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Tlos, Oinoanda and the Hittite Invasion of the Lukka lands. Some Thoughts on the History of North-Western Lycia in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages

Summary: The present article contains observations on the invasion of Lycia by the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV as described in the Yalburt inscription. The author questions the commonly found identification of the land of *VIṬIS*/Wiyawanda with the city of Oinoanda on account of the problems raised by the reading of the sign *VIṬIS* as well as of archaeological and strategical observations. With the aid of Lycian and Greek inscriptions the author argues that the original Wiyawanda/Oinoanda was located further south than the city commonly known as Oinoanda situated above İncealiler. These insights lead to a reassessment of the Hittite-Luwian sources concerning the conquest of Lycia.

Keywords: Lycia, Lykien, Lukka, Hethiter, Luwier, politische Geographie, griechische Epigraphik, lykische Epigraphik

DOI 10.1515/klio-2014-0039

1 Introduction

Ever since the beginning of research in Hittite political geography, two methodological approaches have basically been used. The first is mainly to collect toponyms known from Greek, Roman, Byzantine or even later sources and to identify them with Hittite places. This approach has been applied by Garstang, Forrer and others in their early works on Hittite geography.¹ This method has produced convincing results in the Levant and parts of Mesopotamia, but in Asia Minor the results of scholars were differing and often lacked convincing

¹ Hrozný (1919); Mayer – Garstang (1923); Garstang (1923); Forrer (1926). For the problematics of this approach even for classical sites, s. Robert – Robert (1977).

power.² The heavy criticism of Smith³ against Forrer, Hrozný, Mayer and Garstang at first did not find support in the scholarly community.⁴ The belief that cumulative evidence of several toponyms in the same region was enough was deep-rooted and widespread.⁵

This method however lost much of its credibility when Goetze in 1940 showed that Kizzuwatna did not, as assumed by Hrozný, Garstang, Forrer and others, lie in the Pontos area but rather covered most of classical Plain Cilicia,⁶ and therefore, all the respective equations given by these scholars were obviously wrong.

Goetze, in his own work, tried much more to understand Hittite geography from within. He examined the relations between different cities and countries, and tried to come to a relative geography.⁷

The possibilities and the disadvantages of both the approaches are evident. The thorough investigation in the primary sources, taking into account the texts, the monuments and the location of roads and settlements is the starting point of any study devoted to Hittite political geography. However, since there are very few fixed points in Hittite geography, this kind of approach alone can only provide glimpses of a relative geography which do not allow for a clear identification of new sites.

On the other hand, the disadvantages of the name equations that may produce whole series of wrong identifications has been mentioned above. Although one cannot be too cautious when using such identifications, one also has to accept that the most important progress in Western Anatolian political geography has taken place on the basis of these identifications. First, it is essential to mention the identification of Hittite Parha on the Kastaraya with classical Perge on the Kestros (today Aksu Çayı),⁸ and, more importantly, for our present study, the equations concerning the Lycian towns, first proposed by Massimo Poetto in his edition of the Yalbur inscription,⁹ that are almost universally accepted today.¹⁰

2 Barjamovic (2011) 65–67.

3 Smith (1922); Smith (1924).

4 Mayer – Garstang (1923) 26; Contenau (1924) 67–68; Albright (1925).

5 S. e.g. Mayer – Garstang (1923) 26; Forrer (1926) 1–3.

6 Goetze (1940).

7 S. e.g. Goetze (1928) 147–153.

8 Otten (1988) 37–38.

9 Poetto (1993) 75–84.

10 S. Gander (2010) 56–58, 86–94, 121–123 for further references. The skepticism expressed by Steiner (2007) 592, Steiner (2011) has to be taken into account, but his line of reasoning remains at least partially unconvincing because it is rather indistinctive. Equations should be judged

The case of Lycia, however, is difficult. The lack of archaeological evidence dating to the 2nd millennium BC has led some scholars to believe that Lycia was „archaeologically empty“,¹¹ and that the Lukka lands have to be sought somewhere else. Even if we now accept that the Lukka people lived in Lycia, and that somewhere near the cities of Oinoanda, Tlos, Pinara, Xanthos and Patara there have to be remains of the Bronze Age. The question which is left is: how did the Hittites get to Lycia and how did the conquest take place.

2 The Yalbur Inscription

2.1 The text

The Hittite conquest of Lycia is, according to the *communis opinio*, reported in a Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Yalbur Yaylası, some twenty kilometers north of Iğın.¹² The inscription mentions the lands of *Lu-ka* and *VIṬIS* and the towns of *TALA-wa/i*, *Pina-^{*}416*, *Á-wa/i+ra/i-na*, *Pa-tara/i* as well as some other toponyms. The places mentioned were immediately identified with Lykia, Oinoanda, Tlos, Pinara, Xanthos (Lyc. Arnña) and Patara respectively by Poetto in his edition of the text.¹³ This has been done mainly on the basis of identification of the names. It might, however, be worthwhile to take a look at the structure of the text as a whole. Recent research has clarified a lot concerning the original sequence of the blocks in the Yalbur-inscription.

As already shown by Poetto, block 1 is the first, followed by a fragment (Frg. 2) discovered in the Ankara museum, which is then followed by block 16.¹⁴

according to their quality, firstly in terms of geographical proximity and secondly in terms of linguistic accuracy (what Hajnal [2003] 23–28 following Watkins [1986] 48–49 termed „funktionale Identität“ and „formale Identität“). Steiner refrains mostly from doing so, which leads him to negate both the most plausible identification of Parha with Perge and the absolute unlikely such as Telipinu – Telephos.

¹¹ Ünal (1991) 27.

¹² As the longest Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription from the Hittite Empire Period, the Yalbur inscription is of particular historical and cultural significance, its dimensions and composition are quite impressive and no doubt to be admired by a greater public. Regrettably, however, at Yalbur Yaylası, where it still stands it is exposed to weather and probably also active destruction. The mutilated torso, still seen by Ehringhaus (2005) 38 is now missing, some of the blocks have suffered further damage. Therefore, it is to be hoped, that this unique monument will find its place in a museum among the ancient treasures of Turkey, where it belongs.

¹³ Poetto (1993) 75–84.

¹⁴ Poetto (1993) 15–17; Karasu – Poetto – Savaş (2000).

Hawkins convincingly argued, because of a parallel passage in the Emirgazi VI inscription,¹⁵ that block 10 should be placed immediately after block 16.¹⁶ After that, the sequence is not entirely clear. In Emirgazi V, which seems to have had a similar content as Yalbur, the land of [Nip]ira seems to be mentioned in B 1.1¹⁷ It is likely that Yalbur block 7, mentioning the same toponym, stood before those mentioning Talawa, Kuwalatarna, Pina-*416 and Awarna (i.e. blocks 6, 12–15, 17), because Emirgazi V mentions these towns only later.

In block 7, Nipira is mentioned together with the land *511-sa, therefore it is probable that block 17 mentioning the same land stood directly before or (rather) after block 7.¹⁸ Block 17 and 6 both mention the land Kuwalatarna and should therefore probably stand close together, block 17 preceding block 6.¹⁹

After that it becomes difficult again. Schürr saw a close relation between the surrender of women and children of Kuwalatarna in block 6 and the conquest of Talawa in block 14–15 on the basis of the pairing of Kuwalatarna and Talawa in Emirgazi V A 5. This may be the case, but one should also keep in mind that it could be a thematic pairing „in the city of Kuwalatarna and in the city of Talawa women and children fell to their knees before me“. This does not necessarily imply that the blocks mentioning the surrender of these two places have to follow one another in the Yalbur inscription. Neither must it mean that these two places were close together.²⁰

Another group of blocks can be linked because of the parallels in the Emirgazi inscription. Block 15 has to be placed directly after block 14 since the end of block 14 and the beginning of block 15 complement each other to a full sentence which recurs, almost verbatim in Emirgazi V A 5.²¹ Block 12 should then probably follow block 15, again because the sentence gained from pairing block 15 and 12 seems to recur verbatim in Yalbur block 6.²² Block 12 should be followed by block 13 due to their common content (both mention the conquest of Pina-*416).²³ As Schürr recently pointed out, block 13, mentioning Pina-*416

¹⁵ Alp (1973) 11–13.

¹⁶ Hawkins (1992) 260–263; Hawkins (1995) 78.

¹⁷ Gander (2010) 124 n. 496 with reference to this reading by R. Oreshko.

¹⁸ Yakubovich (2008) 5; Schürr (2010) 14.

¹⁹ Schürr (2010) 14–17.

²⁰ Pace Gander (2010) 89.

²¹ Poetto (1993) 70–71; Hawkins (1995) 82–83; Schürr (2010) 19.

²² So with Schürr (2010) 14. Hawkins (1995) 70 read *x x pi/ DARE*. Oreshko, however, informs me that he refuses to read *ARHA* before *DARE* (e-mail from 9.3.13).

²³ Hawkins (1995) 81; Schürr (2010) 14. The exact reading of *416 is still in discussion. Hawkins *apud* Herbordt (2005) 289–290; Rieken – Yakubovich (2010) showed that the sign obviously has the reading *ala/i-*, but recently Oreshko (2012) chap. 3.III presented good arguments

and Awarna, could then be followed by block 3 since they both mention mules or asses.²⁴ Then, as Schürr again rightly observed, block 4 should be placed to the end of the whole text given the summary it contains:²⁵ „(Of) the Great Kings of Hatti, my fathers and grandfathers, no one has (ever) come to this lands, but the Stormgod, my lord, loved me, and I [came] to these lands.“

Although there are still some uncertainties, we may provisionally order the blocks as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1, Frg. 2, 16, 10 | Beginning of the inscription, with genealogy, beginning of the narrative part by mentioning the grace and the help of the gods. |
| 7, 17, 6 | Actions against the lands of Nipira, Kuwakuwaluwata, *511-sa and Kuwalatarna. Submission of Kuwalatarna. |
| 14, 15, 12, 13, 3 | Actions against Talawa, Awarna, Pina-*416. Submission of Talawa, resistance in Pina-*416, submission of Pina-*416. Unclear action concerning mules or asses. |
| 4 | Dedication of Mt. Patara to the [Storm-god]. Summary in view of the unprecedented success of Tudhaliya IV. |

With that order there remain one fragment (Frg. 3) and five at least partly readable blocks (2, 5, 8, 9, 11), together with two blocks (18, 19) and five fragments that are illegible.

Block 8 most probably stood somewhere in the main part,²⁶ given the fact that it reports that „the Storm-god my lord ran [before] me (i.e. helped me).“ The places of block 2 and 5 are difficult to ascertain, since they are very difficult to read (5) or to understand (2). If block 5 mentions the verb *PRAE DARE* as read by Poetto,²⁷ then it could mention sacrificial activities for or on the two mountains [x]-*tá* and *Zi-i(a)* which can be compared to the activities mentioned in block 4. This would eventually place block 5 at the very end. Block 2 could also be placed at the very end, if we assume that the obscure *LINGUA+CLAVUS-tu-sa (URBS)* is an unknown writing for Hattusa.²⁸ This, however, is rather unlikely,²⁹

which also support a reading *ara/i*. The join to the famous Milawata-letter by Weeden (2012) has made it clear though, that in the letter the full name of the city otherwise only named Pina is ^{URU}Pí-na-li-(ia).

