1999, 178); but it is impossible to assess level XI's architecture because of its poor preservation, such that it cannot be determined whether the architecture of levels X and IX represents a continuity from level XI or a cultural reorientation. Disturbed by many pits, level XI gives the opportunity to recall the stratigraphic difficulties encountered by the excavators at Yumuktepe, whose settlement was laid out on terraces. Though understood by Garstang as far as the 2nd millennium levels are concerned (Caneva/Marcolongo 2004, 29), this terracing system did not ease the interpretation of the archaeological layers, where the same periods are represented at quite different elevations and the material may be mixed because of the slope, to say nothing of frequent pits. Unfortunately, a systematic rechecking of the excavation records is also not possible since the original drawings were destroyed in an air attack during the Second World War. Thus the final publication, often repeating preliminary reports verbatim, "was based on register books and field sketches", which led to "differences of scale and handiwork" with "many figures [...] shown in outline only" (Garstang 1953, vi).

Since very few examples of Syro-Cilician Painted ware are illustrated in Garstang's report for levels X and IX (fig. 5.2; Garstang 1940, pl. LXVI.10, 15), one may question whether these levels are indeed connected with level XI. A fragmentary zoomorphic vase discovered in level X recalls, as noticed by Garstang, the numerous rhyta found at Kültepe in MB contexts (fig. 5.1; Garstang 1940, 138, fig. 3; 147, pl. LXV), but this tradition does continue during the Hittite period with, for example, the bull-shaped ritual vessels of Boğazköy and Kuşaklı. On the other hand, some features of level XI's plain wares – plates, double-handled cooking pots and jars, and cups with a single handle rising high above the rim – exist in levels X and IX, and go on through levels VIII–V (Fitzgerald 1940, 137, pl. LXIII–LXV). This continuity of monochrome vessels versus a decrease in the number of painted vases

affords a comparison between the evolution from levels XI to X–IX at Yumuktepe and levels A. I–III to A.IV–V at Tarsus. In fact, the only illustrated painted vase from level IX (fig. 5.2; Garstang 1940, pl. LXVI.15) looks very much like a painted fragment from Tarsus level A.V (Slane 1987, pl. 93.419). On the basis of the partly Anatolian character of the pottery of Tarsus levels A.IV–V and stratigraphic sequencing, Slane dates levels A.IV–V to the Old Hittite period (Slane 1987, 323).

As for Yumuktepe's earliest "Hittite" feature, level IX's bronze lugged axe-head (fig. 4), the parallels given by Garstang are correct, and the majority are indeed found in Central Anatolia; but this need not reflect either the date of the type's first appearance, nor its geographical origin. According to Erkanal's analytical study, the most ancient example of this axe type comes not from Central Anatolia but from Tell el-Djudaide, and is dated to the EBA Amuq H phase (Erkanal 1977, 10). Secondly, a similar axe from Tarsus would be contemporary with, if not earlier than, several examples from Central Anatolia dating to the Karum Ib period (Erkanal 1977, 8–10; Goldman 1956, 289, fig. 425).⁶ Lastly, most of the axes from Central Anatolia belong to later contexts of the 14th or 13th c. BC (Erkanal 1977, 8–11). Despite the type's concentration in Central Anatolia, it seems one cannot state that the axe found in Yumuktepe level IX has a "Hittite" origin, but neither can one dismiss this possibility.

To conclude, the LBA begins at Yumuktepe with levels X and IX, since they show a change from the MBA level XI, and define a local or regional culture in contact with the East and also with Central Anatolia of the Old Hittite period.

2.2. Levels VIII to V

A second change is noticeable with the material culture of levels VIII and VII. Their pottery indicates a strong influence from Central Anatolia (fig. 5.4–7, 17–24), although one can rely only on Garstang's descriptions of VIII, for which very few illustrations appear in the preliminary and final reports. Moreover, although the city-wall gives a historical coherence only to levels VII–V, level VIII is nonetheless connected to VII.

