

Alice Mouton (dir.)

Hittitology today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday
5^e Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA, Istanbul 21-22 novembre 2014

Institut français d'études anatoliennes

An Alternative View on the Location of Arzawa

Max Gander

DOI: 10.4000/books.ifeagd.3522
Publisher: Institut français d'études anatoliennes
Place of publication: Istanbul
Year of publication: 2017
Published on OpenEdition Books: 27 April 2020
Serie: Rencontres d'Archéologie de l'IFEA
Electronic ISBN: 9782362450839



<http://books.openedition.org>

Printed version

Date of publication: 1 January 2017

Electronic reference

GANDER, Max. *An Alternative View on the Location of Arzawa* In: *Hittitology today: Studies on Hittite and Neo-Hittite Anatolia in Honor of Emmanuel Laroche's 100th Birthday: 5^e Rencontres d'archéologie de l'IFEA, Istanbul 21-22 novembre 2014* [online]. Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes, 2017 (generated 12 janvier 2021). Available on the Internet: <<http://books.openedition.org/ifeagd/3522>>. ISBN: 9782362450839. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.ifeagd.3522>.

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OFFPRINT/AYRIBASIM

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Éditées par Alice MOUTON

ISBN 978-2-36245-067-9

Illustration de couverture : Emmanuel Laroche en train de copier l'inscription
hiéroglyphique située sous le relief d'Ivriz en 1955.

Ce volume a été composé par Zero Prodüksiyon Ltd.
Abdullah sok. 17, 34433 Taksim, Beyoğlu-İstanbul/Turquie.

La publication a pu en être réalisée grâce au concours financier
du Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du développement international
et du CNRS.

© 2017, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes Georges - Dumézil
Nuru Ziya sok. 22, 34433 Beyoğlu-İstanbul/Turquie.

Secrétaire aux publications : Aksel Tibet

Production et distribution
Zero Prod. Ltd.
Abdullah Sokak. No 17 Taksim 34433 Istanbul-Turkey
Tel : +90 (212) 244 75 21 Fax : +90 (212) 244 32 09
info@zerobooksonline.com
www.zerobooksonline.com

Imprimé par
Oksijen Basım ve Matbaacılık San. Tic. Ltd. Şti.
100. Yıl Mah. Matbaacılar Sit. 2. Cad. No 202/A Bağcılar - İstanbul
Tel : +90 (212) 325 71 25 Fax : +90 (212) 325 61 99
numéro de certificat : 29487

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ABRÉVIATIONS

ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri. Millî eğitim basımevi, İstanbul.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AnSt	Anatolian Studies.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen.
AS	Assyriological Studies.
AT	Alalakh Text.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
Bo	Fragments de tablettes inédits de Boğazköy/Hattuša.
BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša, von Zabern, Mayence.
BSIEL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics, Brill, Leyde.
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.
CAD	OPPENHEIM, A. L. et al. (éds.), <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1964-2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, Brill, Leyde.
CHD	GÜTERBOCK, H. G. / HOFFNER, H. A. / VAN DEN HOUT, T. (éds.), <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago, 1989-.
CHLI 1	HAWKINS, J. D., <i>Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age</i> (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft NF 8/1). de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2000.
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, Multigrafica editrice, Rome.
CTH	LAROCHE, E., <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Klincksieck, Paris, 1971.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
dupl.	Duplicat
EA	Tablettes provenant d'el-Amarna.
Eothen	Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico, LoGisma, Florence.
FGrHist	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.
GrHL	HOFFNER, H. A., Jr. / MELCHERT, H. C., <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar</i> (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1). Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2008.
HE	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Elementarbuch, 1. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik</i> . 2 nd edition. Winter, Heidelberg, 1960.

HED	PUHVEL, J., <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> , Trends in Linguistics. De Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1984.
HEG	TISCHLER, J., <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20-). Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck, 1977-.
hethiter.net	http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/ .
HKM	ALP, S., <i>Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat</i> (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI/34). Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1991.
HS	<i>Historische Sprachforschung</i> .
HW	FRIEDRICH, J., <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Kurzgefasste kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter</i> , Winter, Heidelberg, 1952.
HW ²	FRIEDRICH, J. / KAMMENHUBER, A. / HOFFMANN, I. (éds.), <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch, zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte</i> , Indogermanische Bibliothek. Winter, Heidelberg, 1975-.
HZI	NEU, E. / RÜSTER, Chr., <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1989.
IBOT	<i>İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri</i> . Millî Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul.
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i> .
InL	<i>Incontri Linguistici</i> .
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i> .
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> .
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> .
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> .
KASKAL	KASKAL. <i>Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente antico</i> , LoGisma, Florence.
KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Konkordanz	KOŠAK, S., <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte</i> , hethiter.net:/hetkonk (v. 1.91).
Kp	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kayalipınar/Şamuha mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin.
Kt	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Kültepe mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
L.	Numéros des signes hiéroglyphiques de LAROCHE, E., 1960: <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites, I – L'écriture</i> . Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.
LHK	RÜSTER, Chr. / WILHELM, G., <i>Landschenkungsurkunden hethitischer Könige</i> (StBoT Beiheft 4). Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2012.
LIMC	KAHIL, L. (éd.), <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Artemis, Munich, 1981-2009.
LGNP	FRASER, P. M. (éd.), <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> . Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987-2000.
LSU	RIEMSCHNEIDER, K., „Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden“, <i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> 6, 1958: 321-381.
Luwian Corpus	<i>Luwian Corpus – “Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts / Hieroglyphic Vocabulary”</i> (I. Yakubovich) online: web.corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/ (last accessed September 3rd, 2015).
MH	Middle Hittite
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> .
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> .
MS	Middle Hittite Script
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i> .
N	NEUMANN, G., <i>Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901</i> (Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris Nr. 7, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 135. Band). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienne, 1979.
N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i> , Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien, Paris.
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> .
NH	New Hittite

NS	New Hittite Script
obv.	Obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Oriental Institute, Chicago.
Or NS	<i>Orientalia Nova Series.</i>
OS	Old Hittite Script
PEG 2.1	BERNABÉ, A. P. (éd.), <i>Poetarum epicorum Graecorum testimonia et fragmenta II, Orphicorum et orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Fasciculus 1</i> (Bibliotheca scriptorium Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana). Saur, Leipzig, 2004.
PNAE 3/1	BAKER, H. D. (éd.), <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 3/1. The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project</i> , Helsinki, 2002.
PRU	SCHAEFFER, C. (éd.), <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit, Mission de Ras Shamra</i> , Paris, 1956-.
PW	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
r. col.	right column
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie.</i>
rev.	Reverse
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie.</i>
Ro	Recto
RS	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Ras-Shamra/Ugarit mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
SBo	GÜTERBOCK, H. G., <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy I, II</i> (Afo Beiheft 5, 7). H. G. Güterbock, Berlin, 1940, 1942.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i>
SGO	MERKELBACH, R. / STAUBER, J. (éds), <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> . Teubner, Munich, 1998-2004.
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.</i>
SNG	<i>Sylloge nummorum graecorum</i> , Bibliothèque nationale de France – Numismatica ars classica, Paris – Zurich, 1931-.
StBoT	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten</i> , Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
TB	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Brak mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
THeth	<i>Texte der Hethiter</i> , Heidelberg, Winter.
TL	KALINKA, E., <i>Tituli Lyciae lingua lycia conscripti</i> . Hoelder, Vienne, 1901.
TTC	CONTENAU, G., <i>Trente tablettes cappadociennes</i> . Geuthner, Paris, 1919.
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments.</i>
UEM	Numéros d'inventaire des tablettes de Tell Umm el-Marra mises au jour lors des fouilles régulières.
VAT	<i>Tablets preserved at the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin.</i>
Vo	Verso
VS (NF)	<i>Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Neue Folge)</i> . Ph. von Zabern, Mayence.
WAW	<i>Writings from the Ancient World</i> , Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta.
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients.</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>
zBoTU	FORRER, E., <i>Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift 2. Geschichtliche Texte aus Boghazköi</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 42). O. Zeller, Osnabrück, 1969.

AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW ON THE LOCATION OF ARZAWA*

Max Gander
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I. Introduction

The geography of western Anatolia seems to be a particularly vexing problem for Hittitology. Even before decoding the Hittite texts, scholars attempted to connect toponyms, mentioned in the Egyptian sources, with region names of Asia Minor known from later texts.¹ Immediately after the first Hittite texts were available and understandable, various scholars tried to associate names appearing in these texts with persons and places known from classical sources, in particular Greek myth.²

Although it has long been shown that a search for a “true core” of the Greek myths is methodologically questionable, it further functioned as a catalyst in this area of Hittite studies, thus, securing the interest of a broader audience in classical and ancient studies.

This connection between Hittite history and Greek myths has been often criticized from both sides, but lived on until now. All too often, a Greek myth is used to explain an episode of Hittite history.³ The question of the geography and history of western Anatolia in the Bronze Age has too often been reduced

* I would like to thank Dr. Alice Mouton for organising the splendid conference of the Institut Français des Études Anatoliennes in November 2014 and for inviting me and giving me the opportunity to present these ideas concerning western Anatolian geography. I am also most grateful to the attendants of the conference, who provided me with important feedback, both in discussion and in private talks. I have tried to include their suggestions and caveats as well as possible. Furthermore I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Hans Mommsen, Dr. Edward Stratford and Dr. Kamal Badreshany for explaining to me the often difficult matters concerning the data of the chemical analysis, to Prof. Dr. Stefano de Martino, Dr. Michele Cammarosano, Dr. Adam Kryszewski, Dr. Zsolt Simon and Yvonne Gander-Kunz for their feedback on an earlier version of this paper, and again to Dr. Zsolt Simon and Dr. Annick Payne for discussing the readings of the LATMOS and KARAKUYU-TORBALI inscriptions with me. None of these persons, however, should be held responsible for any of the curious ideas presented herein. Finally, Tara Gschwend, SIVIC UZH, is to be thanked for her help concerning the photos.