²⁴ Schürr (2010) 19–20.

²⁵ Schürr (2010) 14–15; 20–21.

²⁶ I. e. between blocks 10 and 7 or 6 and 14 respectively, or less probable between 3 and 4.

²⁷ Poetto (1993) 40; Poetto (1998) 112.

²⁸ S. the suggestion in Hawkins (1995) 72.

²⁹ Cf. also Poetto (1998) 112.

since the last sentence on the block is most probably to be completed **a-wa/i-mu* (DEUS)TONITRUS [DOMINUS-*na* PRAE *hwi/a-i(a)-tá*] „the storm-god, [my lord ran before] me (i.e. helped me)“. This would refer to a hostile encounter between the **416-wani*-people of LINGUA+CLAVUS-*tu-sa* and the Hittite king.³⁰ The suggestion made by Yakubovich that this passage refers to a reconquest of Hattusa, which was lost to Kurunta,³¹ is not convincing. The reconquest of the capital is not an exploit of the Hittite king, but rather admits his failure to keep Hattusa. For this reason, I think, it would not be mentioned in an inscription referring to the unprecedented success of Tudhaliya. If LINGUA+CLAVUS-*tu-sa*(URBS) is not Hattusa, as argued by Poetto,³² I would assume that block 2 also stood somewhere in the main part of the text.

Block 11 then begins with the sentence initial particles *a-wa/i-mu*, which means it must follow a block ending with a complete sentence, but as Hawkins observed, none of the possible blocks provide a convincing connection.³³ Finally, the most difficult one is block 9, which mentions Lukka and the land VITIS. Even if one would like, on geographical grounds, place it before block 14 as an introduction to the Lycian invasion, there is no positive evidence for that.³⁴ Block 9 may just as well have stood in any other gap. One may even speculate whether it stood at the end, before or after block 4, as part of the summary, maybe in some connection to block 5 or 2.

30 The exact meaning of **416-wa/i-ni-sa* is still disputed, s. Yakubovich (2008) who interpreted it as „enemy“, Oreshko (2012) chap. 1, chap. 3.III prefers an interpretation ‚ruler‘. Personally I find very convincing what Melchert wrote to me in an e-mail from 18.2.2010, cf. also Gander (2010) 61 n. 255 „The Luvian [**416-wa/i-ni* INFRA *â-ka*] is thus either ‚subject to might‘ or ‚subject to right/propriety/proper order‘. With the determinative VIR or VIR₂ the word is a title (probably a derivative in *-iya-*, ‚[the one] of might/right‘). In YALBURT, the word is a further derivative in *-it-*, thus a neuter, marked by the obligatory particle *-sa* (cf. HLuvian REX-*ta-hi-sa* ‚kingship‘ to **hantawatahit-*). This is shown by the fact that the word occurs as a direct object (...). It also refers in YALBURT always to the enemies of the Hittite king, almost always with the name of the city. One of the uses of *-it-* is to mark collectives (cf. Nirikkit- ‚the territory of Nerik‘). Thus in YALBURT the Hittite king is fighting the (VIR₂)*416*-wa/i-ni-sa* of each city: i.e. the collective ‚forces‘ or ‚rulership, elite‘. As is well-known, there are no references to ‚kings‘ of the Lukka countries in the Hittite texts. I take YALBURT to confirm this: there was no king in the Lycian cities in the 2nd millennium, rather an oligarchy of some kind.“

31 Yakubovich (2008) 6.

32 Poetto (1998) 112.

33 Hawkins (1995) 79.

34 The join of block 9 and 15 as proposed by Yakubovich (2010) 133 with n. 71 is unsatisfying since it tears apart the blocks 14 and 15 which together form the exact sentence that recurs in Emirgazi V A.

Blocks of unclear position

- 2 If LINGUA+CLAVUS-*tu-sa*(URBS) is Hattusa, then probably at the end, otherwise in the main text.
- 5 If dedications are mentioned, then probably at the end together with block 4.
- 8 Could belong to the main text part.
- 9 Unclear, any gap in the main part, maybe even at the end, as part of the summary.
- 11 Unclear, any gap in the main text.
- Frg. 3 Anywhere.
- 18/ 19/ Frgs. 4–9 Illegible text fragments.

Lukka and VITIS reappear on the Südburg inscription of Suppiluliuma II together with Tamina, Masa and I(a)kuna.³⁵ This last was identified with Hittite Ikkuwaniya and Ikonion/ Konya by Hawkins and Poetto.³⁶ Tamina was previously unknown and the location of Masa is still a matter of discussion. We may only observe that the lands mentioned in the Südburg inscription probably were located in Southern or Southwestern Anatolia.³⁷

2.2 The land VITIS

The land VITIS mentioned in both inscriptions has been identified already by Massimo Poetto with Hitt. Wiyawanda. The sign VITIS is attested in several Iron Age inscriptions and denotes concepts of wine and vines.³⁸ The attestation of the Empire period is confined to a handful of seals, in which the sign is used as phonetic sign *wi* or *wiya*³⁹ or in the titles VITIS (cun. ¹⁰GEŠTIN) and MAGNUS (BO-NUS₂) VITIS (cun. GAL.GEŠTIN).⁴⁰

³⁵ According to Hawkins' reading (1995) 29, but see now Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.I. who reads *ma/i-ta-na* (i.e. Mitanni) and discards the reading of the sign KU in *i(a)-ku-na*.

³⁶ Poetto (1993) 48.

³⁷ Hawkins (1995) 49–57; Poetto (1998) 109.

³⁸ Hawkins (1995) 29; Poetto (1993) 48–49.

³⁹ SBo I 37, SBo I 104, Diñcol et al. (1993) 11 in the name Gassulawiya; in Herbordt (2005) Nr. 519–520 in the name Wiyani, written VITIS-ni.

⁴⁰ Herbordt (2005) nos. 47–48, 122, 320, 607 and Bo 84/575 according to Gordin (2008) 27; 32; 226–227.

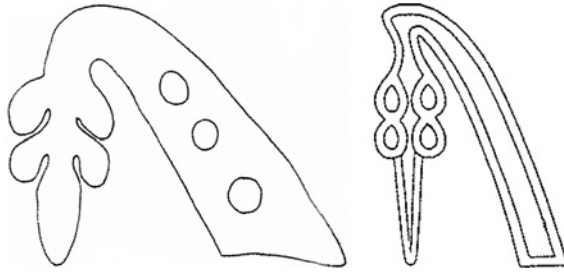


Fig. 1: The sign read *VITIS* in Südburg and Yalburt (taken from Poetto [1993] tav. XIII, and Hawkins [1995] Abb. 35).

Schürr and Oreshko have expressed serious doubts if the sign of Yalburt and Südburg, that has an additional tail, can really be identified with *VITIS*.⁴¹

Schürr commented on the different shapes of the signs in Yalburt and Südburg, and observed that according to the text in block 9, the land of *VITIS* need not be located within the Lukka lands. He attempted to connect block 9 with the sequence block 16–10, locating *VITIS* not too far from Yalburt itself.⁴²

Oreshko agrees that the sign should be read differently, his doubts are founded first and foremost on the different shape of the sign. As he states, the sign *VITIS*/*160 is likely to represent a „bifurcating twig“. Oreshko may be well be right in observing that the tail in the signs from Yalburt and Südburg would be meaningless if the sign is actually *VITIS* and should represent a vine-stock.⁴³

Oreshko further wants to recognize *VITIS* in the second sign of the city name in § 7, block III of the Südburg inscription, which Hawkins read *ta**505(*URBS*).⁴⁴ He proposed the reading *ta*-*VITIS*(*URBS*), identifying it with Tawiniya known from the cuneiform documents.⁴⁵ As he observes, the sign *505 has in fact some general resemblance to *VITIS*⁴⁶ even though the „grapes“ per se are missing. The broken sign *VITIS* of Herbordt (2005) no. 320 could be compared, although it appears a bit more V-shaped on the photo. This would eliminate the interpretation of the sign in Yalburt and Südburg as *VITIS*/*160.

Furthermore, Oreshko points out that Wiyanawanda is always a city (*URU*), in Hittite texts, whereas the alleged sign *VITIS* is determined *REGIO*, and that the importance of the land in the inscriptions seems to disagree with the relative

⁴¹ Schürr (2010) 22; Schürr (in print); Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.I.2.

⁴² Schürr (2010) 21–23.

⁴³ Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.I.2.

⁴⁴ Hawkins (1995) 22; 38.

⁴⁵ Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.IV.4.

⁴⁶ Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.IV.4.

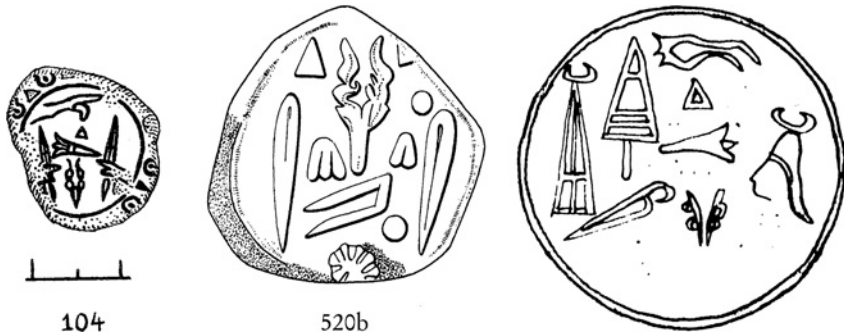


Fig. 2: The sign *vītis* in the seals SB0 I 104 (left), Herbordt (2005) no. 520 (middle) and on the cruciform seal, s. Dinçol et al. (1993) 88 (right).



Fig. 3: *ta-vītis(REGIO)* as read by Oreshko (2012) 425–427, drawing taken from Hawkins (1995), and the supposed sign *vītis* as drawn by Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.IV.4.

unimportance of *Wiyānawanda* in the Hittite texts.⁴⁷ These last claims are hard to prove, but it seems that skepticism against the identification of the signs  and  with *vītis*, is advisable.

If however, one agrees to read *vītis*, then it seems obvious to me that the reading should be *wiya(na/i)-*, since the sign is used in the writing of the *Gassulawiya*.⁴⁸ Additionally, the stem of the name of the seals Herbordt nos. 519 and 520 probably ends in *-n*,⁴⁹ so it is best to assume that the syllabic reading of *vītis* is *wiyana* (not some other word for wine, like e.g. *maddu*).⁵⁰ The name of the land should then naturally be *Wiyānawanda*.

⁴⁷ Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.I.2. If there are two western *Wiyānawandas*, for which there is good reason, a Lycian *Wiyānawanda* would not be mentioned in the Hittite cuneiform texts at all.