Indeed, the city-wall of level VII was directly built on the ruins of level VIII, whose stone remains may have been used for the inner rampart of the fortification (fig. 3b; Garstang 1939, pl. XXVI; 1953, 238), a connexion offered as proof of their chronological continuity and dated to ca. 1500 BC. Actually, this connexion suggests but cannot prove continuity because the zone was levelled before the construction of the city-wall, as regularly occurred when the settlement was reoccupied (Lloyd 1940, 93). Though terracing operations are frequently documented on mounds, one might speculate whether the levelling preliminary to the construction of this "platform" or "béton"-fill did not lend a Hittite character to the settlement, given the important terracing works at, for instance, Boğazköy. From the sections, it is clear that this 1.5 m-thick fill did not serve as a rostrum for the city-wall, since it

"abutted against it on the outside" (fig. 3a–b; Garstang 1938, pl. XX; 1939, pl. XXVI; 1953, 240). However, when Garstang refers to the level VIII "Béton" foundation of the Hittite extra-mural platform" (Garstang 1953, 217), he describes this "platform" in ambiguous terms: does he mean that there were two "béton" fills, the first belonging to level VIII and serving as a foundation for a second one, which was used in level VII until level V? Nothing in the sections, nor in Seton Lloyd's text, argues for such a possibility. Garstang also suggested that the "platform" played the role of buttress for the outer rampart, "because of the insecure and pitted nature of the subsoil" (Garstang 1953, 241). This purpose may also recall the technical skill of Hittite architects to protect their settlements from earthquakes.

Apart from the hypothetical Hittite identity of its builders, the "platform" also poses a chronological problem. Stratigraphically, it is connected to the fortification wall and was in use at the same time, at least certainly during the level V period, since it was found covered with the same burnt debris (fig. 3a–b). Its construction did not necessarily coincide with the first use of the city-wall, however. While the section in the 1938 report shows the "platform" fill extending from the very foot of the outer rampart (fig. 3a; Garstang 1938, pl. XX), the 1939 report's larger-scale section may indicate that the "platform" is later than level VII, since it does not reach the rampart's outer base but begins more than 1.50 m above it (fig. 3b; Garstang 1939, pl. XXVI). Unfortunately, without more precise drawings, their accuracy cannot be verified.

Without doubt, the characteristics of this city-wall are very similar to the fortifications encountered in Hittite centers, with Boğazköy foremost: a projecting footing of large boulders (fig. 3a–b), the inner street running parallel to the fortification wall (fig. 2) and, of course, the casemate-wall defended by projecting towers (figs. 1–2). Furthermore, as shown by the excavators, traces of an outer wall (Lloyd 1940, 97) also reflect a defensive system like Boğazköy's (Garstang 1940, fig. 1). According to French terminology, the twin walls reinforced by cross walls should be defined as *mur à caissons* because they were filled with stone chippings and rubble (Garstang 1940, 94), which strengthened their construction and confirm their military function (Aurenche 1977, 43–44; see Garstang 1953, 240), as opposed to casemates, which serve a double purpose as rooms (Aurenche 1977, 46). The earliest examples of casemate walls (*à caissons* or *à casemates*) in Anatolia are from Kültepe (unpublished) and Alişar Höyük (see Naumann 1971, 249–252, figs. 318–319) and date to the Assyrian Trading Colony period. However, the majority of Central Anatolian parallels are or may be more recent than the one from Yumuktepe. Tilmen Höyük, which is geographically much closer to Mersin and may belong to a Syrian cultural sphere, with "nothing of a material nature [...] that could have belonged to the Hittites" (Duru 2003, 77), was enclosed in two city-walls, defining an "inner city" and an "outer city". The inner wall is apparently of the type *à casemates*, though the non-inhabited character of some compartments may suggest they included the type *à caissons*, despite no mention of packing fill. They were in use during Tilmen levels IIc and IIb, respectively dated from ca. 1750(?)–1650 and ca. 1650–1600 BC (Duru 2003: 75–76). An estimated date of 1600 BC for the destruction of the last phase may correspond to the destruction of Alalakh VII and, from a historical point of view, to the raid of Muršili I. This was also the date proposed for level IX at

⁶ The Tarsus axe was discovered in the 6.80 m level (Goldman 1956, 289), Slane's level A.II, whose pottery suggests contacts with Central Anatolia of the Karum II period (Slane 1987, 216).

Yumuktepe. From approximately one hundred years after this date, we see the kings of Kizzuwatna concluding treaties with kings of Hatti (e.g. Telepinu; see above), on the one hand, and with Syrian kings (e.g. Idrimi, king of Alalakh), on the other, reflecting a balance in policy between their Hittite and Hurrian spheres of influence during the 15th c. BC. If these LBA political ties between Kizzuwatna and the Mitannian world can be linked to the important contacts that MBA Cilicia maintained with Syria, one might speculate whether Yumuktepe did not find the model for its city-wall in Syria.

In any case, with the term “Hittite fortification”, Lloyd and Garstang did not imply a Hittite origin exclusively, but rather a Hittite cultural influence, since this defensive architecture became part of Hittite technology. Yumuktepe’s city-wall, whatever its source, is not a sufficient single criterion to give the site a Hittite identity. More clues are needed to speak of the site’s Hittite cultural orientation, and the excavators turned to the pottery from these levels to demonstrate it.