1 See Smolenski 1915 for an overview and e.g. the identification of Lukka and Lycia by de Rougé 1867: 96-97, the skepticism by Treuber 1887: 50, and the enthusiasm by Meyer 1928: 302, more generally see Mayer/Garstang 1923; Hrozný 1929; Garstang 1941.

2 E.g. Luckenbill 1911; Phythian-Adams 1922; Forrer 1924a; Forrer 1924b; Hrozný 1929: 333-334; Barnett 1953; Page 1959: 97-117; Cornelius 1973: 40, 166, 218, 229, 263-274, 279-280, 343 n. 11, 346-348 n. 48, 49, 61; Schachermeyr 1982: 93-112; Huxley 1960: 29-48.

3 E.g. Vermeule 1983; Bryce 1986: 11-41; Hiller 1991; Börker-Klähn 1994: 319-323; Cline 1996; Cline 1997; Hansen 1997; Gindin 1999; Hansen 2000; Beekes 2002; Högemann 2004: 121-129; Raimond 2004: 93-94; Jasink/Marino 2007; Herda 2009: 31-60, 129-135; Latacz 2010. For a detailed view on the various name equations, though sometimes too critical, see Steiner 2011.

to the quest for a historic kernel of the Trojan War, the first appearance of Greeks or evidence supporting the Greek myths concerning the Ionian migration.⁴

The most important names, repeatedly mentioned in this context, are Wilusa, Taruisa, and Ahhiyawa. The first two connected with Homeric Ἰλῖος and Τροίη, and the last one with the Ἀχαιοί.⁵

Though the connections to Greek myths secure certain attention by classical scholars, Hittite history should be considered completely independent of any mythical narratives. Myth is not history and should not be treated as such. A historicistic interpretation of a Greek myth does neither justice to the myth nor to the history that it is compared to. A myth must have its *raison d'être* in the present and cannot be interpreted as a conveyor of actual historic truth. The discussion about the historical geography of western Anatolia, therefore, should be based solely on the Hittite written sources.⁶

In the dispute about western Anatolia's political geography, one can discern phases in which the scholarly community was more critical and others in which it was more receptive to the various name equations. Throughout the last century the discussion was open, and rarely something was taken for granted. However, in the course of the so-called "Troia-Debatte" at the beginning of the 21st century,⁷ Hittitologists were also forced to take sides and argue for their geographical and historical reconstructions. Though the tone was never as hostile as it was among archaeologists and historians,⁸ it clearly became more aggressive and apodictic. Among archaeologists and historians, the question of Troy's size and relevance remained largely undecided. However, in Hittitology, the geographical reconstructions provided by Frank Starke⁹ and J. David Hawkins¹⁰ became a widely accepted, largely unquestioned *communis opinio*, and was adopted, not only by Hittitologists,¹¹ classicists, and archaeologists,¹² but also in publications aimed at the broader public,¹³ and even educational works,¹⁴ often without the necessary reservations.

Doubts on the reconstruction by Hawkins and Starke¹⁵ were largely ignored or dismissed. In place of geographical discussions, the new millennium sometimes saw historical reconstructions based on the presumed "facts". The location of Wilusa in the Troad, among others, was treated as a historical certainty, on the basis of which new geographical considerations were developed.¹⁶ However, the location of Wilusa, as of all the other Arzawa lands, is highly dependent on those of Arzawa and Mira. The argumentation of many of these contributions, based on the "established location" of Wilusa and other lands, is therefore inherently circular.

For this reason, I would like to present evidence that might challenge the commonly held view and show that the geography of western Anatolia is "still an open question."¹⁷

4 See preceding note and particularly, Högemann 2004; Herda 2009; Niemeier 2007: 60-90; Niemeier 2008a: 295-331; Niemeier 2008b: 16-21; Latacz 2010.

5 For an overview of the research see Steiner 1964; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 349-352; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 146-156; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004b: 196-210; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 29-36; Gander 2015.

6 As Forlanini 2012: 134 rightly pointed out, for this area of Anatolia it is too early to combine philological and archaeological evidence on a large scale, which would be the next important step. The combination of the two by Pavúk 2015: 95, 101-103 is clearly biased. The borders of the western Anatolian ceramic groups in his fig. 9, p. 95 agree just as well or even better with the reconstruction presented here than with the current one, see esp. the large group comprising the Hermos valley and the Aiolis (the area argued here to be Arzawa) and the one in the Meander valley (our Seha River Land).

7 For an overview of the controversy see Cobet/Gehrke 2002, Weber 2006a and Weber 2006b.

8 See in particular Latacz 2010 and Kolb 2010.

9 Particularly Starke 1997, but see also Starke 1998; Starke 2000; Starke 2001a; Starke 2001b; Starke 2002.

10 Particularly Hawkins 1998, but see also Hawkins 1999; Hawkins 2002; Hawkins 2015.

11 E.g. Bryce 2003; Melchert 2003a: 5-7; Melchert 2003b: 37; Bryce 2005: 41-60; de Martino 2006; Klinger 2007: map; Strobel 2008; Bryce 2011; de Martino 2011: 181-187; Alparslan 2015 and various others.

12 E.g. Högemann 1996; Niemeier 1999: 141-155; Waelkens 2000; Yakar 2000: esp. 303-372; Benzi 2002: 355-360; Niemeier 2007: 37-96; Herda 2009; Breyer 2010: 334-338; Latacz 2010; Roosevelt 2010: 56; Teffeteller 2013; Pavúk 2015: esp. 95, 101-103 and others.

13 Brandau/Schickert/Jablonka 2004; Siebler 2001; Exhibition Catalogue: *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: das Volk der 1000 Götter*, Stuttgart 2002, Exhibition Catalogue: *Troia – Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Stuttgart 2001, Exhibition Catalogue: *Homer: Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst*, Munich 2008, Exhibition Catalogue: *Troy, City, Homer and Turkey*, Amsterdam 2013. Even in various television documentaries only the geographical reconstruction of Hawkins and Starke was shown, see *Versunkene Metropolen: Brennpunkt Hattusa; Troja – Die wahre Geschichte; The Hittites: A Civilization That Changed the World*.

14 Schmauder 2007.

15 See e.g. Haider 2004; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c; Hertel 2008; Pantazis 2009; Heinhold-Krahmer 2013.

16 See e.g. Peschlow-Bindokat 2002; Herda 2009; Latacz 2010: 364-365; Woudhuizen 2015: 9; Oreshko, forthcoming.

17 Forlanini 2012: 133. Interestingly in recent years a more critical approach has gained more supporters, cf. the statements of Bryce 2007; Heinhold-Krahmer 2013; Hawkins 2013; Alparslan/Doğan-Alparslan 2015; Hawkins 2015: 30.

I.1. The *communis opinio*: The reconstructions of Frank Starke and J. David Hawkins

The so-called “*solution of the problem*” referred to by different scholars, is the one provided by Frank Starke and J. David Hawkins in 1997 and 1998, respectively.¹⁸ Though their reconstructions differ in many ways, especially regarding the western Anatolian inland,¹⁹ they essentially agree on the placement of Arzawa and the Arzawa Lands.

One suggestion of Starke,²⁰ not shared by Hawkins, namely that Mira from the beginning included the core area of Arzawa, could be shown to be incorrect,²¹ even though it is quite certain that Mashuiluwa belonged to the Arzawa royal house. Perhaps one has to think of Mira as Arzawan secundogeniture.

Starke begins his reconstruction with the geography of Tarhuntassa, where he mentions the well-known equations of Parha – Perge and Kastaraya – Kestros. Beyond Parha lay enemy territory, as is evident from the Bronze Tablet (Bo 86/299 I 61-63). This enemy, in Starke’s opinion,²² can only be Lukka.²³ Concerning Lukka, Starke mentions the famous equations proposed by Massimo Poetto on account of the Yalburt inscription,²⁴ which almost are universally accepted today.²⁵ He then states, without further argumentation: “*Das hethiterzeitliche Lukkā war aber viel weitläufiger als das spätere Lykien, indem es auch den Westen Pisidiens und Pamphylis sowie den Süden Kariens einschloss,*”²⁶ and thereby expands Lukka to the borders of Miletos.

Even though the Lukka communities are difficult to grasp, and their territory may, in fact, have extended beyond Lycia, it is impossible to say at the moment, how far and where it extended.²⁷

According to Starke, Arzawa can only lie north of Lukka, and since Walma (bordering Arzawa) lay north of Tarhuntassa, Arzawa may only have lain in the Meander valley.²⁸

This location of Arzawa determines the whole reconstruction of the other Arzawa Lands. The placement of Arzawa prompts Starke to locate the Seha River Land north, in the valley of the Hermos. To accommodate its relationship with Lazpa – Lesbos the Seha River Land has to include the Kaikos River. This results in the placement of Wilusa in the Troad, intended from the beginning.²⁹

Hawkins, on the other hand, starts his reconstruction with the recognition that the Karabel inscription is a work of king Tarkasnawa of Mira. It is, therefore, evident that Mira should be placed in the Karabel region.³⁰ Following a suggestion by S. Heinhold-Krahmer, Hawkins assumes that Mira must have gotten the lion’s share of the original Arzawan territory, thereby expanding to the coast and including the old Arzawan capital of Apasa – Ephesos.³¹ This conception induces him to locate Mira south of the Karabel pass, the Karabel forming the border of Mira and Seha. This prompts a location of the Seha River Land in the Hermos Valley and, the interest of Manapatarhunta of the Seha River Land in Lazpa – Lesbos justifies the extension of this land to the Kaikos valley. Hawkins supports this reconstruction referring to the linguistic equations of Lazpa – Lesbos, Appawiya – Abbaitis, and Wilusa – Ilion.³²

The close connection between Seha and Wilusa “*push[es] the latter kingdom back into its home in the Troad, in the past so hotly contested*”.³³

18 See above n. 9 and 10.

19 See Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c.

20 Starke 1997: 452.

21 Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 328-329, 337-340; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 162; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 46-51; Hawkins 1998: 22-23; Freu 2014: 84; Hawkins 2015: 26.