⁴⁸ E. g. in the so-called Cruciform Seal, s. Dinçol et al. (1993), s. above Fig. 2, right.

⁴⁹ Herbordt (2005) 207, no. 519–520, s. above Fig. 2, middle.

⁵⁰ As proposed by Schürr (2010) 22.



Fig. 4: Herbordt (2005) no. 320b.

2.3 *vitis* and Oinoanda

This land of *vitis*/Wiyawanda has always been identified with Oinoanda in the Kibyratis given its association with Lukka, Talawa, Pina-⁴¹⁶, Awarna and Patara in the Yalburt inscription. As already mentioned, archaeological records do not provide positive evidence for any of these identifications, but also lack conclusive proof that they are impossible. A new investigation of the sources will, I hope, show that it is at least problematic to identify Wiyawanda with Oinoanda.

3 Wiyawandas: How many and where?

The toponym Wiyawanda is mentioned several times in the Hittite sources.⁵¹ Since the name means ‚rich in vines/wine‘, it is not unexpected that it recurs in several places. Based on the Hittite texts, one can safely assume that there were at least three, but probably five different Wiyawandas.

⁵¹ S. del Monte – Tischler (1978) s. v. Wiyawanta; del Monte (1992) s. v. Wiyawanta. After 1992 four more texts containing the name Wiyawanda have been published: KBo 48.146 obv. 2', 3' [, 11'; KBo 50.42 II 9, KBo 54.85b ll. 5' [, 7' Kp 05/226. Some of the most important texts concerning the Western Anatolian Wiyawanda(s) have been treated in Gander (2010) 67–75.

3.1 Wiyanawanda(s) in Central Anatolia

The central Anatolian Wiyanawanda(s) have recently been dealt with by Massimo Forlanini.⁵² The inventory text KBo 2.7 obv. 18' mentions the gods of Wiyanawanda: the storm god of Hursa, the sun god, the tutelary deity and Pirwa.⁵³ Since the storm god of Hursa held a prominent position, it would seem that Wiyanawanda lay close to that town. Unfortunately, the city of Hursa is only attested one more time in KBo 23.81 3' and 5'[without geographical context. Further places mentioned in KBo 2.7 include ^{URU}[Lakt]erissa (obv. 1'), ^{URU}Gazanna (obv. 2'), ^{HUR.SAG}Sidduwa (obv. 6', 7', 11', 12'), ^{URU}Panissa (rev. 10'), ^{HUR.SAG}Kenkallisa (rev. 10'–13', 20'), ^{URU}Mamnanda (rev. 24') which refer to a central Anatolian region.⁵⁴ In KUB 38.1, a list of cult statues of the tutelary deity of the field (II 1) and a religious festival (I.Edge) of Wiyanawanda are mentioned. The same texts names the towns of Tammega (I 1, 4), Kunkuniya (I 29), Lapana (IV 1), Tiura (IV 8) and Pirwassuwa (IV 17). As Forlanini observes Tiura and Pirwassuwa may be connected to the land of Washaniya, which is well known from Old Assyrian sources, and lay between Kaneš and Nenašša, i.e. west of Kültepe, near the Kızıl Irmak,⁵⁵ and the toponyms mentioned in KBo 2.7 may be localized in the region between Ankuwa (most probably Alişar) and Kaneš.⁵⁶

One further attestation of this central Anatolian Wiyanawanda is found in KBo 54.85b, a recently published itinerary which mentions the following sequence of towns: Wiyanawanda, Tiwalya, Haltara, Saiwanda. Forlanini argues on account of the occurrence of Wiyanawanda and Tiwalya together that these towns also lay on the Middle Kızıl Irmak, he identifies Saiwanda with class. Soanda on the road from Tavium to Caesarea.⁵⁷

In the fragmentary text KBo 42.146, Wiyanawanda appears together with Tuhuppiya, which is again to be sought near the Halys river.

Finally, in the so-called title deed for Sahurunuwa's descendants by Tudhaliya IV, a city named Wiyanawanda is grouped with Harinima, Wassanza, Hattusa, Wa[–], Li, Sallessa, Murassi and the mountain Ariyati and it seems that the border of this region was marked by the well known city of Harziuna. Apart

⁵² Forlanini (2008) 184 n. 92; Forlanini (2009) 45–49.

⁵³ Carter (1962) 91.

⁵⁴ S. Del Monte – Tischler (1978) s. v. Šituwa; Forlanini (1992) 173.

⁵⁵ S. Forlanini (1992) 177–179; Forlanini (2009) 45–49; Barjamovic (2011) 317–326.

⁵⁶ Forlanini (2009) 56–57.

⁵⁷ S. Forlanini (2009) 56–57, Soanda is mentioned in *Itin. Anton.* 202,2. For another town of that name s. Hild – Restle (1981) 282–285 who identify a Soandos/Soanda that is mentioned by Strab. 14,2,29 at Soğanlı near Yeşilhisar, ca. 70 km, southwest of Kayseri.

from Hattusa and Harziuna, all the names mentioned are *hapax legomena*.⁵⁸ Harziuna seems to be the extreme point of a road leading from Hattusa to the Lycaonian plain. It also functioned as border between central Anatolia and southern or southwestern Anatolia in the times of Hattusili III, when an invasion from the west took place.⁵⁹ The Wiyanawanda mentioned in KUB 26.43 obv. 15 // KUB 26.50 obv. 4' need therefore not be the same: as mentioned before, it would have lain further southwest of the Hittite homeland.⁶⁰ But since we do not know the extent of the area covered by this passage of the deeds, I would not exclude that both cities are identical. The places of the following lines (KUB 26.43 obv. 21–24 // KUB 26.50 12'–16') are said to be „within the land of Harziuna“; so it is indeed possible that Wiyanawanda lay east of it, closer to the homeland, near the Kızıl Irmak.

3.2 Cilician Winuwanda

A Cilician Wiyanawanda is only attested in two texts, the first of them being the „fête du mois“ which has been treated by Marie-Claude Trémouille in 1996.⁶¹ In this text, the storm god of Wiyanawanda, here consequently written *Ú-i-nu-an-da*, appears in ritual context together with the storm gods of Mannuziya and Pipita, and the gods Tašmišu, Hepat, Šarruma, Nupatik and Nupatik of Zalmata. In the lines obv. 37'–39' of KUB 46.48 + KBo 17.103 rituals performed in Winuwanda seem to be reported.⁶² Immediately following is a passage which mentions actions in Kizzuwatna and Lahuwazantiya.⁶³ The overall geographical setting is thus clear. This Winuwanda must have lain within the land of Kizzuwatna. Since even the location of most important cities of Kizzuwatna

58 Forlanini (2012) 137 states „it is listed together with a Hattusa that cannot of course be the Hittite capital.“ He is most probably right, although since all places except Hattusa and Harziuna are not attested anywhere else it is difficult to ascertain the extent of the area treated in this passage of the Sahurunwa text. Only Mur[assi] may be mentioned in KBo 40.47 l. 8. But it is very unlikely since the writing is *mu-ur-x[-]* while in KUB 26.43 it is *mu-ra-aš-ši*, s. Marizza (2007) 38 n. 19.

59 KUB 21.6a III 5'–16' s. Barjamovic (2011) 253; 368 n. 1529.

60 Forlanini (2012) 137 separates the Wiyanawanda in KUB 26.43 // KUB 26.50 from the central Anatolian one, because according to him it lay in the area of Harziuna.

61 Trémouille 1996.

62 S. e.g. obv. 37': [*ma-aḫ-ḫ*]a-an ^{URU} *Ú-i-nu-an-da ar-nu-zi nu-uš-ša-an* [...]x-ši-it an-da 'la'-a-[ḫu-i ...] „[Et quand] il atteint Winuwanda, alors il ver[se²] dedans avec [...]“, transl. Trémouille (1996) 88.

63 obv. 40' [...]x a-pé-e-da-ni UD-ti I-NA ^{URU} *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-[ni ...]* „[...] ce jour-là dans Kizzuwat[na]“, transl. Trémouille (1996) 88.

(Kummanni and La[hu]wazantiya) is still a matter of debate,⁶⁴ it is impossible at the moment to locate Winuwanda exactly. It was associated by Forlanini⁶⁵ with class. Epiphaneia in the Cilician plain, the ancient name of which, according to Pliny (nat. 5,93) was Oeniandos.⁶⁶ This identification is supported by the recently edited text Kp 05/226 which mentions Kizzuwatna (= Kummanni), Zunnahara and Winuwanda in the context of a military campaign against Mukiš.⁶⁷

3.3 Wiyawanda(s) in Western Anatolia

A western Anatolian Wiyawanda is surely attested in the treaty Mursili II drew up with his vassal Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya. The border of Mira-Kuwaliya is defined by the KASKAL.KUR of Wiyawanda.

„On this side, in the direction of the city of Maddunassa, the fortified camp of Tudhaliya shall be your frontier. And on the other side, the ^DKASKAL.KUR of Wiyawanda shall be your frontier. You shall not cross over beyond the city of Aura. On this side, in the direction of the Astarpa River, the land of Kuwaliya shall be your frontier. This land shall be yours, protect it! You shall not found a single city in the direction of the Astarpa River, or in that of the Siyanta River. If you do found even a single city, you will have transgressed the oath, and I will come as an enemy and attack it.“⁶⁸

It is not entirely clear where Mira-Kuwaliya exactly lay. Before the conquest of Arzawa by Mursili II, Mira seems to have been an inland country.⁶⁹ After Mursili's victory, Mira may have gotten the lion's share of old Arzawan territory, thereby expanding far westward.⁷⁰

The first to associate Wiyawanda on the border of Mira with class. Oi-noanda was John Garstang as early as 1923,⁷¹ Forrer agreed that the names are identical but he rejected the equation, since it did not fit his geographical scheme.⁷² In 1959, Garstang and Gurney dismissed their original equation and

⁶⁴ S. recently Novák (2010) 410–414.

⁶⁵ S. Forlanini (2010) 188, Forlanini (2012), 137.

⁶⁶ Near the village Erzín in the province of Hatay: 36° 58' 12.45'' N, 36° 7' 26.9'' E.

⁶⁷ S. now Rieken – Wilhelm (2009) 130–135; Forlanini (2010) 188.

⁶⁸ Transl. taken from Beckman (1999) 71 with the exception that I have left KASKAL.KUR untranslated.

⁶⁹ Heinhold-Krahmer (1977) 337–338.

⁷⁰ S. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977) 136–172; 211–219.

⁷¹ Garstang (1923) 23–26; Mayer – Garstang (1923) 50.