Rather than presenting details here about this period’s ceramic forms or fabrics, for which there is not so much to discuss or add to previous reports, it is instead worth drawing parallels between Yumuktepe and Tarsus for their chronological perspective. Though painted pottery is still largely represented in Yumuktepe level VII (Garstang 1953, 242; Fitzgerald 1940, 133), as opposed to Tarsus level A.VI where an important decrease is detected (Slane 1987, 362), similar changes are noted for both, including the frequency of the burnishing technique (Slane 1987, 363). One may conclude, then, that Yumuktepe levels VIII–VII correspond approximately to A.VI–VIII, the last “Old Hittite” levels at Tarsus (Slane 1987, 373, 385–386, 472), covering the end of the Old Kingdom and the so-called Middle Kingdom. The most noticeable change at Yumuktepe occurs in level VI with the introduction of Hittite “drab ware”, which then becomes largely dominant in level V, with deep bowls, plates with occasional potmarks, flasks, etc. (fig. 5.4–7, 18–19). This standardized repertoire is shared by other Cilician centers: Tarsus levels A.IX–B.IX.1/2 (Slane 1987, 418–444), Kinet Höyük Periods 15 to 13 (Gates 2001), and Kilise Tepe levels III and IIa–d (Postgate 2005, 26–27; Symington 2001; Baker et al. 1995, 178–180). It characterizes LB II (ca. 14th–13th c.), although often associated with its later, 13th c., phase. More precisely, the term “drab ware” applies at Yumuktepe to levels VI–V, at Kinet Höyük to Periods 14–13 (Gates 2001), and at Kilise Tepe to Level IIa–d (Hansen/Postgate forthcoming) only. According to M.H. Gates, this ware could be one sign of economic control by the Hittite imperial power (Gates 2001). Cypriot pottery at Yumuktepe does not occur before levels VI and V; at least the milk-bowls (fig. 6.4), though widespread in the eastern Mediterranean throughout the LBA, apparently belong to White-Slip II ware, confirming their LB II context. As for pottery with “Syrian” motifs, Garstang noted its presence in levels VIII–VII but not in VI–V (Garstang 1953, 241). It is tempting to connect this apparent absence, paired with the sudden appearance of Hittite “drab ware”, to the treaty between Šunaššura and Tudḫaliya I/II (and not Šuppiluliuma I as previously thought: cf. Garstang 1953, 241 *versus* Beckman 1995, 13–22; Wilhelm 1988; Beal 1986). Indeed, this treaty, whose wording suggests a reciprocal agreement, prohibited Kizzuwatna from entertaining any contact with the Hurrians. Soon after its signing, during the reign of Tudḫaliya or Šuppiluliuma,

Kizzuwatna was annexed to Hatti and ceased to exist as a separate state. Garstang had already proposed to associate the time following the conclusion of this treaty with “the reconditioning of the interior at Level VI” (Garstang 1953, 241, n. 3). One may pursue his hypothesis one step further: closing the street that ran along the fortification wall in level VI, and transforming a caisson into a casemate when “Room 56” became a living space in level V (fig. 2; Garstang 1953, fig. 151; Lloyd 1940, 96, pl. XLV) perhaps reflect the city-wall’s (partial?) loss of its defensive function. This scenario gives more sense to the previous hypothesis in which the “platform” would be later than level VII and used in levels VI and V. Garstang would attribute the area’s reinforcement to an extramural extension of the inhabited zone with “temporary structures”, or to a military purpose for strengthening the – weakened – city-wall (Garstang 1953, 241). Whatever the intent, linking the transformations in levels VI and V to the Šunaššura treaty or to the annexation of Kizzuwatna would place their start in the first two-thirds of the 14th c. BC.

Two “Mycenaean” sherds from level VI or V (fig. 6.1–2), and five “Hellado-Cilician” sherds from level IV, were the criteria to date the end of level V ca. 1200 BC. These have been restudied by Mee. Mee would identify one of the level VI/V sherds as LH IIIA2 (fig. 6.2), the second as “local, Hellado-Cilician” (fig. 6.1), and a third from level IV as LH IIIA2 or IIIB. The absence of LH IIIC ceramics led him to conclude “that level V must have been destroyed earlier than 1200” (Mee 1978, 133, 150). None of the small sample considered “Hellado-Cilician” by Gjerstad (1934, 195, fig. 18) and Submycenaean by Seton-Williams (1954, 134) “is obviously Mycenaean inspired” (Mee 1978, 133); they may belong to a very late date, and attest to a sporadic occupation at the close of the Early Iron Age (EIA). Since the material from levels IV and III was largely dominated by Middle Iron Age (MIA) pottery, a long hiatus would have followed the LBA occupation, which ended during the 13th c.