22 Following a suggestion by Houwink ten Cate 1992: 254 n. 28.

23 Starke 1997: 450 and 469 n. 14.

24 Poetto 1993: esp. 75-84, $\nu\mu\tau\text{IS}(\text{REGIO})$ – Wiyawawanda – $\text{O}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\nu\delta\alpha$, (MONS)Pa-tara/i – Pttara – Πάταρα, Lu-ka (REGIO)-zi – Λυκία, Pi-na-ala/i(URBS) – Pinali(ya) – Pinale – pnr – Πίναρα, A-wa/i+ra/i-na’-(REGIO) – Awarna – Arnña – ἄρνη (–Ξάνθος), TALA-wa(REGIO) – Talawa – Tlawā – Τλώα.

25 Starke 1997: 450.

26 Starke 1997: 450.

27 Gander 2010, Gander 2014 and Gander 2016.

28 Starke 1997: 450.

29 Starke 1997: 451.

30 Hawkins 1998: 2-10.

31 Hawkins 1998: 15, 23.

32 Hawkins 1998: 23.

33 Hawkins 1998: 2, 8 (my own emphasis).

The key points for both reconstructions are the identification of Mira with the Meander valley and consequent localization of the Seha River Land in the Hermos Valley, extending further north to the Kaikos. The identification of Apasa with Ephesos seemed to confirm Mira as the successor of Arzawa bordering on Millawanda – Miletos.³⁴

I.2. Of Apasa and Millawanda

Concerning the important equations Millawanda – Miletos and Apasa – Ephesos, we are in the lucky position that we are in possession of letters allegedly sent from these cities, namely the Tawagalawa letter (VAT 6692 = KUB 14.3, CTH 181) and the Arzawa letter EA 32. In a immense project aiming at a provenance study of the Amarna letters and other cuneiform texts, these two clay tablets underwent mineralogical (OM), neutron activation (NAA), and portable X-ray fluorescence analysis (pXRF) to determine the origin of the clay and have been compared to known pottery samples, especially a database in Bonn.³⁵ It is clear from comparative studies that potters usually use clay available nearby,³⁶ and there is no obvious reason this should not apply to clay tablets. The provenance study of the clay, therefore, should provide us with the information on the original location of the tablet.

The petrographical OM analysis of the Tawagalawa letter showed similarities to a Samian amphora.³⁷ The NAA data of this tablet, however, does not agree with Samian pottery³⁸ but match a group of Protoegeometric vessels, probably from a workshop in Ephesos, named EphW.³⁹ The pXRF analysis yielded no matches defining VAT 6692 as singular.⁴⁰ In their paper of 2011 Goren, Mommsen, and Klinger concluded that the Tawagalawa letter most probably come from the Aegean coast south of Ephesos.⁴¹ This conclusion does not match the equation Millawanda – Miletos exactly, but locates the place from where the letter was sent and, thus, probably Millawanda, in the estuary of the Meander.

Letter EA 32 was also measured with the three analytical methods. The pXRF measurements defined it as a singleton. Also, the OM analysis was quite indistinctive, merely showing that the tablet is made from “Aegean red clay.”⁴² The NAA data gained from an earlier analysis in Berkeley, generally thought to be reliable, resulted in a little surprise that has largely been disregarded by the scholarly community even though it was already published in 2004. What would be expected according to the reconstructions of Hawkins and Starke is that the clay would come somewhere from the vicinity of Ephesos, from the alleged core territory of the Arzawan state.

The result, however, is quite different: *“There is no agreement in composition with several groups in our data bank which can be assigned with high probability to workshops in Ephesos. It turned out that the tablet has a composition which is closely associated to a group of samples which was published as Group ‘G’ in Akurgal et al. (2002). (...) according to the distribution of members of this group, a provenance of EA 32 in northern Ionia or even the Aeolis seems very probable.”*⁴³

It is most important to state that there is no match between EA 32 and various groups of pottery that are assigned to Ephesos, so it seems impossible to assign EA 32 to Ephesos. The clay of EA 32 is associated with the pottery of group G, which stems from northern Ionia or even the Aiolis. The publication of 2004

34 The identification of Mira with Beycesultan by Woudhuizen 2012 and Woudhuizen 2015 on account of an Middle Bronze Age stamp seal found there, is not convincing. The seal does not bear a hieroglyphic inscription. The hieroglyphic script did not exist at this early date, see Güterbock *apud* Mellaart/Murray 1995: 119.

35 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004; Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011.

36 Arnold/Neff/Bishop 1991: 85: “Ethnographic data from a worldwide sample of resource distances have demonstrated that most potters travel no more than 7 km to obtain their raw materials, and many go no more than 1 km.” Cf. also the recent results concerning pottery and bullae found in Hattusa by Hashimoto et al. 2013; Grave/Kealhofer 2014.

37 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 694.

38 Mommsen, e-mail from 8.7.2015.

39 Mommsen, e-mail from 8.7.2015.

40 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 686.

41 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 694, Mommsen e-mail from 8.7.2015.

42 Goren/Mommsen/Klinger 2011: 686.

43 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004: 47.

explicitly mentioned the cities of Kyme, Larissa, Phokaia, Smyrna, and Klazomenai.⁴⁴ However, in 2004, the provenance of the clay of group G had not yet been determined definitively.⁴⁵ Further research in recent years made the picture clearer, locating provenance group G, with its subgroup ‘g’ in Kyme and/or Larissa.⁴⁶ Thus, the probable provenance area of the clay used for EA 32 is reduced to a small area at the Aeolian coast.

We have to remember that EA 32 contains marriage negotiations between the pharaoh and the Arzawan king.⁴⁷ Because of that, one could assume that such an important letter was issued by the royal chancellery of Arzawa, i.e. it most likely stems from the Arzawan capital or at least from some important Arzawan city rather than being written abroad, and e.g. when the king was travelling in the Seha River Land. In this case, the problem is evident if we go back to the prevalent reconstruction. The area where the clay stems from is not in the core land of Arzawa but in the heart of the assumed Seha River Land.

One may not easily argue that Arzawa incorporated the Seha River Land since we know from the Annals of Tudhaliya that the Seha River Land and Arzawa were distinctive entities even before Tarhundaradu.⁴⁸ One might still find arguments to avoid the conclusion that the heartland of Arzawa lay in the Aeolis, but in this case the question is: Do these arguments actually outweigh the evidence or is it an attempt to save a reconstruction that has become dear to us? The consequent assumption is that Arzawa cannot be in the Meander valley, and the Seha River Land cannot be in the Hermos Valley. In the search for a location for the Seha River Land, we come back to the old suggestion of identifying the Seha with the Meander.⁴⁹

The Bonn database with its different wares presents a quite reliable background for the analysis of EA 32 and its location in the Aeolis. Still, we have to keep in mind that the analysis of an isolated item, without comparable finds, is highly sensitive.⁵⁰ However, although the match between EA 32 and Kymean pottery may be accidental, the clear mismatch between the letter and the pottery from several workshops located at Ephesos appears to be significant and it seems at least worth to accept the identification as a working hypothesis and examine if the Hittite texts would also agree with this reconstruction.

II. Arguments adduced for a location of Mira in the Meander Valley

II.1. The Karabel monuments and their inscriptions

As mentioned before, the reconstruction of Hawkins and Starke is strongly based on the placement of Arzawa and later Mira south of the Karabel, in the valley of the Meander.

Following Hawkins’ decipherment of the inscription on the famous relief Karabel A,⁵¹ we have to assume that the area of Karabel belonged to the land of Mira. Nonetheless, as he himself pointed out during the discussion after my presentation, he was never entirely sure if Karabel really meant ‘you’re entering Mira’, or if it meant ‘you’re leaving Mira’.

44 Artzy/Mommsen/Asaro 2004: 45-46.

45 See Kerschner 2002: 84-92.

46 See Kerschner 2006: 115; “The pottery workshops of provenance group G/g were situated most likely at Kyme. Neighbouring Larisa may possibly have had a share in G/g, too.” and Kerschner/Mommsen 2004-2006: 90: “... ist der Schluss unausweichlich, dass die Herkunftsgruppe G in der äolischen Polis Kyme zu lokalisieren ist.”

47 For the Arzawa letters EA 31 and 32 see Hawkins 2009.

48 KUB 23.11 II 1-12 // KUB 23.12 1’-3’, see Carruba 2008: 34-37. Stefano de Martino informs me that he thinks “that the Seha River land did not reach the coast when Arzawa was alive. Thus it is possible that Tarhundaradu resided in a town of northern Ionia when the EA letter was written.” (e-mail from 27.8.2015).

49 Kinal 1953: 19; Goetze 1957: 228; Laroche 1966: 272; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 345; Freu 1980: 276, 286-289; Forlanini/Marazzi 1986: map; Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 112-113; Freu 2008a: 126; Freu 2008b: 92; Gander 2010: 208; Freu 2014: 84; Woudhuizen 2014: 121 n. 367; Woudhuizen 2015: 10; Gander, forthcoming.

50 Of course it would be best to compare only pottery found in a kiln or mud bricks, since only then we can be sure that the clay actually stems from the area (kind reference by Stefano de Martino, e-mail from 27.8.2015).

51 The rediscovery of this relief, already known to Herodotus (Hdt. II 106) is usually assigned to the Rev. George Cecil Renouard and dated to 1839 (e.g. Friedrich 1937: 383; Bittel 1939-41: 181; Hawkins 1998: 4 n. 14) however, it seems that already in or before 1817 Renouard and Thomas Burgon had visited Karabel, cf. the letter of Rev. Henry John Rose *apud* Schmitz 1844: 230-232. Renouard’s stay in Smyrna is usually dated to 1810-1814, see Boase/Matthew 2006. Also Lepsius knew already in January 1838 of the relief, see Lepsius 1840: 39. Before that various unnamed travelers had visited it or heard about it, see MacFarlane 1829: 464 and Welcker 1843: 430-432.