⁷² Forrer (1926) 3.

sought for Wiyanawanda further to the north, trying to associate it with the ethnicon Oiniates in the so-called Tekmoreian list found in northwestern Pisidia.⁷³

Today, one often finds the identification of Wiyanawanda with class. Oinoanda, but there is seldom a discussion on the fact, whether there were two or just one town of that name in western Anatolia. Of the two rivers on the border of Mira Hawkins identified the Astarpa with the Akar Çayı and the Siyanta with the Seydi Çayı which results in a location of Mira south of Kütahya, with Kuwaliya in the area of Afyon.⁷⁴ This location would be too far north for a border at class. Oinoanda in the Kibyrtis. Even if we identify the Astarpa with the Banaz Çayı, as done by Garstang and Gurney,⁷⁵ or with the Upper Meander, as Starke,⁷⁶ the border of Mira still seems too far north for the identification of Wiyanawanda with Oinoanda. One would have to assume that there existed at least two western Anatolian Wiyanawandas, one in the area of Afyon and one near Oinoanda.⁷⁷

Since we still know considerably little about the geographical relations and the exact location of lands. The question if there were one or two westerly Wiyanawandas has to remain open, though the existence of two Wiyanawandas is more plausible.

Even though the name Oinoanda must go back to an Anatolian stem *wiyanawanda* or *winu-wanda*, since the suffix *-wanda* is not Greek, the exact identification of any Hitt. Wiyanawanda with the site of class. Oinoanda has to cope with several problems, as outlined below.

4 The problems of identifying Wiyanawanda and Oinoanda

4.1 Archaeology

Even today, there is no road leading up to the ancient city of Oinoanda, which impeded any large-scale excavation of the city, but which also makes it one of

⁷³ Garstang – Gurney (1959) 92. Forlanini (2007) 293 now connects the Oiniates with the toponym Auna/Awina found in KBo 16.53 obv. 2', 8', KBo 16.55 l. 8', KUB 34.43 l. 6'. For the Tekmoreian lists s. Sterret (1888) 226–238 no. 366 and Ramsay (1906). Oiniates is found in Ramsay (1906) 319 no.2; 335 no. 15; 337 no. 16; s. also 368, and Ramsay (1912) 162 no. 62.

⁷⁴ Hawkins (1998) 1; 22–24 with n. 146.

⁷⁵ Garstang – Gurney (1959) 91–92.

⁷⁶ Starke (1997) 451.

⁷⁷ S. Forlanini (2012) 137.

the nicest and most idyllic sites in western Asia Minor. This may in part explain why no archaeological remains predating the Hellenistic period have been found in Oinoanda.⁷⁸ This lack of pre-hellenistic material has led Nicoletta Momigliano and her team to suggest that Çaltılar Höyük may have been the old Wiyanawanda, since it yielded Bronze Age remains, and lies fairly close to Oinoanda.⁷⁹ However, even in the Xanthos valley evidence for late Bronze Age settlement is at best scarce,⁸⁰ but this does not prevent from identifying the above mentioned cities Talawa, Pina-^{*}416, Awarna and Patara with their namesakes of later periods. Moreover, it seems that in Çaltılar Höyük as well the Late Bronze Age finds are few, the main settlement of the hill apparently being from the Middle Iron Age.⁸¹

Momigliano is, however, surely right in pointing out that the lack of Bronze Age finds in class. Lycia is, at least partly, due to the lack of interest and research concerning these periods.⁸²

Yet, the case with Oinoanda is different. We do not expect Bronze Age remains in class. Oinoanda for a number of reasons.

First of all, if we take a look at contemporary höyüks in western Anatolia, they are almost never high up in the mountains. And although observations made for one region need not apply to any other region, it is worth noting that most of the Bronze Age settlements of Western Anatolia are lying on low hills in the plain (e.g. Çine-Tepecik Höyük, Panaz Tepe, Liman Tepe, Beycesultan), on the slopes of the valley (Bademgediği Tepe, Metropolis) or on a relatively low-lying acropolis (Perge, Ephesus).⁸³ Therefore, one would rather expect a Bronze Age city to lie either in the Acıpayam Ovası, in the Indos or in the Xanthos valley itself. This of course does not exclude that there were other sites, but a

78 Coulton (1982) 121, with refs.; Coulton (1998).

79 Momigliano et al. (2010) 122–123; Momigliano et al. (2011a) 63. N. Momigliano has pointed out to me (e-mail of 10/11.1.2013) that she merely suggested that Çaltılar could be one possible candidate for the site of Wiyanawanda, but that this, obviously, does not amount to a positive identification of Çaltılar with Wiyanawanda – she considers this identification impossible, because there is not sufficient evidence at present. In addition, she pointed out that there is another höyük, called Eceler Höyük, which is even closer to Hellenistic Oinoanda and has also yielded Bronze Age material: see also French (2012) 45–50 and Momigliano (2013).

80 S. now French (2012) 47–49; Momigliano – Aksoy (forthcoming).

81 Momigliano et al. (2008) 29; Momigliano et al. (2009) 27; Momigliano et al. (2011a) esp. 77–89; Momigliano et al. (2011b) 160; but s. Momigliano – Aksoy (forthcoming): „Most of the material we have gathered, however, dates to the Middle-Late Iron Age and the Archaic period, simply because this pottery comes from the levels closest to the surface, and is therefore over-represented in our collection“.

82 Momigliano et al. (2011a) 64; Momigliano – Aksoy (forthcoming); s. also Becks (2012) 23.

83 S. independently Becks (2012) 24; but cf. French (2012) 48–49.

Hittite attack against Lycia would at first, presumably have had to eliminate the powerful cities in (or on) the valley.

4.2 How to conquer Lycia

If we compare the assumed route of the Hittite attack on Lycia via Oinoanda with later invasions, it strikes to one as being strategically unfavourable and unnecessarily arduous.

Lycia had to suffer military incursions several times in antiquity. Most of these came naturally from the sea and then entered Lycia through the Xanthos valley. This obviously was the case for the attacks by Kimon, probably Melesandros of Athens, Ptolemaios I and during the conflicts with Rhodos and with Brutus.⁸⁴ Some invaders however came overland, even if this may have been partly due to their lack of naval strength.⁸⁵

The most important overland invaders were Harpagos, Alexander the Great, the Galatians and Mithridates VI Eupator.

The ancient sources are not very informative concerning the exact routes of the military campaigns. As Herodotus tells us, Harpagos first conquered Ionia and the Aeolis, then „the Carians, Kaunos and the Lycians“.⁸⁶ He then explains that after Ionia Harpagos conquered Western Caria, turned south against Knidos and Halikarnassos, then inland against Pedasos before turning against Kaunos and the Lycians, where his main goal was the conquest of Xanthos.⁸⁷ He may therefore have taken a route from Caria to Lycia at Kaunos, entering the Xanthos valley from Telmessos, as argued already by Treuber and later by Akşit and Keen (Fig. 5).⁸⁸ Treuber's alternative thought that Harpagos embarked the troops at Kaunos to enter the Xanthos valley from its mouth,⁸⁹ finds no support in the sources.

Alexander's route of invasion is recorded by Arrianus. After the battle of Granikos Alexander marched against Sardeis, then against Ephesus where he received embassies from Magnesia and Tralleis, who offered the submission of their cities. Thereafter, he proceeded against Miletos and Halikarnassos. After

84 Kimon: S. Keen (1998) 97–103, Diod. 11,60,4, Plut. Cimon 12,1; Melesandros: S. Treuber (1887) 99–100, Thuk. 2,69; Ptolemaeus: Diod. 20,27,1–2; For Rhodos s. Treuber (1887) 89, Frei (1990a) 7–9, Marek (2010) 291–292; Brutus: App. civ. 4,10,76–80.