Due to the age of the original excavations, to the loss of precious excavation records and, above all, to the fact that only a small portion of the site was excavated, the comments and interpretations presented here suffer from incomplete evidence. The resumption of archaeological activities in Yumuktepe’s LBA levels in 1997 can be considered both a necessity and an emergency measure to compensate for these circumstances.

3. New excavations and new problems

Garstang chose to concentrate his investigations on Yumuktepe’s west side, to which he assigned a prominent location overlooking the left bank of the Soğuksu river. Recent analysis of its ancient course, however, shows that it flowed more than 100 meters further north and east of the mound during its history of occupation (Caneva/Marcolongo 2004, 24, fig. 2). The river’s eventual change in direction may indeed explain the abandonment of Yumuktepe around AD 1400. It unfortunately also resulted in the erosion and loss of a major portion of the site’s west side, washed away by the river. These several factors have now prompted the new excavation project to turn its attention to the south and east sectors of the site. A southern step-trench of 5 × 17.50 m was opened in 1997 and excavated through 1999, and again for one season in 2003 (fig. 7). Thanks to the timely publication

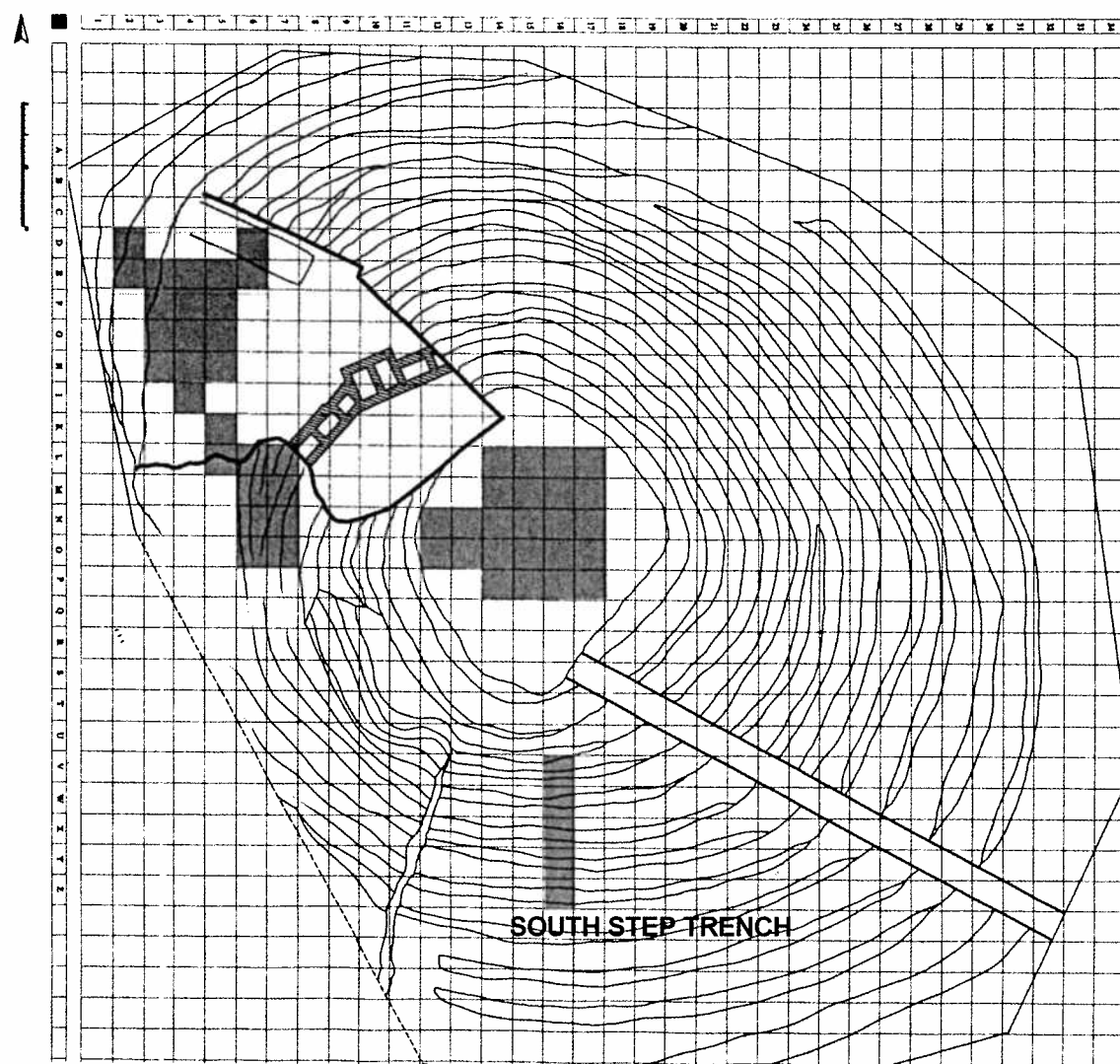


Fig. 7 Topographic map of the new excavations at Mersin-Yumuktepe (after Caneva/Marcolongo 2004, fig. 4).

of its results (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004), this step-trench will be discussed below. In 2004, investigations also began in an eastern step-trench, but they are too recent to be included here.

3.1. Initial problems

A first challenge of the new investigations involved establishing how their findings corresponded with the previous ones. The fortification wall (figs. 1–2), left exposed after Garstang's 1939 campaign in the hope of further restoration, disappeared when its stones were removed during the Second World War to construct a railway. Then, after the last field season in the winter of 1946–1947, the morphology of the site was transformed from 1963 onwards by terracing works, trees and buildings to create a public park (Sevin 2004, 18; Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, 73–74). As a result, without any surviving trace from the early excavations, relating the new stratigraphy to the previous one has proved difficult (Caneva/

Marcolongo 2004, 26–31). A second problem concerns the reliability of evidence provided by a narrow step-trench, where material may be mixed with slope wash, finds are often not *in situ*, and these include many sherds but rarely whole pots.

3.2. Stratigraphy