In fact, before Hawkins' and Starke's seminal articles, opinions were divided whether the land of the king who issued Karabel, had to be located north or south of the pass.⁵²

Hawkins based his arguments for a southerly location of Mira partly on the topography of Karabel. However, the placement of the monuments in the landscape seems to fit a northerly location of Mira even better. As Hawkins wrote, the monuments "are located at the northern entrance/exit to the pass at a point where the steeply descending road passes out of the hills into the open valley through a narrow defile."⁵³

Given the fact that the Karabel monuments mark the northern entrance or exit to the pass, a northerly location of Mira seems more likely. Travelling in a northerly direction, the relief is only visible after having passed the highest point of the pass, before that it is not visible at all from the south.⁵⁴ According to the common reconstruction, the relief would not have been seen by the people of Mira, at whom it was directed, apart from a few travelers crossing the Karabel pass to Seha.⁵⁵

A northerly location of Mira is also suggested by the finds of Karabel B and C, since these were lying outside the defile, almost in the valley.⁵⁶ Karabel B, a marble stele containing a relief similar to Karabel A, was found 1875 by Carl Humann in the area below Karabel A (fig. 1), where the Karabel Deresi, coming from the south entered the so-called "Nymphio plain" (Kemalpaşa Ovası). The monument stood about 120 m north and below Karabel A facing westwards, probably to the ancient route.⁵⁷ Karabel C, found in 1940 by Hans Gustav Güterbock, was found very close to B (fig. 2).⁵⁸ As Güterbock pointed out, the rocks B and C were found at their original location, since their closeness to each other and their placement makes it impossible that they both rolled down the hill.⁵⁹ It is furthermore assured that the first line of Karabel C2 contains the same name as the second line of Karabel A, thereby, establishing a close relationship between the monuments.⁶⁰ With the rocks B and C lying practically in the Hermos Valley itself, Karabel can strategically hardly belong to a territory of which the core land is placed on the lower Meander.

For these reasons, Humann, Bittel, and Güterbock were clearly convinced that the area marked by the monuments belonged to the territory north of Karabel, i.e. the Hermos Valley.⁶¹

Furthermore, the placement of Karabel B and C almost in the valley also raises some suspicion about its function as border mark.

A border monument should be placed on the pass summit that would have formed the actual border, overlooking both sides. The relief, however, is positioned near the northern entrance of the pass. A territory reaching from the south over the crest to the north, extending almost into the plain would be highly unusual. The area beyond the crest would be impossible to defend from the south. The three monuments could not be protected at all and would have been an easy target for destruction, since it is hardly plausible that a northern ruler would have accepted the representation of a foreign sovereign in an area that strategically must have belonged to his kingdom.

52 For a northerly location: Curtius 1876: 51; Güterbock 1967: 70-71; Bittel 1967: 22-23; Haider 1997: 107; Haider 1999: 673; Pantazis 2009: 297; for a southerly location: Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 48 with n. 38, Gurney 1992: 221 and Starke 1997: 451.

53 Hawkins 1998: 24. See also Welcker 1843: 430: "Die Felswand, in welcher die Figur eingehauen ist [...] zur rechten Seite des Wegs, nicht weit von dem Ausgange des herrlichen Engpasses der gegen anderthalb Stunden diesseits von Nymphia ausläuft".

54 See Bittel 1939-41: 186: "Der Blick des Wanderers [...] fällt sofort nach Überschreiten der Passhöhe unmittelbar auf die breite Felswand mit dem Relief." (My own emphasis).

55 However, on the (in)visibility of the Hittite rock reliefs, see now Ullmann 2014.

56 Hawkins 1998: 24: "The relief with KARABEL A is placed high up on the south face of the rock forming the eastern side of the defile, while the rocks with KARABEL B and C were located to the north on the valley bottom outside the defile."

57 Curtius 1876: 50.

58 Güterbock 1967.

59 Güterbock 1967: 70-71: "Von den zwei Möglichkeiten, daß der Block B erst in nachhethitischer Zeit von einem ursprünglich Platz auf der Berghöhe ins Tal gerollt oder aber an seiner jetzigen Stelle im Tal bearbeitet worden sein kann, hat schon Bittel [i.e. Bittel 1939-41: 186, 193 n. 33] die zweite bevorzugt, ohne allerdings die erste ganz auszuschließen. Jetzt ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß beide Blöcke so von oben herabrollen, daß sie nebeneinander und beide aufrecht, mit der Schrift und Skulptur in ursprünglicher Richtung unten ankommen, so gering, daß man sie ausschalten muss. Beide Steine, B und C, lagen also schon im Tal, als die alten Steinmetze sie bearbeiteten". See also Kohlmeyer 1983: 20.

60 Güterbock 1967: 68, Kohlmeyer 1983: 23 and Hawkins 1998: 9.

61 Curtius 1876: 50-51, Güterbock 1967: 70-71 and Bittel 1967: 22-23.

Moreover, none of the hitherto known Hittite monuments can be clearly identified as a boundary mark.⁶² The interpretation of Hatip as such is highly doubtful; rather we should compare Karabel (and Hatip) to other known Hittite monuments, which mark the presence of the king in a certain region, such as Sirkeli, Hanyeri, or Hemite.⁶³

It is, therefore, rather convincing that Mira, whose king issued the monument, lay north of Karabel (fig. 3), or even more likely that both the southern and the northern area belonged to Mira, and that the reliefs and inscriptions served the purpose of marking the king's presence.

Recently, two more monuments have been associated with Mira, which need to be discussed here.

II.2. The graffiti from Suratcaya (LATMOS 1 and 5)

During their search for prehistoric rock paintings in the Latmos in 2000, Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat and her team discovered six Hieroglyphic Luwian carvings under a shelter in the Suratcaya. The rocks did not contain any relief or drawing but only six poorly scratched Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. In their placement, their style, and their contents they are very singular among the known Luwian inscriptions, although probably comparable to the Malkaya and Taşçı graffiti, even though those are more elaborately executed. The six carvings, with the possible exception discussed below, are mostly personal names and accompanying titles.⁶⁴ Concerning their significance, Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat even suggested that the rock on which the inscriptions were found may have served as a border mark.⁶⁵ This suggestion is, however, highly unlikely.⁶⁶ Coming from above the rock is undetectable and seen from below, its only significant feature is that part of the shelter is broken away, but we cannot know when this happened. Otherwise, it is just another rock in a rocky environment (see fig. 4).

Ömür Harmanşah may be right in pointing out that we have to see the inscriptions at Suratcaya more in context with the abundant prehistoric rock paintings of Latmos rather than to associate them directly with the “*political territorial structures of the Hittite Empire*”⁶⁷ even though the usage of Anatolian hieroglyphs, in my opinion, clearly suggests Hittite cultural influence.⁶⁸

The exact reading of the names is still under discussion. The two inscriptions that caught the most attention are nos. 1 and 5. The graffito no. 5 was read by Herbordt in her original edition of the text as *Ku-pa²-i(a) MAGNUS.REX.FILIUS*.⁶⁹ Peschlow-Bindokat and Herbordt tentatively identified *Ku-pa²-i(a)* with Kupantakurunta, the King of Mira enthroned by Mursili II after his Arzawa campaign.⁷⁰ This identification was incautiously taken up by several scholars,⁷¹ even though the use of abbreviated forms is not attested for Luwian names and the identification of the middle sign of the name is uncertain. Normally, we would expect a writing *Ku-pa-ta/tà/tá-CERVUS₂(-ti)*.⁷²

The identification of the middle sign as PA (*334) seems at least partly induced by the wish to identify this Kupaya with Kupantakurunta of Mira.⁷³ Usually, PA shows two “handles” which are missing in our sign,⁷⁴ even though in rare cases, e.g. in the seal of Lupakki in BoHa 19, no. 208, it appears without handles and then looks comparable to our sign.⁷⁵

62 For the function of Hittite rock reliefs see now Ullmann 2010, esp. 241-244 (for Karabel) and Ullmann 2014, but cf. also Simon 2012: 687-689.

63 Seeher 2009: 122-124 and 134-136.

64 Oreshko 2013: 346 and Herbordt 2001.

65 Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 366, Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 214 and Peschlow-Bindokat 2005: 88-89.

66 See also Schürr 2011: 72-73 n. 14.

67 Harmanşah 2015: 114-116.

68 See below n. 82.

69 Herbordt 2001: 372-376.

70 Herbordt 2001: 375; Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 366; Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 212-213; Peschlow-Bindokat 2005: 84-89.

71 Bryce 2005: 475-476 n. 58; Ehringhaus 2005: 92-94; Forlanini 2007: 285; Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 187; Niemeier 2008a: 301; Strobel 2008: 20; Herda 2009: 48 n. 116, 52, 55 n. 145, 66, 70; Seeher 2009: 130; Latacz 2010: 364; Freu 2014: 80.

72 Cf. Herbordt 2001: 375.

73 See the comment by Schürr 2011: 72 n. 14. More cautious about the identification of *Ku-x-ia* and Kupantakurunta already Pantazis 2009: 298-299; Glatz/Plourde 2011: 52; Hawkins 2013: 15; Hawkins 2015: 21.




74 Herbordt 2001: 375. For the usual forms of PA see Laroche 1960: 177, no. 334.

75 Herbordt 2001: 375.

In a recent contribution, Rostislav Oreshko proposed to read the sign in question as *324,⁷⁶ which, in fact, bears some similarity to the one of LATMOS 5. The slightly concave form of *324 seems to agree with our sign quite well. The sign *324 is attested in different forms in the graffiti of Malkaya and on seals, as part of personal names.⁷⁷ Its phonetic reading, however, is still unclear.⁷⁸

The reading *ku-pa-i(a)* may, therefore, be doubted, alternatively one could read *ku-*324-i(a)*, but at the moment it seems best to abstain from an interpretation and read *ku-x-ia*.