85 S. Keen (1998) 103.

86 Hdt. 1,173.

87 Hdt. 1,173–176.

88 Treuber (1887) 91; Akşit (1967) 112; Keen (1998) 73; cf. also Bryce (1986) 100.

89 Treuber (1887) 91 n. 2.



Fig. 5: Probable route of invasion of Harpagos



Fig. 6: Alexander's route of invasion

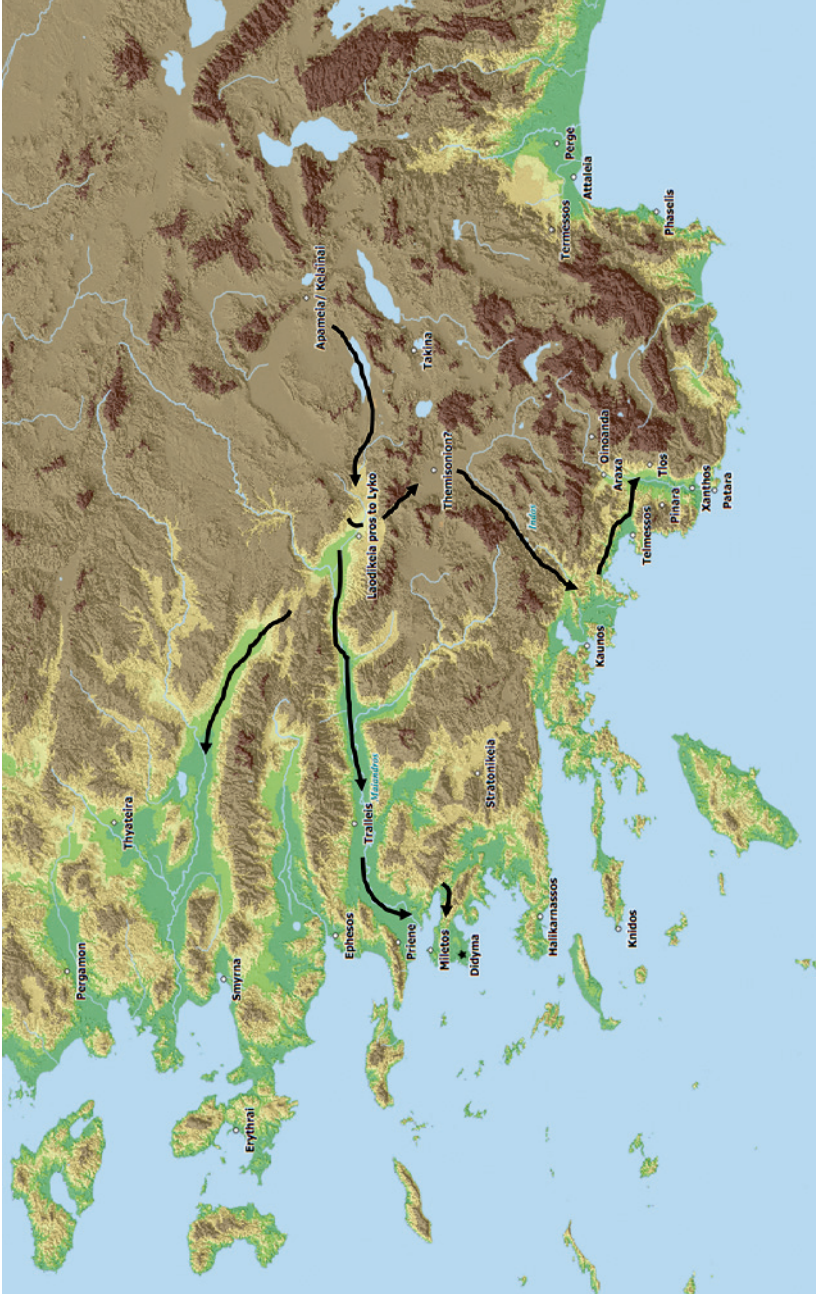


Fig. 7: Possible line of attack of the Galatians

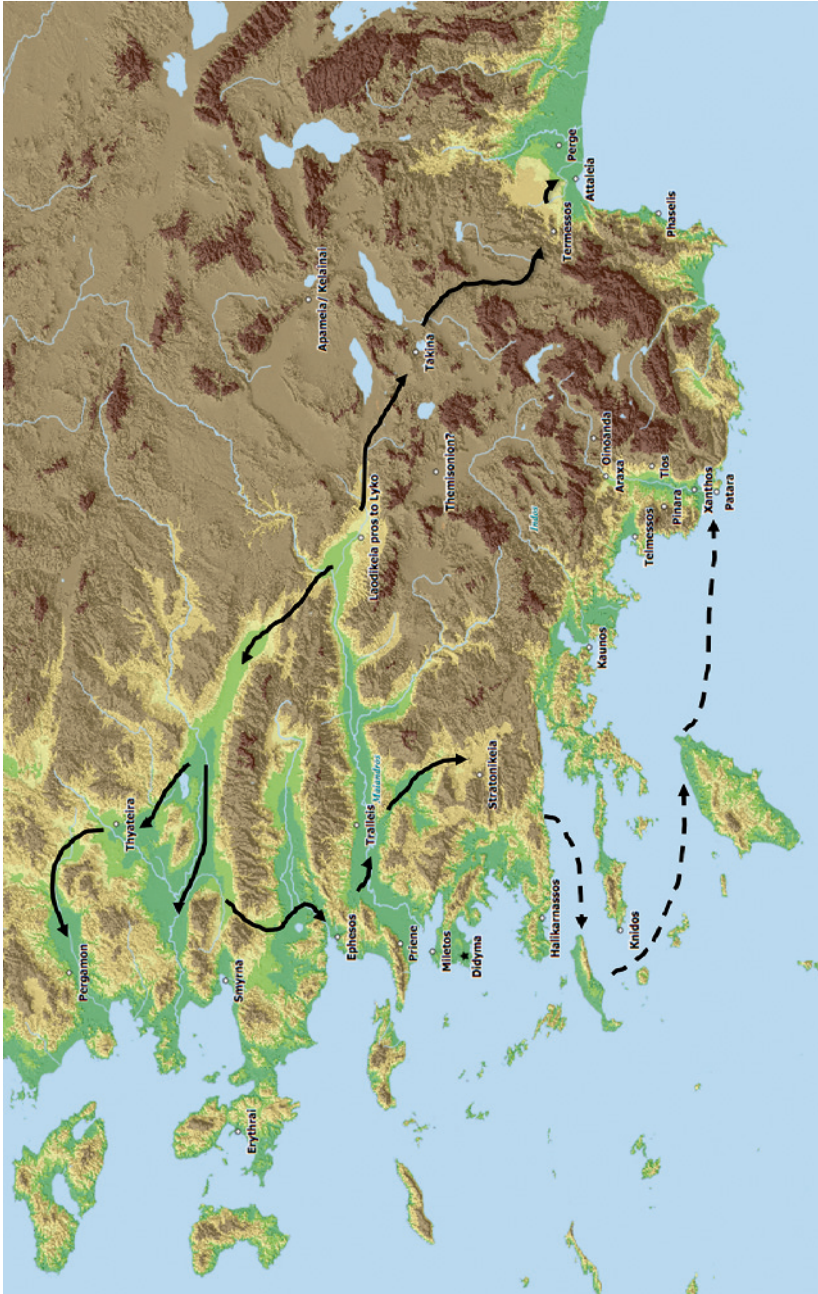


Fig. 8: Possible line of attack of Mithridates and his generals



Fig. 9: Proposed route taken by Tudhaliya IV.

having defeated Caria, he entered Lycia through Telmessos, proceeded to the Xanthos river to receive the submission of Pinara, Xanthos and Patara. Alexander then left Lycia after a short attack on the Milyas, by way of Phaselis and Perge (Fig. 6).⁹⁰

Information on the other two invasions is scarce at best. A number of inscriptions informs us about problems with the Galatians. The documents are seldom exactly dated, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain if certain texts refer to different incursions or to one and the same. The inscriptions mention hostile actions of the Galatians at Erythrai, Didyma, Miletos, Priene, Thyateira and Kyzikos.⁹¹ We further find references to an attack on Tlos in an epigram quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus.⁹² According to the interpretation by Adolf Wilhelm (published posthumously), Neoptolemos, protected his city (Tlos) against attacks from Pisidians, Paionians, Agraians and Galatians.⁹³ This battle near Tlos was connected by the same scholar⁹⁴ with the Galatian attack on Themisonion and on Kelainai mentioned by Pausanias.⁹⁵ An inscription edited by Wörrle which mentions the redemption of prisoners taken by the Galatians found just outside Laodikeia on the Lykos (near mod. Denizli), may well belong to the same campaign.⁹⁶ In view of the toponyms, an incursion in Lycian territory may have taken place either from the coast, although we do not have any inscriptions mentioning the Galatians south of Didyma, or, more probably, via the Acipayam Ovası, the Indos valley and then via Telmessos to Tlos (Fig. 7).

Finally, the attack of Mithridates Eupator VI and his governors is even more difficult. The main source is Appianus. When Mithridates was besieging Laodikeia on the Lykos, he sent his generals against Lycia, Pamphylia and Ionia. What route they may have taken is not exactly determinable. After the conquest of Laodikeia, Mithridates himself moved westwards against Pergamon, Magne-

⁹⁰ S. Arr. an. 1,17–26. Cf. Marek (2010) 228–231. Milyas here does not mean Kibyrtis and Kabis, as shown by Keen (1996).

⁹¹ The sources are treated by Wörrle (1975).

⁹² Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀγρίαί, 169 Preger = Page (1981) Nr. 1640, s. Robert (1983) 255–256, Billerbeck (2006) 48–49 with n. 71.

εἰμὶ Νεοπτόλεμος Κρεσσοῦ. τρισῶν δ' ἐν ἀδελφῶν/ἔστασαν Τλωεῖς, κῦδος ἐμοῦ δόρατος/οὔνεκεν ὧν Πισίδας καὶ «Παί»νας ἢ δ' Ἀγριᾶνας/καὶ Γαλάτας τόσσους ἀντιάσας στόρεσα. „I am Neoptolemos, son of Kressos./In (the sanctuary) of the three brothers/the Tloans erected the glory of my spear (i.e. this monument)/for whose sake I smote (down) the Pisidians, the Paionians, and the Agrianians/and the Galatians, as many as I opposed“.

⁹³ Wilhelm (1980) 33; Robert (1983) 241–256.

⁹⁴ Wilhelm (1931) 323–324; Robert (1983) 253–254.

⁹⁵ Paus. 10,32,4–5; Paus. 10,30,9.

⁹⁶ Likewise Wörrle (1975) 65.

sia (at the Sipylos), Ephesos and Mitylene, then southwards against Stratonikeia. He then led a naval campaign, first against Kos, then against Rhodos and finally against Patara.⁹⁷ Marek suggested that Mithridates' generals may have wanted to proceed from Laodikeia, via Takina to Termessos and then to the plain of Attaleia,⁹⁸ and this may well be right, but we only know from the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* that Mithridates' army defeated the Termessians.⁹⁹ Yet, as far as we know, his generals did not invade the Xanthos valley, probably because their main objective was rather to reach Pamphylia and to ally with the pirates based there (Fig 8).¹⁰⁰

As we can see from this short overview, invaders of Lycia, even if they came from the east, avoided going through the mountainous Kibyrtis, and often tried to enter Lycia via Termessos. Tudhaliya most probably came from the area of Apameia/Kelainai, and marched to Laodikeia, since this is the most common route connecting Anatolia to the Aegean. Apameia/Kelainai and Laodikeia always functioned as road junction for the two most important routes across Anatolia: the Northern route along modern Ankara, Polatlı, Sivrihisar, Afyon, Çivril/Beycesultan and Denizli, and the Southern route from Cilicia which probably bypassed Niğde, Konya, Ilgın/Yalbur, Akşehir and Dinar to Denizli.¹⁰¹ From Denizli, Tudhaliya probably turned south to the Acıpayam Ovası, then through the Indos valley to Kaunos, Termessos and the Xanthos valley.¹⁰² Alternatively, he may have reached the Acıpayam Ovası directly from Apameia/Kelainai. So, if the Hittites followed any of the normal routes to conquer western Lycia, they did not pass through Oinoanda nor any other höyük in the Kibyrtis. *VITIS*/*Wiyana* should then be sought somewhere else.

4.3 The Termessians and Oinoanda

This last conclusion appears to be *ad hoc*, but it is reinforced by the fact that the ruins commonly known as Oinoanda were not actually named Oinoanda in

⁹⁷ App. Mithr. 12,3–4.

⁹⁸ Marek (1995) 16–17, s. also Magie (1950) I, 214; II, 1102 n. 30.

⁹⁹ CIL I² 589 = ILS I 38 II 1–5.

¹⁰⁰ S. Marek (1995) 18.

¹⁰¹ For the routes, s. Garstang (1943) 35–43; von der Osten (1951); Garstang – Gurney (1959) 75–77; Gander (2010) 137–150; 192–194 with further refs.

¹⁰² A similar reconstruction of the Hittite invasion has been given by Schürr (2010) 16; 23. Alternatively Tudhaliya may have proceeded further west. This reconstruction would be interesting if the sign *VITIS* in Yalbur and Südburg could in fact be identified as designation for Arzawa, as suggested by Oreshko (2012) chap. 5.I.2.

antiquity. Since the beginning of the studies on Oinoanda, the two names appearing on the site and in literature¹⁰³ led to discussion about the nature of their relationship to one another. Holleaux and Paris first recognized the problem and assumed two cities on the hill, *Oinoanda* and *Termessos by Oinoanda*.¹⁰⁴ The idea of two distinct cities on one hill was dismissed by Petersen and von Luschan in their „Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyrtis“ from 1889.¹⁰⁵ Later, Heberdey and Kalinka identified the hill above İncealiler with Oinoanda and Termessos Minor with the small site of Kemerarası in the vicinity of Oinoanda.¹⁰⁶ This identification was taken up by Ruge and Heberdey in their respective articles on *Oinoanda* and *Termessos* 3) in the *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*¹⁰⁷ and thence became the *communis opinio*.