The excavators have related the stratigraphic sequence of their step-trench to the one set by the earlier excavations on the strength of comparative materials; they therefore use the same numbering system for levels (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, 74–76). In order to distinguish the levels of the step-trench from the Garstang equivalents, their numbers are designated here in quotation marks. From top to current bottom, the following levels have been identified: "I" and "II" date to the Middle Ages; "III" and "IV" to the Iron Age, the oldest being MIA; levels "V" to "IX" to the LBA ("V"–"VII" Hittite Empire, "VIII" Empire or Old Hittite, "IX" Old Hittite); and an EBA level (Köroğlu, pers. com.). The LBA levels are 5 to 6 m deeper than their counterparts on the northwest slope, at elevations roughly similar to the Late Chalcolithic levels there; this indicates a later occupational sequence on the south side of the site (fig. 7; Caneva/Marcolongo 2004, 28; Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, 80).

Synchronisms are based on three main indices. First, the definition of "IX" relied on associating the debris of a large burnt mud-brick wall from the step-trench with the supposed city-wall of level IX. Secondly, level "IX" and its successor "VIII" – consisting of a mud-brick wall with stone foundations and a silo, both poorly preserved – were sealed by a 1.5 m-thick fill that resembles the "béton"-fill or "platform" attributed to level VII; the fill was accordingly labelled "VII" in the new sequence. No wall has been found in the south step-trench at this level, suggesting that, if "VII" indeed corresponds to VII, the fortification wall would be located further inside the mound. The third stratigraphic marker is the destruction by fire of the step-trench's final LBA level, equated as "V" with Garstang's level V destruction. "V" is subdivided into the two phases a and b, with the destruction ending the earlier phase "Vb". The level between "VII" and "V" was logically numbered "VI", although the remains here of a possible wattle-and-daub construction, recalling the Anatolian *huğ*, represent the first and only example of this kind of architecture at Yumuktepe; it does not have its counterpart in VI.

3.3. Pottery

LBA traditions are represented in all levels from "IX" to "V", comparable to many other centers in Anatolia (fig. 5.9, 11–13; Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, 76–82). Two groups are nevertheless to be distinguished, separated by the "VII" fill, and marking a change between levels "IX"–"VII" and "VII"–"V". The Hittite "drab ware" and the red-burnished ware occur in all levels, the red-burnished ware "becoming increasingly rare", however (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004: 76).⁷ Although some painted sherds are present in a lower level, probably "VIII"

⁷ The term "drab ware" applies here both to LB I and LB II contexts, in contrast to the discussion above; this underlines a problem in terminology and chronology (see Schoop 2003).

(Köroğlu, pers. com.), painted ware seems totally absent in levels "VII" to "Vb", with painted pottery only mentioned in "Va".⁸ The attribution of "IX" to an LB I or Old Hittite context now seems confirmed by a 2003 radiocarbon date of 1670–1430 BC cal.⁹ As for the last LBA level, "V", its LB II or Hittite imperial date was reinforced by the discovery of a biconvex seal with the hieroglyphic inscription of a personal name.