The identification of *Ku-x-ia* with Kupantakurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya was suggested for various reasons. Firstly, on the ground of the common geographical reconstruction, it was assumed that the LATMOS inscriptions were found on the territory of Mira. The mentioning of Mira in graffito 1 (fig. 5) further strengthened this association. However, we should clearly keep in mind that there is no special relationship between graffito 1 and graffito 5, so it is simply incorrect to state that the inscriptions from Latmos stem from Kupantakurunta, King of Mira.⁷⁹ The reading of the second sign as PA created some basic phonetic similarity between Kupaya and Kupantakurunta, and the hitherto unattested title MAGNUS.REX.FILIUS seems to suggest that the person in question had close ties to the Hittite ruling family. Kupantakurunta, the adoptive son of Mashuiluwa and a Hittite princess, clearly shows this close association with the Hittite ruling elite. However, as mentioned, the reading of the name is highly doubtful, and even if read correctly, the identification with the famous Kupantakurunta is quite improbable.

The ligature of MAGNUS  and REX  to MAGNUS.REX  suggests an interpretation as MAGNUS.REX FILIUS “son of the Great King” rather than “great son of the king.”⁸⁰ The title MAGNUS.REX FILIUS may be compared tentatively to the designation of Urhi-Teššup as DUMU.LUGAL.G[AL] which is an equivalent to the Hieroglyphic title PRINCEPS i.e. *tuhukanti*.⁸¹ If then, in fact, our *Ku-x-ia* should be a “son of the Great King,” we would assume him to be not just any DUMU.LUGAL but to stem from the progeny of the Hittite king. This assumption, however, does not apply to Kupantakurunta of Mira.⁸²

The second inscription taken to show that the Latmos area belonged to Mira is graffito no. 1, read *Mi+ra-a¹(REGIO) VIR₂* by Herbordt in her original treatment of the text, and interpreted as “man of Mira.” However, in a recent comment on the available sources for the reconstruction of the geography of western Anatolia, J.D. Hawkins aptly characterized the reading “*man of the land Mira*” as “*possible*”, but “*not certain*.”⁸³ Even if one agrees with Herbordt’s interpretation, it is far more likely that a foreigner would identify himself as “man of Mira” than a local person, for whom it would not be a distinctive feature.⁸⁴

However, since all the other graffiti show personal names, it is quite peculiar that we would only have a reference to the land, but not to the person. In view of this, one may propose two alternative interpretations.

76 Oreshko 2013: 355-356.

77 Malkaya see Hawkins/Weeden 2008: 244-245, the sign is further attested in Tarsus 4 and 5 and SBo II 127.

78 Its identification as *kuni(ya)* by Oreshko 2013: 357 is possible, but no more than that.

79 As has been done e.g. by Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 212-213, Herda 2009: 52 and Latacz 2010: 364-365.

80 See the argument of Hawkins 2001: 174 n. 33 concerning the seal BoHa 23, no. 16-18 with the inscription REX+FILIA MAGNUS: “Here the Hieroglyphic title is probably better understood as ‘Great Daughter of the King’ i.e. ‘Great Princess’, rather than ‘Daughter of the Great King’, where the writing of ‘Great’ over ‘King’ (MAGNUS + REX + INFANS (+FEMINA)) would be expected”, cf. also Otten 1995: 14, 34 Abb. 14-20, Herbordt/Bawanypeck/Hawkins 2011: 70-71, 112-115, no. 16-18, but see Simon 2009: 264 n. 31.

81 For the title of Urhi-Teššup see Hawkins 1999; Herbordt 2005: 204-205 no. 504-508; Hawkins *apud* Herbordt 2005: 278, 306; Hawkins *apud* Herbordt/Bawanypeck/Hawkins 2011: 95-96.

82 The supposition by Oreshko 2013: 400-409, who assumes a local origin and tradition of the western Anatolian hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions cannot be addressed in full here, but in my opinion clearly goes too far. At least in Karabel and Torbali the inscriptions are accompanied by reliefs which show a strong Hittite influence. The appearance of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions along with the representation in Hittite style strongly speak for a close relationship between these monuments and the art and traditions of the Hittite Empire, cf. also Ullmann 2010: 244-245 concerning Karabel, Akpınar and Suratkaya: “What is interesting about these two carvings and the one at Karabel is that aside from using Luwian hieroglyphic script and similar iconography as in the core region, there is also an attempt to situate the carvings in a way that was similar to the practices in north-central Anatolia. The carvings and their placement emphasize that a Hittite identity based on the use of space and place did exist and was practiced in the core and periphery.”




83 Hawkins 2015: 21. Cf. Hawkins 2013: 15.

84 See Schürr 2011: 72 n. 14.

The reading of *Mi+ra* and *VIR*₂ seems quite certain. If one agrees with Herbordt's reading of the two other signs, one may still interpret them as rendering of the personal name Miraziti *Mi+ra-ra¹(REGIO)-VIR*₂, in which, however, the determinative REGIO would be disturbing.

A new interpretation has been suggested recently by R. Oreshko,⁸⁵ who read *Mi+ra-CER[VUS] BONUS*₂ *VIR*₂. The interpretation of the sign below *Mi+ra* is open to discussion since only a few traces are preserved due to the spalling of the rock. It seems that there is more to see than just a single stroke. However, one cannot decide if we are dealing with intentional or accidental scratches.

If one concurs with Herbordt, reading *a*, this would in no way contradict the interpretation as a personal name. In this case, one would have to assume another element of the name in the part now broken away. A tentative interpretation could then be *Mi-ra-ra¹[-BOS/-VIR/CERVUS]* yielding the names Miramuwa, Miraziti, and Miraruntiya.⁸⁶

This last interpretation presupposes that the upper left sign should not be read REGIO  as proposed by Herbordt, but that a different explanation needs to be found. The photo shows that the sign looks, in fact, different than a regular REGIO. Contrary to the suggestion in Herbordt's drawing, the upper left edge does not carry a pike. The rock is intact in this area, so a spalling can be excluded. The sign looks a bit like a triangle, the pike of which is slightly diverged to the right. Therefore, as Oreshko already pointed out, the sign intended by the scribe could be *BONUS*₂ , although *URBS*₂  cannot be excluded completely. However, the seemingly high peak on the right side is at least in part due to the colouring of the rock in this area. The combination *BONUS*₍₂₎ *VIR*₍₂₎ is known from many seals,⁸⁷ and although not attested before in stone inscriptions, seems possible in a graffito.

The inscriptions from Suratkaya can, therefore, not be taken to show a southern extension of Mira to the Latmos Mountains.⁸⁸ The identity of *Ku-x-i(a)*, the "son of the Great King" is unclear, and the mentioning of Mira in graffito 1 most probably refers to a foreigner or is just part of a personal name.

II.3. The stele from Karakuyu-Torbalı (fig. 6)

After the discovery of Karabel C in 1940 it took sixty years before further hieroglyphic monuments turned up in western Anatolia.⁸⁹ But only a few years after the find of the Suratkaya graffiti another fragmentary hieroglyphic Luwian monument came to light in a village of Karakuyu near Torbalı, south of the Karabel pass. The stele shows a figure standing with his left foot forward, wearing a short tunic, and pointed shoes. As can be seen from the inscription placed on the narrow side of the stele, the monument was intended to be free-standing.⁹⁰ Next to the foot, a stick is visible, surely belonging to the shaft of a spear. Typologically, the figure shows close similarities to the representations of Hanyeri, Hemite, Hatip, and Karabel.⁹¹

The parallels with the monuments mentioned have been displayed in the original publication of the stele, but the detailed analysis led the editors to the conclusion that the monument must date to the post-Hittite period. This conclusion was reinforced by the reading of the inscription, which supposedly mentioned a "Great King" Tarkasnawa of Mira.⁹²

⁸⁵ Oreshko 2013: 365-366.

⁸⁶ Of these specific names only Miramuwa is attested, see Laroche 1966: 119 no. 807, however the formation of *toponym + ziti* or *toponym + Kurunta/Runtiya* is well attested, cf. Laroche 1966: 262-279 and 282-283. Anthroponyms containing the element Mira- (be it the toponym or not) are also attested in later periods, particularly in Pamphylia and Cilicia, see LGPN 5B: 298, s.v. Μιραα, Μιρασηταα and Μιρασηταβι (kind reference by Diether Schür).

⁸⁷ Cf. Herbordt 2005: 392-393; Dinçol/Dinçol 2008: 81-89.

⁸⁸ So also Hawkins 2015: 21.

⁸⁹ Karabel C was found in 1940, see Güterbock 1967: 63-64. The LATMOS inscriptions were found in 2000, see Peschlow-Bindokat 2001: 363 and Peschlow-Bindokat 2002: 211.

⁹⁰ Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 2.

⁹¹ Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 2-4.

⁹² Reading of the inscription according to Tekoğlu *apud* Işık/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 22-25: MAGNUS.REX Tar[kasna¹]-wa/i Mi+ra-a REG[IO] *24-pa [] SUPER² CAPERE[...].

The text seemed to confirm the expected, given the predominant view of Western Anatolian history and geography. The king Tarkasnawa, who commissioned Karabel, would have become Great King after the Hittite Empire ceased to exist.⁹³

Unfortunately, the reading of the inscription, at least of the name and toponym, seems largely induced by wishful thinking. In the lower left corner, where we are supposed to read *Ta[arkasna]-wa/i Mi+ra-^ra¹*, the photo rather shows DEUS.*430+ra ‘all the gods’ as has already been pointed out by R. Oreshko and M. Forlanini.⁹⁴ Furthermore, the interpretation of the lower part of the inscription by Oreshko, reading DEUS.430+ra LIS+[l]i-sa-t[ú] “all the gods shall litigate” seems quite probable, even though the extensive phonetic writing is somewhat surprising in this early period.