This solution was only called in question by J. J. Coulton in his seminal article of 1982. Coulton could satisfactorily show that Kemerarası is a *kome* or an extra-urban sanctuary, rather than the place of Termessos Minor. He postulated that both, Oinoanda and Termessos Minor were to be located on the hill above İncealiler. He thought about the option of Oinoanda and Termessos by Oinoanda being two names for only one town, but he preferred to see them as two separate communities living in one polis, in which the Termessians as newcomers retained their higher social status, and thus functioned as distinct community.¹⁰⁸ Some years later Wörrle could in course of his edition of the Demostheneia inscription show that Oinoanda and Termessos by Oinoanda were in fact two names of the same community, the official denomination being Termessos at Oinoanda, as borne by *boule* and *demos* in official inscriptions, but the ethnon being *Oinoandeus*.¹⁰⁹ Recent research in the Kibyrtis and in the Letoon near Xanthos help further clarify the relation between Oinoanda and Termessos.¹¹⁰

Denis Rousset recently published a convention between the Termessians by Oinoanda and the Lycians. In course of this publication, he once again thoroughly discussed the evidence for Oinoanda and Termessos by Oinoanda. He could show that the earliest attestations, a stele from Sidon and the newly found text from the Letoon,¹¹¹ which go back to the beginning of the 2nd century

103 Oinoanda and Termessos Minor/Termessos by Oinoanda.

104 Holleaux – Paris (1886) 216–217.

105 Petersen – von Luschan (1889) 178.

106 Heberdey – Kalinka (1897) 55.

107 Heberdey (1934); Ruge (1937).

108 Coulton (1982).

109 Wörrle (1988) 47–49.

110 Rousset (2010); Coulton (2012a); Coulton (2012b).

111 Rousset (2010). For a new dating of the Sidon stelai s. now Sekunda (2012).

B.C. call the city *Τερμησσός πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις*. Further, he pointed out that *Oinoanda* in the earliest sources stands not for a town, but for the place near which the *Termessians* settled.¹¹² The earliest attestations of *Oinoanda* as the name of the city come from literary texts from the Late Roman Republic and the Early Imperial Age.¹¹³

This means that the original name of the city was *Termessos* by *Oinoanda*, and that it was only founded on the arrival of the colonists from *Termessos Maior*. *Oinoanda* must have been a preexisting name, but did not denote the city itself. Rousset further pointed out that the naming *Τερμησσός πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις* (and not *πρὸς Οἰνοανδείς*) of the site above *İncealiler* (class. *Oinoanda*), suggests that *Οἰνοάνδα* is a toponym and that this original *Oinoanda* lay ‚next to‘ (*πρὸς*) *Termessos* by *Oinoanda*.¹¹⁴

In a recent article, Thomas Corsten collected the sources on the four major towns of the *Kibyris* (*Kibyra*, *Balboura*, *Boubon* and *Termessos* by *Oinoanda*), and tried to show that all of these are very likely colonies founded in course of the expansion of *Pisidian Termessos*.¹¹⁵ As *Strabon* states,¹¹⁶ the *Pisidians* relocated and refounded the city of *Kibyra*, and although he does not mention when this took place, it is on account of the archaeological material, best dated to the late 3rd/early 2nd century B.C.¹¹⁷ At about the same time, *Balboura* was newly founded, even though older traces of settlement can be found in the area of the later settlement.¹¹⁸ The city of *Boubon*, too, goes back to the pre-hellenistic period, but here again, particular building activities in the third century can be discerned.¹¹⁹ Additionally, the personal names and literary tradition closely link the four cities *Kibyra*, *Balboura*, *Boubon* and *Termessos pros Oinoandois* to *Termessos Maior* and the *Pisidians*.¹²⁰ The earliest archaeological remains in the city of *Termessos* by *Oinoanda* go back to the early 2nd century B.C.,¹²¹ and even though no full-scale excavations have been possible until now, it should be safe to say that this may be the oldest settlement layer.

112 Rousset (2010) 79; 84.

113 Alex. Polyhistor *FGrH* 273 F 52, *Strab.* 13,4, 17. The coins could be somewhat earlier, s. Rousset (2010) 81–84. Epigraphically *Oinoanda* is first attested in the *Stadiasmus Patarensis*, s. Şahin – Adak (2007) 39, ll.29–30, 33.

114 Rousset (2010) 77–79, 84; s. also Coulton (2012a) 1.

115 Corsten (2013).

116 *Strab.* 13,4,17.

117 Corsten (2013) 87–89.

118 Coulton (2012b) 61–67; Corsten (2013) 89.

119 Corsten (2013) 87, 90.

120 S. Coulton (2012b) 61–67; Corsten (2013).

121 French (2012) 48; Corsten (2013) 89–90.

The city of Wiyanawanda therefore cannot be situated at Termessos by Oinoanda.

5 Where was Oinoanda?

The passage from Oinoanda to the Xanthos valley is barred by the foothills of the Güney Dağı (1742 m) and the Haciosman Dağı (2440 m), which lead from about 200 m to a pass (called Karabel) lying at about 1300 m above sea level.¹²² This mountain range is of course not insuperable, as is shown by the convention from the Letoon mentioned above, but the fact that the Xanthos valley and the Kibyrtis often followed a different political and cultural development,¹²³ makes it likely that this mountain ridge functioned in fact as a barrier between these regions.¹²⁴

If the Hittites invaded the Xanthos valley from Termessos, as argued above, then it would be the best to assume that Wiyanawanda, if it was mentioned at all, lay within the valley itself.

In a series of recent articles, Diether Schürr drew attention to the Lycian place name Winbête, which he identified as Lycian equivalent to Oinoanda.¹²⁵ The name is mentioned in TL 26, a block which was found in the 19th century in the theatre of Tlos. It is broken on the bottom and on the right side, and even though the break runs diagonally from left to right, it is not clear how many signs are lost in the gap.¹²⁶ The last years of archaeological work in the area of the theater have made it clear that the theater itself dates to the early hellenistic period, but they have also shown that in the area of the theater, an earlier building of unknown function existed. The inscription may well have belonged to this building.¹²⁷ The text mentions an Izraza, who is also known from TL 24,

122 S. the descriptions in Ritter (1858–1859) 864–869; Robert – Robert (1950) 193–196; Robert (1980) 305–306 with n. 7–11.

123 The Kibyrtis was not part of the actual ‚Lycian Kulturraum‘, s. Coulton (1993) 79–82; Corsten (2013) 87; Gay – Corsten (2006) 56; Schürr (in print). In the hellenistic period the two areas were organized in the Lycian League and the Tetrapolis respectively. Oinoanda further seems not to have been part of Lycia before entering in the Roman province, but this is still a matter of discussion.

124 S. French (2012) 43; Gay – Corsten (2006) 56, but cf. also 57.

125 Schürr (2009) 105–107; Schürr (2010) 22 n. 96; Schürr (in print).

126 Reconstructions by Neumann apud Borchhardt (1976) 84 for line 1 and by Schürr (2012a) 35 for line 2, resulted in 47 and 49 signs per line respectively.

127 Korkut (2010) 1–2; Korkut (2011) 453–456. As I was kindly informed by Taner Korkut and Recai Tekoğlu, during excavations in the theatre further fragments of Lycian inscriptions have been found, unfortunately none of these belong to TL 26 (e-mails from 18.1.13).

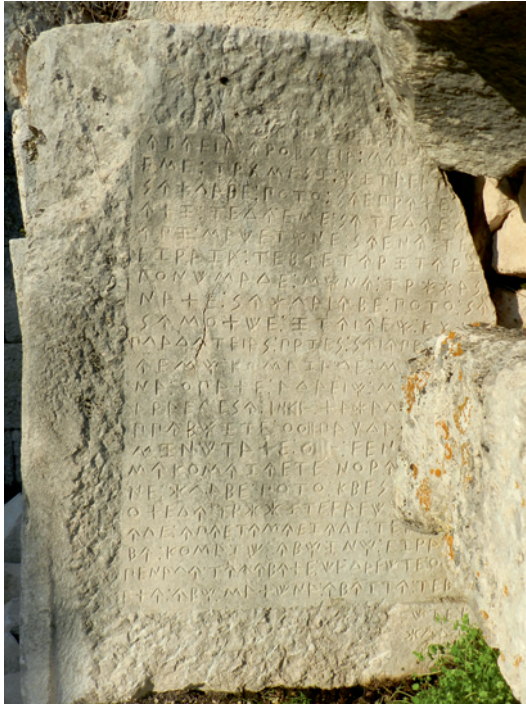


Fig. 10: The inscription TL 26 from Tlos (photo by the author).

a text belonging to a relief, which is dated stylistically to around 370–360 B.C.¹²⁸

After an initial reference to „these monuments“ which is not entirely clear, we find a sentence that could be interpreted as a dating formula: *tr̥mis̥iñ xntawat[e PN]* ‚PN ruled over Lycia‘.¹²⁹

The text itself is most probably a cult foundation or a regulation of cult obligations in the city of Tlos,¹³⁰ since it mentions *qla-bi* ‚the sanctuary/temenos here‘ (3, 8, 15, 26) *muhāi: ñte-je-(e)wē: kñme* ‚all the gods, however many there are‘ (9), *kumazadi mahāna* ‚with the priest for the gods‘ (11) and monthly and

¹²⁸ Borchhardt (1976) 75; 90 n. 3; also Raimond (2005) 157–158, ca. 400 B.C.

¹²⁹ Schürr (2012a) 34–35 now proposes to restore *tr̥mis̥iñ: xñtawat[e-teri: Arttuñpara:]*, which would be parallel to TL 11,2-3 *tr̥mis̥iñ: xñtewete-te: r[i] Arttuñpara* ‚when Arttuñpara ruled Lycia‘. This would be in accordance with Borchhardt’s stylistical dating to 370–360 B.C.

¹³⁰ S. Schürr (2012a) 34: „Kultstiftung des Izraza“.

yearly sacrifices (16–19).¹³¹ The most important sections of our interest are ll. 12–15, where payments for the sanctuary are listed, owed by the different communities pertaining to the city of Tlos.¹³²

[...] *upahi*: *adaijē*: *malijehe*: *T* [...]

 arailise: 103 ½: *haqaduwehe*: 52 ½ *t*[...]

 ppebēñti 22: *pagda*: 18 ½: *purθ*[...]

 mñnātahi: 13 ½: *winbēte*: 13 ½: *x*[...]

„(The payments are):¹³³

upahi,¹³⁴ in *ada*, for the Malieans (number) [...]

 for Arailisi 103 ½, for the Haqaduweans 52 ½, for T[...] (number)]

 for Ppebēñti 22, for Pagda 18 ½, for Purth[...] (number)]

 for Mñnātahi 13 ½ and for Winbēte: 13 ½“

In some recent articles, Schürr could show that, firstly, these names should be toponyms, not anthroponyms, as often assumed,¹³⁵ and secondly, that these must have lain in the territory of Tlos.¹³⁶ Unfortunately, this has not yet been taken into account, when localizing Hitt. Wiyanawanda. I will therefore briefly summarize the line of argument.