Two new pottery types occur in the southern step-trench: an orange ware in level "VI", and a painted ware in "Va". The painted ware, which would postdate the destruction of "Vb", can be considered a transitional type defining the last LBA phase or an EIA level.

3.3.1. Commentary on the orange ware

The main forms represented in this wheel-made and well-fired ware (fig. 5.8, 10) are shallow bowls (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 6.1–12), their rims thickened on the inside and grooved on the outside (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 6.1–11). Their fabric is mostly orange; some examples have a light coating of brownish slip, sometimes applied as a thick band on the inside and outside. According to the excavators, this ware was introduced in level "VI" and lasts until the end of level "V". One site, Kilise Tepe, provides parallels. The closest in fabric and finish but without groove, from Kilise level III, are red-burnished bowls with a thick inturned rim (*Schwapprand*), which seem to be RLW-m ware and a non-local fabric, according to C. Knappett's clay analysis (Postgate, pers. com.). Their similarity makes one wonder whether the orange ware might have been intended to imitate RLW-m ware.¹⁰ In Kilise level IIa–c, a second type of bowl occurs with an inturned grooved rim (*Schwapprand*) and in buff ware; however, the groove is the only feature shared with the orange ware (Hansen/Postgate forthcoming and Postgate, pers. com.). These ceramic comparisons may suggest that level "VI" is more or less contemporary with Kilise level III, and that the grooved rims appeared at Yumuktepe before Kilise Tepe.

3.3.2. Commentary on the painted ware

The painted ware (fig. 5.14–16), again wheel-made and well-fired, mainly consists of square-rimmed medium-sized jars. Decoration painted in light brown on a buff ground is composed of slashes round the rim and cross-hatching on the body (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 7.1–6). Some handles are decorated with horizontal stripes or herringbone motifs (Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 7.1, 10–12). The excavators point to a similar decorative scheme on pottery from Boğazköy's Upper City and Temple 7, to which Büyükkaya and Büyükkale may be added (see Genz 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004). However, vessel shapes are quite different, and the Boğazköy material is dated to the 11th and 10th c. BC, in a context that has

nothing to do with the Hittites (Genz, pers. com.). In fact, close parallels occur only in Cilicia. Once again, the best are provided by Kilise Tepe, where fragments from painted square-rimmed jars were found in level IIa–c.¹¹ The dating of Kilise level II is still under discussion. Phases IIc and IId were both destroyed by fire. Since Early LHIIIC pottery occurs only in the later, IId phase, it probably ended during the first half of the 12th c. BC (Hansen/Postgate 1999, 112 n. 4), while phases IIa–c would date to the 13th c., as already proposed (Jean 2003, 86). It has also been suggested that the destruction by fire of Yumuktepe level V occurred during the 13th c. BC (see comments above on the earlier excavations). Similarities with the Transitional Period Local Painted Pottery of Tarsus (Ünlü 2005) would also argue a transitional character for the Yumuktepe examples, between LBA and EIA. However, because the Yumuktepe sherds were collected in a narrow step-trench exposure, together with orange ware and Hittite "drab ware", one wonders whether this painted ware might not also be present in lower levels, in "Vb", "VI" or even "VII".¹² This point should be monitored closely in future seasons. A few similar painted fragments at Kinet are dated to the LBA II, Period 13 (e.g. Gates 2001, fig. 5.8), and others to the EIA, Period 12A (Gates forthcoming, fig. 8), but they are scarce. At present, it seems possible to speak of Cilician "painted wares", quite different from those of Central Anatolia with the possible exception of a few sherds from LBA Porsuk V (Dupré 1983, 178 pl. 41 no. 244–246). They occur more frequently in the Göksu Valley (Kilise Tepe) and the western part of Smooth Cilicia (Yumuktepe, Tarsus), than in the east (Kinet Höyük), and their chronology would extend from LBA (13th c.) to the beginning of EIA (12th c.).

3.3.3. General comments on chronology

Typical MBA pottery, such as Syro-Cilician painted ware, has not been found in the step-trench, where EBA ware occurs just below level "IX". Hittite-type burnished ware appears here as early as level "IX", whereas it occurs from levels VIII and VII onwards in the earlier excavations and is not mentioned for IX. In fact, the criteria for synchronisms with the earlier excavations are not based on a differentiation between pottery types, but on a wall in "IX", a fill in "VII" and a destruction layer in "V". The apparent hiatus between the EBA level and "IX", when the first Hittite-looking pottery appears, would indicate at present that this southern part of the site was settled later in the second millennium BC than the western part.