After all, neither Tarkasnawa nor the land of Mira is mentioned in this inscription; it, therefore, cannot be taken as an argument for an extension of Mira into the Meander valley. The archaeological dating of the monument as “post-Hittite” cannot be definitive, being only based on the analysis of one leg. As pointed out by A. Schachner, the figure shows great similarities to reliefs clearly dated to the Empire Period. Thus, it should (archaeologically) rather be dated to the period in which Hittite art had the strongest influence on Anatolia, probably the late 13th or early 12th century.⁹⁵

However, an assignation of Karakuyu-Torbali to the land of Mira is not excluded. Given the suggestion that Mira lay to both sides of Karabel, one might ask speculatively, if the stele of Karakuyu may be interpreted as counterpart of Karabel B, a free standing marble figure at the entrance of the pass.

II.4. The alleged close relationship between Lazpa and the Seha River Land

On account of the contents of the letter KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79, a letter of Manapatarhunta, the king of the Seha River Land to a Hittite king, probably Muwatalli II, it has often been argued that Lazpa⁹⁶ would be part of the Seha River Land.⁹⁷ In the letter, the vassal king Manapatarhunta first refers to an operation against the land of Wilusa in which he could not take part because he was gravely ill. Then Manapatarhunta reports about the misdeeds of the well-known agitator Piyamaradu,⁹⁸ who humiliated him; set up a man named Atpa over him, and attacked the land of Lazpa. Seemingly from Lazpa, Piyamaradu took some subjects, referred to as *šaripütü*, of Manapatarhunta and the Hittite king captive. The *šaripütü* people then appealed to Atpa to be set free. Atpa at first wanted to comply with their request, but was convinced to keep the captives by a messenger of Piyamaradu. Finally, a man named Kassu arrived, who probably caused Kupantakurunta, the king of Mira, to intervene in the conflict.⁹⁹ Kupantakurunta finally achieved the release of the *šaripütü* of the Hittite king. The fate of the *šaripütü* of Manapatarhunta is unclear since the letter breaks off at this point.

The alleged appurtenance of Lazpa to the Seha River Land is based on the following short passage of the Manapatarhunta letter:

- 7 [mPí-ia-m]a-ra-du-uš-ma-mu GIM-an lu-ri-ia-aḫ-ta nu-mu-kán mAt-pa-a-an
 8 [pé-ra-an U]GU ti-it-ta-nu-ut nu KUR La-az-pa-an GUL-aḫ-ta
 9 [x x x LÚ.]MESŠA-RI-PU-TI ku-e-eš ku-e-eš am-me-el e-še-er
 10 [na-at-kán ḫu]u-ma-an-du-uš-pát an-da ḫa-an-da-er ŠA U^oTU-š-ia ku-e-eš [ku-e-eš e-še-er]
 11 [LÚ.MESŠA-R]I-PU-TI na-at-kán ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš-pát an-da ḫa-an-da-er

93 See the ideas of Hawkins 1998: 18-21; Starke 1998: 193-194; Starke 1999: 531; Starke 2000: 251-254.

94 Oreshko 2012: 663-665; Oreshko 2013: 373-381; Forlanini 2012: 134.

95 Schachner *apud* Işik/Atıcı/Tekoğlu 2011: 11 n. 62 “Die Stele von Karakuyu aber ist ein Beispiel echt hethitischer Monumentalkunst. Deshalb würde ich das Relief noch in das ausgehende 13. oder früheste 12. Jh. datieren, also in eine Zeit, in der die hethitische Kunst ihren stärksten Einfluss auf Anatolien hatte.” Cf. also Schachner 2012: 152.

96 The identification of Lazpa with Lesbos, though convincing, is not entirely certain and mostly based on the phonetic similarity between the two names. It is, however, almost universally accepted today, but see Steiner 2007: 592; Freu 2008b: 124; Steiner 2011: 266, 270-271.

97 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 51, 53, 63; Starke 1997: 453-454; Singer 2008: 21; Hoffner 2009: 293; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 144.

98 For Piyamaradu see Heinhold-Krahmer 1983, Heinhold-Krahmer 1986 and Heinhold-Krahmer 2005.

99 Usually this Kassu is connected also to the attack on Wilusa, see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 175 Anm. 237 and Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 41. However, it seems that Kassu's arrival pressed Kupantakurunta to intervene in the conflict, see Gander 2010: 173-174.

When [Piyam]aradu humbled me, he installed Atpa over me. Then he attacked Lazpa.

or

When [Piyam]aradu had humiliated me, set up Atpa over² me, and attacked (the country of) Lazpa.¹⁰⁰

[And] all of the *šaripūtū* who were mine without exception joined with him. And all of the [*šar*]ipūtū of the Majesty without exception joined with him.

According to some interpretations, the humiliation of Manapatarihunta consisted in the attack on Lazpa so that Lazpa would be understood as belonging to the Seha River Land. Furthermore, the attack on Lazpa obviously resulted in Piyamaradu's possession of the *šaripūtū* people of Manapatarihunta and of the Hittite king. This observation has also been taken as an argument for an appurtenance of Lazpa to the realm of Manapatarihunta. However, both arguments are at least doubtful.

Firstly, the sentence in line 7 is introduced by the temporal conjunction *GIM-an* (Hitt. *mahhan*) 'when'; it is only unclear if the following sentence *nu-mu-kán* ^m*At-pa-a-an* [*pé-ra-an u*]GU *ti-it-ta-nu-ut* "set up Atpa over me" belongs to the temporal clause or is a separate main clause. The possible translations are, therefore:

When [Piyam]aradu humiliated me and set up Atpa over me, he attacked Lazpa.¹⁰¹

Or

When [Piyam]aradu humiliated me, he set up Atpa over me and attacked Lazpa.¹⁰²

I prefer the second option, since the humiliation would then be a defeat inflicted by Piyamaradu on Manapatarihunta which thereafter did not have the military strength to oppose a setting up of Atpa over him,¹⁰³ but one may also argue for the first one. Either way, the humiliation and the attack on Lazpa are not the same events, even if they may be somehow connected.

The more important argument for a hegemony of Seha over Lazpa seems to be that subjects of Manapatarihunta were captured during the raid on Lazpa.

A plausible explanation for the presence of these *šaripūtū* on Lazpa was brought forward some years ago by Itamar Singer, even if he believed in the appurtenance of Lazpa to Seha.¹⁰⁴ Following a proposal by Sylvie Lackenbacher (concerning the Ugaritic texts), Singer could show that *šaripūtū* (a *hapax* in Hittite context) would best be understood as "purple dyers." The *šaripūtū* in the Manapatarihunta letter could then be itinerant dyers on a mission to prepare or present purple dyed wool to the palace and/or main deity of Lazpa.¹⁰⁵ The help of this otherwise unknown deity is also sought by a Hittite king (probably Hattusili III) in the oracular text KUB 5.6 + KUB 18.54 ii 57'-65'.¹⁰⁶ However neither in this case nor the Manapatarihunta letter, a Hittite hegemony over Lazpa is necessary. The presence of foreigners bringing gifts for a deity does not imply any political power over the territory in question, as can be seen by Hittites venerating the Ištar of Niniveh and other Assyrian and Babylonian deities. Even the deity of Ahhiyawa is brought to Hattusa to help the ailing Hittite king.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, we have to keep in mind that not only the purple dyers of Manapatarihunta but also those of the Hittite king, were taken captive by Piyamaradu. This idea also suggests a short-time visit of Hittite subjects in a foreign land, rather than a full-scale conquest of Lazpa by the otherwise landlocked Hittites.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, as pointed out before, the mission of artisans of Manapatarihunta to Lazpa does not need to

100 For the first line two translations are given, since they are both possible, but differ in sense, the first is taken from Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 141, the second from Hoffner 2009: 294.

101 See e.g. Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 141

102 See e.g. Hoffner 2009: 294; similarly Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 40 "When [Piyam]aradus had humiliated me, he set Atpas [agai]st me(?): he (Piyamaradus or Atpas) attacked the country of Lazpa." The hesitation of Houwink ten Cate as to the agents of the last sentence seems unjustified. Nothing seems to indicate a change of the subject.

103 Similarly de Martino 2006: 169.

104 Singer 2008: 21, 32.

105 Singer 2008: 31-32.

106 See now Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 192-195.

107 Cf. preceding note.

108 See also Woudhuizen 2015: 10.

mean that the Seha River Land has to be located exactly on the coast opposite Lesbos. The connection between Seha and Lazpa is equally possible if the Seha River Land is placed further south in the Meander valley.¹⁰⁹

III. Arguments for a location of Mira in Lydia and the Seha River Land in the Meander Valley

III.1. A close relationship between Seha and Millawanda?

The first text to provide us with information on a possible southerly location of the Seha River Land is exactly the just mentioned letter of Manapatarkun. As reported above, Piyamaradu captured a group of dyers belonging to Manapatarkun and the Hittite king, and they pleaded to Atpa to be released.

The fact that the captives appealed to Atpa (and not to Piyamaradu) for release suggests that, at least at that time, Piyamaradu and Atpa did not stay in the same place. It is quite likely, as Houwink ten Cate suggested that Piyamaradu, after his raid on Lazpa, left the captives with Atpa.¹¹⁰ In the later Tawagalawa letter, Atpa appears as overlord of Millawanda, and it may well be that he already had this position during this earlier episode. Possibly he only got drawn into the conflict because Piyamaradu decided to leave the captives with him.¹¹¹

Atpa's presence on Anatolian soil is further reinforced by Manapatarkun's complaint that Atpa had been set up over him.¹¹² The expression [peran u]GU tittanut must imply some political or military influence of Atpa on the Seha River Land.¹¹³ This notion, however, can only mean that Atpa's realm and the Seha River Land were very close to each other, probably contiguous.

If Atpa were indeed already stationed in Millawanda, this would suggest a close proximity of Seha and Millawanda – Miletos. The Seha, in this case, should be identified with the Meander.