Schürr pointed out that Malijehe (TL 26, l. 12) could be identical with the δῆμος Μαλιεύς which is mentioned in TAM II 597a, an inscription from Tlos.¹³⁷

Ἀντίφιλος Ἀχαιοῦ	„Antiphilos, son of Achaïos,
Σαρπηδόσιος καὶ	from (the demos of) Sarpedon and
Πορφύρα Εἰρηναίου	Porphyra, daughter of Eirenaïos,
δῆμου Μαλιέως	from the demos Malieus
τὸ μνημεῖον ἑατοῖς	(have erected) this monument for themselves,
καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ	for their desendants and
οἱς ἂν συγχωρήσω-σιν.	for those to whom they allow it.“

131 Melchert (2004) 76 refuses to analyze *uhide* as ‚yearly‘, and instead connects it with Luw. *usa-* ‚to bring‘ following a suggestion by Laroche (1967) 59 n. 4, but the parallel with TL 44b, 44–45: *kumez*/[*ei*]{*s*}: *uhazata*: *wawā*: *trisīni*: ‚to sacrifice every year a three-year old cow‘ is striking. For analysis of this passage s. now Schürr (2012b) 123–124.

132 It is to be hoped, that the inscription, which is one of the few Lycian inscriptions with non-funerary context, will find its way into the museum, likewise already Borchhardt (1976) 70. As cult obligation it is unique in the Lycian corpus.

133 I would like to thank Diether Schürr for discussing the translation of this passage with me.

134 Could *upahi* be somehow connected to luw. *uppa-* ‚to bring‘, as genitive of a noun *upa-*, which could then mean ‚tribute‘, ‚gift‘ or the like?

135 S. e.g. Melchert (2004) 91–108; Neumann (2007) 17.

136 S. Schürr (2009) 107; Schürr (in print).

137 Schürr (2009) 107; Schürr (in print); for the location of the inscription s. Kalinka (1920) 224 no. 597.

The identification of *malijehe* with the demos Malieus could not be definitive, because Malija is a prominent Lycian goddess identified with Athene. So it would not be surprising to find *malijehe* ‘those of Malija’ in a Lycian inscription. As further evidence for his suggestion Schürr therefore adduced an inscription which has only been published some years ago and is now in the museum of Fethiye. Its place of origin is not known, but already the ed. pr. pointed out that its „provenance might be some place between Xanthos and Araxa in Middle West Lycia,¹³⁸ since it mentions the demoi of the Iobateioi, the Sarpedonioi and the Bellerophonteioi.¹³⁹ Whereas the Sarpedonioi and the Iobateioi are known from Xanthos and Tlos, the Bellerophonteioi are thus far only known from Tlos.¹⁴⁰

This lengthy inscription mentions another demos, which is most relevant for the interpretation of TL 26.¹⁴¹

[...]	„[...]
ἐπέ[κρ]εινεν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ χειρίζειν	assigned (Symmasis’ fund) to be received, and
κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν διὰ τῶν αἰρουμένων	managed year by year, through those appointed
αἰεὶ Ἑρμολύκῳ Κρεγδεῖτος Ἰοβατεῖω,	on each occasion, by Hermolykos, son of Kreg-
Ἰνονδει Ἑρμοκλέους Σαρπηδονίῳ,	deis, the Iobateian, Inondes, son of Hermocles
Κλείνῳ Συμμασιος καὶ Συμμασει	the Sarpedonian, Kleinos son of Symmasis and
Σορτίου Ἀραιλεισευσιν.	Symmasis son of Sortias, Araileisans. ¹⁴²
[...]	[...]“

Kleinos, son of Symmasis and Symmasis, son of Sortios are called Ἀραιλεισεῖς. Diether Schürr pointed out that this has an exact parallel in the name Arailise known from TL 26.¹⁴³ So if *arailise* and *malijehe* were demoi of the city of Tlos, it is highly likely that all the places mentioned in TL 26, including Winbête, were communities belonging to Tlos.¹⁴⁴

138 Köse – Tekoğlu (2007) 63; s. also Parker (2010) 103–104.

139 The Bellerophonteioi are mentioned in A 23–24, B 28, C 28, s. Köse – Tekoğlu (2007) 65–66; Parker (2010) 103.

140 S. Frei (1990b) 1782, 1805, 1825–1826; Schürr (2009) 107 n. 7; Parker (2010) 103. For the fact that these names designate demoi rather than phylai, s. Kunnert (2012) 170–171.

141 Schürr (2009) 107; Schürr (in print).

142 Translation by Parker (2010) 107.

143 Schürr (2009) 107; Schürr (in print).

144 With view of the name *mññātahi* Schürr (2009) 107 further referred to the personal name Μνανδρασις, which is known from an inscription found in Oinoanda, Heberdey – Kalinka (1897) Nr. 79: Κλοινιζόας Ἑρμαίου Ὀνοβ[ά]ρου Μνανδράσεως ἀπέλυ|σεν τῆι Μητρὶ ὄρεϊα ἱερο-δού|λας Ἀκιερούν καὶ Ἀπιονιθεῖν| τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδις. But Mnandrasis is definitely a personal name here, so it would be difficult to see a relation to the toponyms of TL 26, unless one allows for an interpretation integrating δήμου before Μνανδράσεως, which would then further extend the territory of Tlos in the 4th century. Since none of the demoi of Oinoanda known from the

Schürr's demonstration that Winbête must have belonged to the territory of Tlos and our suggestions concerning Tudhaliya's invasion, suggest that Winbête/Oinoanda could have lain in the upper Xanthos valley, south of the passes separating the Xanthos valley from the Kibyrtis, and north of Tlos.¹⁴⁵

6 Some speculative thoughts on the location of the Wiyanawanda/Winbête/Oinoanda

Even though archaeological research concerning the Bronze Age in the Xanthos valley has to cope with several problems, one can still hope that one of the hills named *höyük* in this area may not only be a misinterpreted natural feature.¹⁴⁶ One of the *höyüks* in the area of Girmeler, Uğurlu-Kemer (Fethiye) or Seydiler, in today's area of connection between Fethiye and the Xanthos valley, could well be identified with Wiyanawanda.

Still, if we assume that TL 26 has to be dated to the first half of the 4th century and that it mentions the original Wiyanawanda/Winbête, we must ask ourselves what happened to the city. For, even though the Termessians must have known that the area was called Oinoanda before their arrival, all the sources naming a city of Oinoanda clearly refer to Termessos by Oinoanda, which would not be possible if Oinoanda itself still existed.

So why and when did it disappear? Even though this is speculative, the most probable answers to this question would be, firstly that it was destroyed or, secondly that it was renamed. We do not know too much about the history of the Achaemenid and Early Hellenistic period in Northern Lycia, so the *argumentum e silentio* against a conquest and destruction of Wiyanawanda is not conclusive. Still, I will try to give an explanation of why I prefer the second option.

The primary Roman road to Oinoanda attested by the *Stadiasmus Patarensis* must probably have lead northwards from Tlos in the Xanthos valley itself, bypassing Çobanlar, Kemer, Seydiler, Ören and then up to the Karabel pass.¹⁴⁷

Demostheneia inscription, s. Wörrle (1988), is comparable to the demoi of TL 26, it seems unlikely that the territory of Tlos extended that far northwards.

145 Alternatively the territory of Tlos would have extended northwards beyond the Karabel pass. This, however, seems unlikely because the region would be very hard to control from the Xanthos valley, and none of the demoi of Tlos are identical to those mentioned in the Demostheneia inscription from Oinoanda, cf. preceding note.

146 For such misinterpretations s. Becks (2012) 24.

147 Cf. Rousset (2010) 41–42.

Ören/ Araxa, being the last station in the Xanthos valley before the pass, would be the ideal place, meeting all the requirements we stated for Wiyanawanda/ Winbēte. It lies in the valley itself, near class. Termessos by Oinoanda. Araxa is first attested in the hellenistic period, so it could well have been renamed in the Persian period. Already in 1829 William Drummond suggested that „the name was of Scythian, or Median origin.“¹⁴⁸

This of course would be just a hazardous thought, were there not a hint in the name itself. Araxa may in fact be derived from an unattested Old Persian word *āraṣšā. This form of the Indo-European stem h_2leks ¹⁴⁹ with the prefix ā- would have its counterpart not only in sanskr. āraṣšā-, ‚protection, guard‘, but also in the Iranian branch of the language family with Sogd. ʾrʿxsy ‚support, refuge‘ and Oss. aræxst ‚ability‘.¹⁵⁰ A name ‚guard‘ or ‚refuge‘ would be very well fitting if the city served to maintain Persian control or as seat of a dynast of Persian descent.

The renaming of a city in the Persian period might appear without parallel. We should, however, not overestimate our knowledge of the political developments which took place in inner Asia Minor during the period in question. As has been pointed out, the Persian colonization of Asia Minor and the Persian cultural influence might be far more extensive than commonly thought.¹⁵¹ In the fourth century, probably as a reaction to the Lycians’ support of the satraps’ revolt, Achaemenid control over Lycia became tighter.¹⁵² The local dynasts presented themselves as loyal Persian followers, were portrayed in Persian attire, and some even bore Persian names. Some Lycian tombs show Achaemenid influences.¹⁵³ As Zahle observed, most of the Persian names in Lycia were carried by members of the ruling class.¹⁵⁴ This elite held land in various parts of the

148 Interestingly he does not try to find an etymology for Araxa, whereas he does for other cities of the Xanthos valley, which to him have a Semitic etymology. He only implicitly connects it with the river named Araxes. „In the interior parts of Lycia I find a few places, of which the names appear to me to be Syrian; but there are others, which I think must have been originally Scythian, perhaps Indian, Median or Persian. Araxa was a Lycian city, on the side next Caria. The name was of Scythian, or Median origin; but I suspect that there was a river so denominated, and that the town was called Araxa, as being situated beside the stream.“ Drummond (1829) 113.

149 This stem is attested e.g. in Sanskr. rakṣ- and Greek ἀλέξω.

150 Sanskrit: Monier-Williams (2005) 149 s. v. āraṣṣhā, Ossetic and Sogdian: Miller – Frejman (1927) 44; Gharib (1995) 9; Cheung (2007) 196; Осетинский словарь slovar.irston.com (14.3.2013).

151 Sekunda (1985); Sekunda (1988); Root (1991); Sekunda (1991); Debord (1999) 196.

152 Sekunda (1991) 97.

153 Zahle (1989) 176; Sekunda (1991) 97–105; Zahle (1991) 150.

154 Zahle (1991) 152.

country as argued by Sekunda.¹⁵⁵ There even seems to be evidence for a Achaemenid colonization: the village of the Kardakes in area of Acıpayam¹⁵⁶ might well be a military colony which was installed in the Persian period.¹⁵⁷ The towns of Pharnakeia, Dareion and Dareioukome in Phrygia and Mysia could also go back to the Persian period.¹⁵⁸ The town of the Maibozanoi mentioned in an inscription from Ephesos (SEG 37,884) might be derived from the Iranian name Maibouzanes.¹⁵⁹ Lastly, an almost exact parallel can be found in the ethnic Γαυζανός found in an inscription from Gundai north of the Eğirdir lake.¹⁶⁰ The name is most probably derived from a Persian word *ga(n)za-* ‚treasury‘.¹⁶¹ As with *āraxšā the city would have been named after its function.