Compared to levels VIII–VII of the Garstang excavations, "IX" may be dated from the end of the 16th and into the 15th c. BC, a possibility also offered by the ¹⁴C sample. At the end of the LBA sequence, parallels with Kilise Tepe III and IIa–c allow a probable dating to the 13th c. BC for level "V" and an overlap from the 14th into the 13th c. for "VI". The "VII" fill could then extend back to the 14th c., which would argue for its identification with the

⁸ The very few painted sherds from the lower level, found in 2003, are of a different character from the painted ware mentioned in level "Va".

⁹ The bone providing this date was analyzed by the accelerator method at the laboratory of the University of Lecce (Italy); the dates give the 95.4 % probability range (Caneva, pers. com.).

¹⁰ I warmly thank Nicholas Postgate for the information, advice and fruitful comments he provided concerning similarities between the material from Kilise Tepe and Yumuktepe.

¹¹ A painted ware with the same kind of decoration continues into later levels but, apparently, "extended to bowls and cups", the majority becoming handmade (Postgate 2005, 27 [quotation]–30; Symington 2001, 171, fig. 11).

¹² One might compare some of the "Va" decorations with those from Garstang's level VII, with cross-hatching (Garstang 1953, 244, fig. 155.2; Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 7.7–8) and slashes on the rim (Garstang 1953, 246, fig. 156.15; Sevin/Köroğlu 2004, fig. 7.3–6) to suggest an earlier start for the painted pottery of "Va".

"platform", assigned in this paper to Garstang's level VI. It is a pity that no comparison can be made for material from the two fills of "VII" and VII (onwards), since the earlier excavations made no specific mention of pottery coming from the "platform". An important difference must, however, be stressed: in the earlier excavations, a thick layer of destruction debris covered the top of the "platform"'s last occupation phase, corresponding to level V; in the step-trench, a destruction layer was visible in "Vb" occupation phase, after the fill, but not sealing its upper surface. One might thus question whether the two fills are indeed identical and, even if so, coterminous. The absence of painted pottery in V, underlined by Garstang, versus the presence of painted pottery in the south step-trench "V", might appear contradictory, if one assumes that "V" corresponds to V.¹³ But this issue can be resolved if the two phases in "V", and the occurrence of painted ware in the later phase only, are eventually confirmed. The sequence would thus proceed clearly: "Vb" would correspond to V, both ending in a fire; while "Va", without any corresponding deposit in the Garstang excavations, would provide a transitional period for Yumuktepe, like the transition between LBA and EIA at Gözlü Kule. As a second option, should the painted ware in fact also exist in lower levels (but how much lower: "Vb", "VI", or "VII"?), the sense of change would be less decisive. The painted ware would in this case appear at Yumuktepe earlier than at Tarsus, and fit more closely to the situation at Kilise levels IIa–b, in a probable 13th c. context. Lastly, one should be reminded that similarities among the ceramics from Cilician sites should not obscure their differences, which suggest local productions.

Conclusion

Hittite-like pottery is attested in levels "IX" (southern step-trench) and VIII–VII (earlier excavations), where it is associated with the construction of a fortification wall whose "Hittite" label cannot, however, be affirmed.¹⁴ A change in both architecture (reoccupation and reorientation) and pottery (standardized repertoire) emerges in level VI (earlier excavations), which could find its explanation in the territorial integration of Kizzuwatna to the Hittite empire (see Gates 2001; Postgate 2005, 26) during the 14th c. BC. The proposed postdating of the "platform" construction emphasizes such a change. A change is also detected in level "VI" of the southern step-trench in both the pottery (orange ware) and the architecture. In fact, the probable wattle-and-daub structure of "VI" might recall Garstang's proposal about possible "temporary structures" on the "platform" (Garstang 1953, 241). In the earlier excavations, the last LBA level V ends in destruction, while the destruction in "V" of the new excavations seems to be followed by another final LBA phase. Indeed, both destructions probably date to the 13th c. Even if one attributes the painted ware to level "Va" only (as remains to be determined), similarities with the Kilise Tepe level IIa–c assemblage would plead for a dating of "Va" in the 13th c. too, before the end of Hattuša.

¹³ A painted sherd of "Va" type was found in level IV (Barnett 1940, 106, pl. LII.6); was it contemporary with that level or merely intrusive?

¹⁴ Apparently, the pottery does not contradict the possibility that the wall in "IX" was contemporary with the city-wall in VII. It may have been a different wall (an outer wall?) to be correlated with the site's extension towards the south.