III.2. The first Hittite attack on Millawanda

One very fragmentary passage of Mursili's annals, unfortunately only preserved in KUB 14.15 I 23-26 (CTH 61.II), may suggest a location of Arzawa proper in a more northern area, as pointed out before.¹¹⁴

The event dates to the beginning of Mursili's third year (in Goetze's arrangement) and is certainly prior to the actual invasion of Arzawa.

- 23 *ma-ah-ḫa-an-ma ḫa-me-eš-ḫa-an-za ki-ša-at nu* ^mU-uh-[ḫa-LÚ-iš ...]
 24 *nu-kán KUR* ^{URU}Mi-il-la-wa-an-da A-NA LUGAL KUR Ah-ḫi-ú-[wa-a ...]
 25 *nu-kán* ^mGul-la-an ^mMa-la-LÚ-in ÉRIN^{MES} [ANŠE.KUR.RA ^{HI.A}-ia] ṛpa-ra-a¹ n[e-eh-ḫu-un na-aš KUR
^{URU}Mi-il-la-wa-an-da (?)]
 26 *GUL-ah-ḫe-er na-at iš-tu NAM.RA^{MES} GU[D^{ME}]^S UDU^{HI.A} ša-ra-a da-a-er [...]*

When spring arrived, Uh[ha-ziti] and [...] the land of Millawanda to the King of Ahhiyawa, [I, My Majesty, ...] and di[spatched] Gulla and Malaziti, infantry [and chariotry, and] they attacked [the land of Millawanda]. They captured it, together with civilian captives, cattle, and sheep, [...].¹¹⁵

This passage already caused discussion among Sommer, Forrer, and Goetze in the heat of the Ahhiyawa controversy.¹¹⁶

109 Heinhold-Krahmer 2004a: 163-164 and Heinhold-Krahmer 2004c: 51.

110 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 46.

111 Houwink ten Cate 1983-84: 46.

112 KUB 19.5 + KBo 19.79 I 7-8, see Houwink ten Cate 1983-84, 39-40, Hoffner 2009: 294 and Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 140-143.

113 See Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: "Piyamaradu inflicted a humiliating defeat upon Manapa-Tarkun, and then appointed his son-in-law Atpa as his superior, thus the de facto ruler of his kingdom".

114 See above I.2.

115 Translation after Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 29.

116 See also the discussion in Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: 97-99.

According to Forrer's restoration, Uhhaziti instigated a revolt in Millawanda against the king of Ahhiyawa. Consequently the Hittite king sent two generals, who attacked and destroyed the city of Millawanda.¹¹⁷

Also in Sommer's interpretation, the land of Millawanda was incited to rebel against Ahhiyawa by Uhhaziti. However, according to him, the king of Ahhiyawa sent the generals Gulla and Malaziti to restore order in Millawanda.¹¹⁸

Goetze presented another solution in 1933. He saw an alliance between Uhhaziti of Arzawa and the land of Ahhiyawa in the course of which Millawanda also sided with them. As a consequence of this alliance, Mursili sent his generals to Millawanda to attack and plunder the city.¹¹⁹

This solution is now commonly accepted and often used without the necessary cautiousness.¹²⁰ The assumption of an alliance is based firstly on Goetze's collation of the line 25, which made him prefer a reading $n[e\text{-}e\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}u\text{-}un]$ 'I (the Hittite king) sent' over Sommer's $n[a\text{-}i\check{s}\text{-}ta]$ 'he (the king of Ahhiyawa) sent', and secondly on another passage of Mursili's annals KUB 14.16 III 24'-28' // KUB 14.15 III 54'-57' (CTH 61.II) where we read:¹²¹

- 24' $[nu\text{ }^DUTU\text{-}\check{s}i\text{ }(?)]\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }^{URU}Pu\text{-}ra\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }N[AM.RA^{ME}]^{\check{s}}$
 25' $EGIR\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }pa\text{-}a\text{-}un\text{ }ma\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}a\text{-}an\text{-}ma\text{ }I\text{-}NA\text{ }^{URU}[...]ar\text{-}\check{h}u\text{-}un\text{ }nu\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }L\acute{U}^{ME\check{s}}\text{ }^{URU}Pu\text{-}ra\text{-}an\text{-}da$
 26' $\check{h}a\text{-}at\text{-}ra\text{-}a\text{-}nu\text{-}un\text{ }\check{s}u\text{-}me\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }iR^{ME\check{s}}\text{ }A\text{-}B[I\text{-}IA]\text{ }e\text{-}e\check{s}\text{-}te\text{-}en\text{ }nu\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}m[a\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }A\text{-}BU\text{-}I]A\text{ }da\text{-}a\text{-}a\check{s}$
 27' $nu\text{-}wa\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}a\check{s}\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }^{m}U\text{-}u\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}a\text{-}L\acute{U}\text{ }iR\text{-}an\text{-}ni\text{ }pa\text{-}i\check{s}\text{-}[ta\text{ }a\text{-}pa\text{-}a\text{-}a\check{s}\text{-}ma\text{-}wa\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }LUGAL\text{ }KUR\text{ }A\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}i\text{-}(\text{?})]i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$
 28' $EGIR\text{-}an\text{ }ti\text{-}i\text{-}ia\text{-}at\text{ }nu\text{-}wa\text{ }ku\text{-}u\text{-}ru\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}a\check{h}\text{-}ta$

[I, the Majesty] followed the civilian captives to Puranda. When I arrived at [...], I wrote to the people of Puranda: "You were subjects of [my] father, and [my father] took you and gave you in service to Uhhaziti. [But] he supported [the king of Ahhiya]wa and became hostile (to me).

The [...]- $i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$ in KUB 14.15 III 57' is most probably the rest of a name of the land or king that was supported by Uhhaziti, as we can see from *EGIR-an tiyat* 'supported' in KUB 14.15 III 57' // KUB 14.16 III 28'. Among the available toponyms, Ahhiyawa seems the most likely, even though one still has to be careful about these restorations.¹²²

As Sommer did, for KUB 14.15 I 24' $nu\text{-}k\acute{a}n\text{ }KUR\text{ }^{URU}Mi\text{-}il\text{-}la\text{-}wa\text{-}an\text{-}da\text{ }A\text{-}NA\text{ }LUGAL\text{ }KUR\text{ }A\check{h}\text{-}\check{h}i\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}[wa\text{-}a\text{ }...]$ one may still think of an interpretation in terms of "and since the land of Millawanda belongs to the king of Ahhi[yawa],"¹²³ even though a different explanation for [...]- $i\acute{u}\text{-}wa\text{ }^1\text{-}a$ in KUB 14.15 III 57' would be needed.

However, if we accept Goetze's interpretation of an alliance of Arzawa, Ahhiyawa, and Millawanda and a subsequent attack of Mursili's generals on Millawanda, this implies that the Hittites could attack Millawanda in the preliminaries of the great Hittite-Arzawan war, without getting into trouble with Arzawa.

If Arzawa occupied the Meander valley with its capital lying at Ephesos, such an attack is hardly imaginable,¹²⁴ a position further to the north would be more suitable.¹²⁵

117 Forrer 1924b: 113 and Forrer 1926: 45.

118 Sommer 1932: 307-313.

119 Götze 1933: 234-237.

120 S. e.g. Kinal 1953: 16; Garstang/Gurney 1959: 84-85; Cornelius 1973: 177; Goetze 1975: 120-122; Ünal 1991: 31; Niemeier 1999: 150; Bryce 2005: 193; Waelkens 2000: 476; Niemeier 2008a: 315; Niemeier 2008b: 17; Freu 2008a: 82; Niemeier 2009: 15-16; Pavúk 2015: 91. See however Freu 2014: 92; Hawkins 2015: 22 who are very cautious.

121 Translation after Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 39.

122 Sommer 1934: 89 n. 1 was quite sceptical about the restorations of Goetze and designated it as "sehr fraglich".

123 Sommer 1932: 309.

124 See Freu/Mazoyer 2008: 29; Gander 2010: 152; Forlanini 2012: 139-140; Gander, forthcoming. Cf. also Popko 2010: 284-285 who, however, argues based on this evidence that Gulla and Malaziti are to be interpreted as Arzawan generals.

125 Stefano de Martino (e-mail from 27.8.2015) informs me that he thinks "that Uhha-ziti had already lost real control of the Meander valley when Mursili moved towards Millawanda (probably because of the rebellion of his subordinated local rulers such as Mashuiluwa), although he had not yet been fully defeated". This is not impossible, however, we do not have any positive evidence for it.

IV. Conclusions

The chemical analysis of the Tawagalawa letter and EA 32 indicate a provenance south of Ephesos for the former and in the area of Kyme and/or Larissa for the latter (fig. 7). Geographically, one can draw the conclusion that Millawanda (from where the Tawagalawa letter was probably written) is to be sought in southern Ionia, whereas, surprisingly, the capital of Arzawa (from which EA 32 should have originated) is to be sought in the Aiolis.

Taking this suggestion as a starting point, I tried to review the Hittite and Luwian sources if they might be brought in agreement with this unusual northern placement of Arzawa. We have seen that it might be argued reasonably that the position of the Karabel monuments suggest a location of Mira to the north rather than to the south of the Tmolos mountains (Boz Dağları). Alternatively, one may think that Mira comprised the whole Karabel pass.

Furthermore, the inscriptions from Suratkaya and Karakuyu-Torbali bear no relevance concerning the location of Mira. The identification of *ku-x-ia* in LATMOS graffito no. 5 with Kupantakurunta of Mira is no more than wishful thinking. The “*man of Mira*” mentioned in graffito no. 1 may refer either to a foreigner, for whom being from Mira would be a distinctive feature or is to be interpreted as a personal name with no geographical relevance.

Concerning the alleged close relationship between the Seha River Land and Lazpa, it has been shown that the presence of Manapatarhunta’s subjects on the island need in no way imply hegemony of Seha over Lazpa. We are rather dealing with an occasional visit of artisans to prepare or present purple dyed wool to the ruler of Lazpa or, rather, to the prestigious sanctuary of the deity of Lazpa.

The Manapatarhunta letter could indicate a close proximity between Seha and Millawanda, if, as is quite likely, Atpa was stationed at Millawanda at the time of the letter.

Moreover, the Hittite attack on Millawanda (if the restoration is correct) in the preliminaries of the Hittite – Arzawan war, is very difficult to imagine if Millawanda – Miletos lay in proximity to the Arzawan heartland. In this case, too, a northerly location of Arzawa would be more fitting.

It could be shown that the Hittite and Luwian sources may be taken to argue for a position of Arzawa in later Lydia, which may also induce some doubts on the whole outline of the current reconstruction.

This article is clearly not intended to present an alternative *solution* to the problem. Rather, its aim is to elicit a more critical view of established opinions and preconceived meanings concerning the geography of western Anatolia in the Hittite period and to show that, even though a certain idea is widely accepted, alternatives are still possible.

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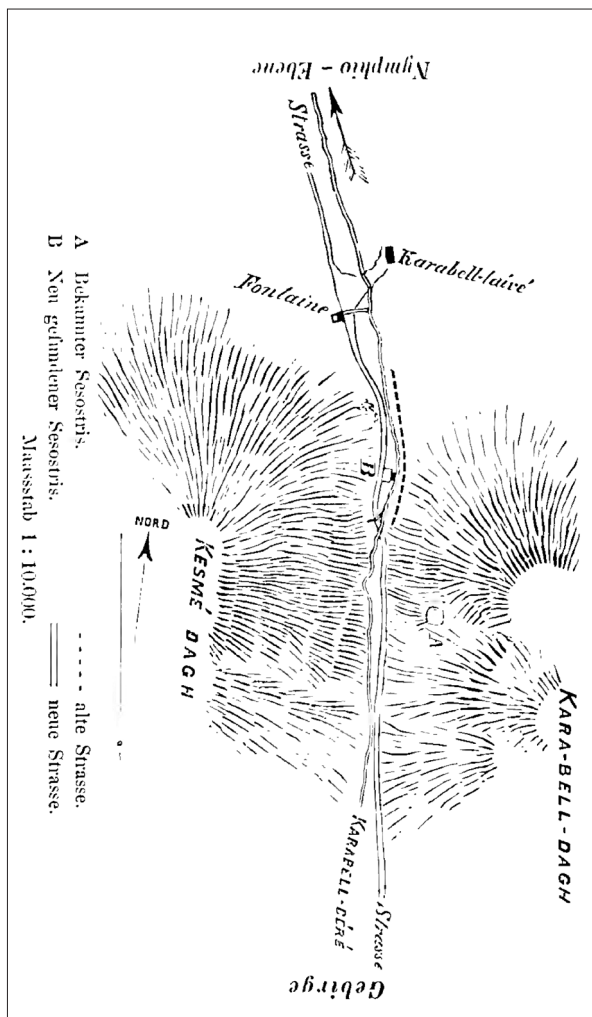


Fig. 1: Position of Karabel B in relation to Karabel A as drawn by Humann/ Curtius 1876: 50.

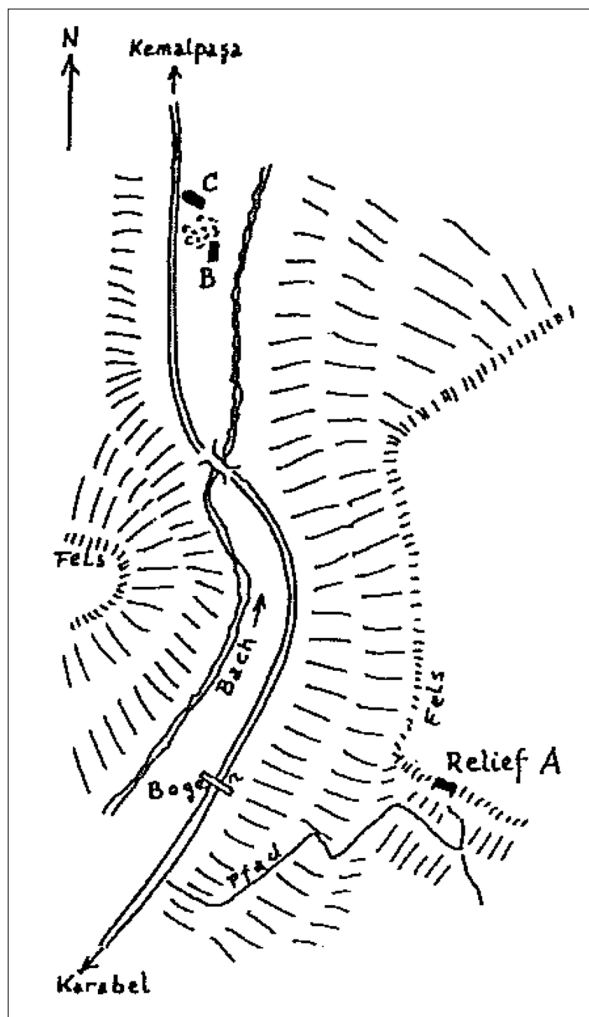


Fig. 2: Position of Karabel B and C in relation to Karabel A as drawn by Bittel 1937-41: 184, Abb. 2 and Güterbock 1967: 64, Abb 1.



Fig. 3a:
View in southerly direction
from the rock of Karabel,
photo taken by the author.



Fig. 3b:
View in northerly direction
from the rock of Karabel,
photo taken by the author.

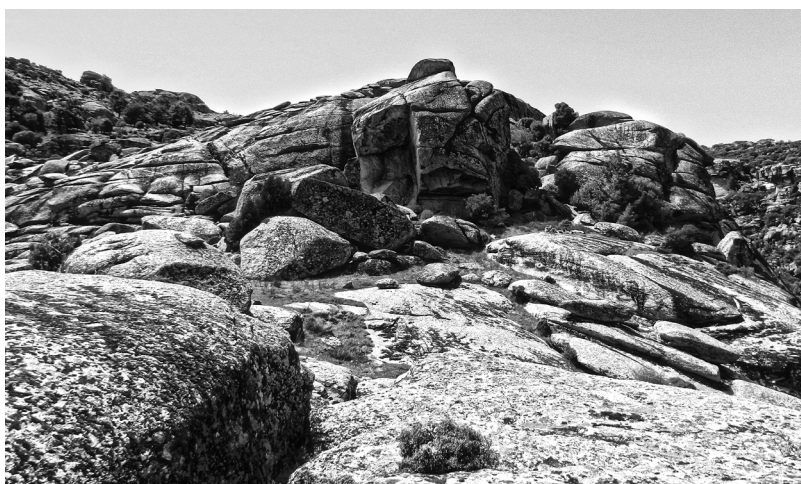


Fig. 4:
The rock shelter with the
LATMOS inscriptions seen
from below, photo taken
by the author.



Fig. 5: The inscription LATMOS 1, photo taken by the author.



Fig. 6:
The inscription on the stele of Karakuyu-Torbali, photo taken by the author.

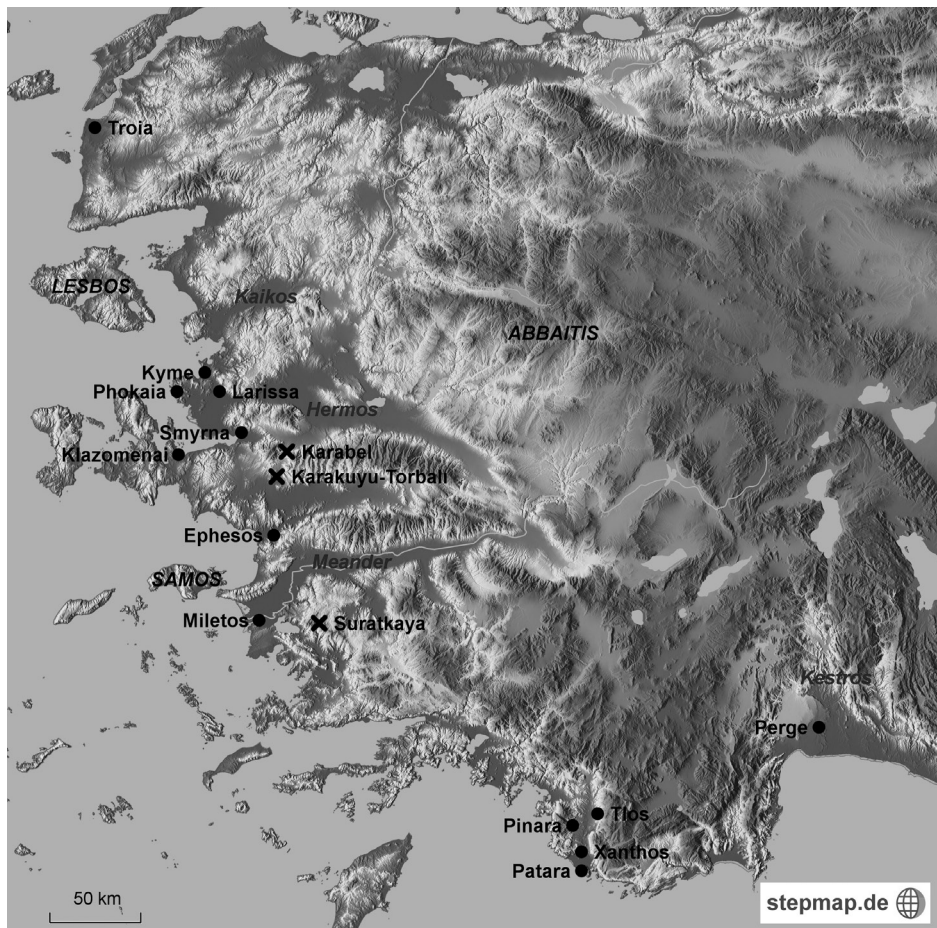


Fig. 7: Map of western Asia Minor with sites and regions mentioned in the text.