Within this chronological framework, one might question how well the archaeological material can define a "Hittite" presence, and indeed what meaning(s) may be assigned to the word "presence". To differentiate first the ethnic aspect from the political one, "Va" painted ware could be seen to reflect local developments in a region whose inhabitants were Luwian or in majority Luwian-speakers. The introduction of a painted ware at Kilise Tepe from level IIa onwards could be viewed in the context of Tarḫuntašša's creation in the early 13th c., as a revival of local, "presumably Luwian" traditions (Postgate 2005, 29). But since a similar ware has been found at Yumuktepe, Postgate (pers. com.) would also query this interpretation, since no one would situate Mersin in Tarḫuntašša. Besides, the hypothesis assumes that the Göksu Valley was part of Tarḫuntašša, which is not accepted by every scholar (see note 2). Ünlü's suggestion of population movements from west to east, based on parallels "between the ceramics of LBA Aphrodisias and Tarsus Transitional Period Local Painted Pottery", is an interesting proposal (Ünlü 2005, 155), but one must not forget that the dating of the LBA levels at Aphrodisias is not secure. Nevertheless, without resorting to population movements, and given local production of the painted pottery, these constructs may correctly express the regional character of the material, reflecting a south Anatolian or "Luwian" culture, as suggested by Postgate. But they remain speculative.

One might then ask whether material evidence can reveal a political situation. As hypothesis, Ünlü explains the Locally Produced and Painted Transitional Period Pottery of Tarsus as an index of Kizzuwatna's disengagement from the Hittite Empire, when the imperial administration was in a "process of disintegration" (Ünlü 2005, 155). Ünlü's idea assumes that Hittite power controlled the ceramic industry of submissive regions like Kizzuwatna. It has already been argued that "drab ware" reflected Hittite political rule (Gates 2001; Kozal 2003), a tempting proposal that nonetheless has yet to be proved. Identifying a political or ethno-cultural presence on the basis of archaeological evidence especially requires a better understanding of Hittite geopolitics, which remain full of uncertainties (e.g. about Tarḫuntašša). For instance, locating the city-port Ura and defining its hinterland would do much to clarify the relationship between the coastal cities and the forested regions of the Taurus, whose wood provided raw material for the shipyard. For the Hittites were perhaps themselves not good sailors, but they needed a navy and access to the sea (see Casabonne 2005). Yumuktepe is situated close to the coast, and less than 100 km from Silifke – a possible location for Ura (Dinçol et al. 2000; 2001; Casabonne 2005) – in a key position at the entrance of the Çukurova plain. Though geomorphologically part of Smooth Cilicia, Yumuktepe nonetheless relates better to the Göksu Valley (Kilise Tepe) in the archaeological features of its last LBA levels ("VII"?)–"VI"–"V". The site's identity as a border city during the Hittite Empire should thus probably be reconsidered.

As the reader will long have gathered, this paper's commentary has been forced, by default, to rely on incomplete and unverifiable evidence, leading to the frequent use here of conditional verbs and qualifying modifiers. Against the backdrop of such uncertainties, speculation may appear vain. These many questions can nevertheless give a direction to the strategy for future research there. The potential offered by Yumuktepe is strong. But difficulties also abound. For instance, the mound's complex formation history (see above and

Caneva/Marcolongo 2004, 28–29) entails the need for extensive exposures in non-disturbed contexts to understand the occupation of the site during the Hittite period. The mound's current use as a public park, without any official protection against construction and destruction (see Sevin 2004, 18), makes this option impossible. Future LBA research at Yumuktepe also needs to concentrate its focus on specific subjects, such as the fortifications and their building techniques, or the parameters involving “drab ware”, in order to give a more precise definition to Hittite cultural material, and provide its chronology with new diagnostic markers.

Mersin-Yumuktepe’de Hititler: Eski Problemler ve Yeni Yönler

Bu makalede, Kilikia Mersin-Yumuktepe’de 1930’lu yıllarda yapılan kazıları kısaca tanıtıldıktan sonra, Garstang’ın “Hitit” olarak tanımladığı tabakalar ve tarihler yeniden ele alınıyor. Ayrıca eski kazılarla bugün yapılan kazıların öne sürülen senkronizasyonu da yeniden değerlendiriliyor. Bunun sonucu olarak Garstang’ın kronolojisi genel hatlarıyla değişmezken, Yumuktepe’deki Hitit varlığının niteliğini ayrıntılarıyla görmek için çok erken olduğu anlaşıyor. Yeni kazılarla birlikte bazı noktaların doğru olduğu açığa çıkarken, burada bazı yorumların önerildiği yeni sorular karşımıza çıkıyor.

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