In this context a Persian origin of Araxa is at least imaginable.

We know extremely little about Lycia in the Persian period, but we cannot exclude that the Persians had an eye on the inner-Lycian conflicts. This they may have done from their stronghold Wiyanawanda which they renamed *Āraxšā ‚the guard‘.¹⁶²

The name of Araθθi known from the coin M 247¹⁶³ is sometimes connected with Araxa.¹⁶⁴ This goes back to a suggestion made in the auction catalogue of 1977, where the coin was first published.¹⁶⁵

Only two coins of this type bearing the legend araθθihe are thus far known. They were unearthed in the 1976 near Üzümlü/Kadyanda,¹⁶⁶ came via Munich (as I have been told) to Zurich. There, one of them was published in an auction

155 Sekunda (1991) 88–91.

156 Robert (1978) 277–286.

157 For the Kardakes as a Persian military unit s. now Charles (2012).

158 Sekunda (1985) 21–26; Sekunda (1991) 127–128, 131–133.

159 Habicht (1975) 73–74 (ed. pr. of the inscription with commentary); Sekunda (1985) 25.

160 Ramsay (1906) 319 no. 2.

161 Sekunda (1991) 123–124. For *ga(n)za-* s. Hinz (1975) 102; Beekes (2010) 254 s. v. γάζα.

162 Even though Araxa is not exactly an impregnable fortress, the hill overlooks much of the northern Xanthos valley and the name would be much more fitting for a city than a connection with Gk. ἀράσσω ‚to smite/dash/dangle‘ suggested by Kalinka (1920) 259. Additionally, one should mention TAM II 174 B 9–16 (=Kalinka [1920] 63 no. 174) and Q. Smyrn. 11,21–26, who report a story about Leto giving birth to Apollon and Artemis near Araxa, when during labour pains she tore open (ἀναρρήξασα) the plains of Lycia and revealed the Xanthos. The verbal form ἀναρρήξασα is often understood as an allusion and a folk etymology of the name of Araxa, s. Frei (1990b) 1745. But this only means that the actual etymology of Araxa was unknown.

163 S. Bank Leu (1977) no. 226 with plate XIII and XXV. Mørkolm – Neumann (1978) 31 no. 247, with fig. 3.

164 Mørkolm – Neumann (1978) 31 no. 247. The stem of Araθθihe mentioned on the coin, is Araθθi, not Araθθα, as sometimes put.

165 Bank Leu (1977) 37.

166 Hurter (1979) 106.

catalogue from Bank Leu Numismatik in 1977.¹⁶⁷ Silvia Hurter hereupon commented on its find spot and seemed to have had some information, probably indirect, about the finders.¹⁶⁸ The coin obviously was acquired by Nelson Bunker Hunt, to whose collection it belonged when it was sold in 1990 for 77000 \$.¹⁶⁹ From then on it seems to have been part of the so-called Prospero collection belonging to an anonymous person, who obviously was forced to sell it in 2011.¹⁷⁰ In the auction, it was purchased by an anonymous individual, but most likely sheikh Saud Bin Mohammed Al-Thani,¹⁷¹ for the price of 100'000 \$.¹⁷² The present whereabouts of the coins remain unknown.¹⁷³

It is a pity that this collection of extraordinary coins, which were inaccessible to the public for almost twenty years, was not handed over to a museum or a publicly accessible private collection.

Another example of this precious coin is to be found in the „Kongelige Mønt- og Medallesamling“ of Copenhagen.¹⁷⁴ This example has been acquired by the museum in 1978 directly from Bank Leu.¹⁷⁵

The findspot of the coins and the weight of 8.36 g, which corresponds to the light, west Lycian standard,¹⁷⁶ suggests a western Lycian provenance. Also, it has been pointed out that the genitive ending *-he* on coins rarely refers to dynasts. It is, however, frequently used with toponyms.¹⁷⁷ The use with anthroponyms is attested too (Artumparahe M 231a, Xereh M 233d). *Araθθi* might well be the name of a city, and given the findspot Araxa and Arsada are plausible candidates. But the identification of *Araθθi* with Araxa is by no means sure: it

167 Bank Leu (1977) no. 226.

168 Hurter (1979) 106–108.

169 Sotheby's (1990) no. 555.

170 Baldwin's (2011).

171 Saud Bin Mohammed Al-Thani bought coins for 20 mio. \$, s. Robinson (2012), the entire bidding sum was 25 mio \$, s. Paton (2012).

172 Baldwin's (2011) no. 579.

173 It may even still be in the hands of Baldwin's since the biggest buyer in the New York Sale XXVII was Saud Bin Mohammed Al-Thani, who acquired coins worth four fifths of the entire bidding sum. It is therefore plausible that the coin has also been bought by him. In view of the exorbitant sum of 100'000\$ paid for it, it is even most likely. In November 2012, several newspapers reported a lawsuit of Baldwin's against the sheikh, because he did not pay his debts. Pryor (2012); Robinson (2012).

174 The coin reproduced in Mørkholm – Neumann (1978) Taf. 4, no. 3, and published by Schultz – Zahle (2002) no. 490.

175 Pers. comm. by Helle Horsnæs from the National Museum of Denmark in an e-mail from 21.3.2013.

176 Mørkholm (1964); Zahle (1989); Keen (1998) 115–116.

177 Mørkholm – Neumann (1978) 31; Frei (1967) 88.

seems phonetically quite difficult, and we cannot decide definitively if Araθθi is a toponym or an anthroponym.¹⁷⁸

The Greek form Araxa is first mentioned in an hellenistic inscription dated to the 3rd century B.C.¹⁷⁹ In the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Araxa was part of the Lycian league as is evidenced by the so-called Araxa inscription, which mentions conflicts with the northern neighbours of Boubon and Kibyra.¹⁸⁰

A number of Lycian tombs a little west of the village of Ören, and a city wall around the small acropolis hill of Araxa,¹⁸¹ may show that the city was inhabited already in an earlier period.¹⁸²

7 Implications for the political geography of southwestern Anatolia: Kuwalapassa and Iyalanda

If Tudhaliya invaded the Xanthos valley via the Acıpayam Ovası and Telmessos, it is highly likely that Hattusili III and Madduwatta took the same route during their campaigns in the region.¹⁸³ The town of Kuwalapassa which is mentioned in the annals of Hattusili III and which had close ties to Talawa,¹⁸⁴ could then probably be identified with class. Telmessos as suggested by Carruba.¹⁸⁵ KUB

178 S. e.g. Neumann (2007) 18: „lautlich kaum möglich“, but s. now Schürr (in print), who proposes for Lycian A Araθθi < *Aratehi < *Arak^wesi, and for Lycian B *Arak^wesi > *Arakesi > *Arakssi > Araxa. One might speculate if the coin stems from a otherwise unknown dynast named Arathes. Although the name is rare, it does exist as evidenced by Memnon of Herakleia FGrH 434 F 1, 22, Pompeius Trogus 38. The derivation from a reconstructed *arhat(a)ssi, which would in turn be connected with Hittite arha- ‚border‘ proposed by Carruba (1993) 15, and accepted by Nollé (2005) 87–88 is phonetically impossible (I thank Zsolt Simon for discussing this point with me).

179 S. Hellenkemper – Hild (2004) 448–449, inscr. published by Maiuri (1925–1926) 313–315, no. 1. Dating to the 8th year of a Ptolemaic king, that is 275, 238 or 213 B.C.

180 First published by Bean (1948) 46–56, republished in SEG 18 (1962) no. 570.

181 S. Bean (1978) 70–72 with figures.

182 We may also speculate that at least some of the demoi of Tlos received or took their names as Sarpedonioi, Iobateioi and Bellerophonteioi in the course of Alexander’s invasion, in order to show their old relationship to the Greeks and Macedonians. Therefore the older names were lost.

183 Hattusili: KUB 21.6, KUB 21.6a, KUB 31.19, and most prob. KUB 14.3, Madduwatta: KUB 14.1.

184 Marizza (2005); Gander (2010) 82–85.

185 Carruba (1996) 27.

23.83 mentions both the men of Talawa and Kuwalapassa, who agree to launch an attack against Iyalanda, and the town of Awarna, named in unclear context. If we assume that Talawa is Tlos, Awarna Xanthos and Kuwalapassa Telmessos, then the city of Iyalanda should probably be sought in the area between Apa-meia or Laodikeia and the Indos valley.¹⁸⁶ Since there are reasonable doubts on the reading *VITIS* in Yalbur and Südburg, one could speculate if the sign does not signify some other, more important land. If so, given the geographical and political situation, Iyalanda could be a plausible candidate.¹⁸⁷

In KUB 31.19 Kuwalapassa is mentioned again. The text further informs us that „there was no [water]“, and that „[it (i. e. the army)] was thirsty“. Forlanini proposed to connect this mention of lack of water with KUB 14.3 I 39–43,¹⁸⁸ because there too, the Great King informs us in course of his campaign against Iyalanda: „And when the water supply was gone, [...] and my troops were f[ew]. So I did not go after [...].“

The Hittite king, again would have taken the route from Sallapa to Waliwanda and then diverted to Iyalanda. The fugitives probably went to Kuwalapassa, but the king did not follow them, because there was no water.¹⁸⁹ Instead, he went back to Isnati and further to Ama-/Aba-, which we both cannot localize, but are likely to have lain in the Meander valley. After that he finally reached Millawanda (most probably Miletos).

It is difficult to reconcile the mention of Kuwalapassa in KUB 21.6 III 10' with this reconstruction. But, although it is tempting to assume two Kuwalapassas,¹⁹⁰ I find it difficult to believe that two different towns of the same name would be mentioned on the same tablet without further clarifying the situa-

186 The frequent identification of Iyalanda with class. Alinda in western Caria, going back to Hrozný (1929) 325, is impossible, as pointed out by de Martino (1996) 55–56, Forlanini (1998) 245 and Gander (2010) 197–202.

187 This is, of course purely speculative. Oreshko reads the *VITIS* sign in Yalbur and Südburg as *PLANTA(REGIO)* and wants to connect it with the land of Arzawa. This is, in my opinion, very difficult; we do not expect Arzawa to appear under this name in the time of Tudhaliya IV, because the actual kingdom of Arzawa did not exist anymore, cf. Heinhold-Krahmer (1977) 121–147. The appearance of Arzawa in the Südburg inscription could only be explained if one agrees to date the inscription to Suppiluliuma I, as suggested by Oreshko (2012) chap. 4 and by Petra Goedegebuure in her presentation on the 8th International Congress of Hittitology in Warsaw.

188 Forlanini (1988) 157–159, Forlanini (2007) 293, Forlanini (2012) 138–139.

189 S. KUB 14.3 I 41 *A-NA NAM.RA*^[MES] *EGIR-an-da ú-UL pa-a-u-un*], KUB 14.3 I 44 *EGIR-an-da ú-UL pa-a-u-u[n ...]*, KUB 31.19 1.6 [... *na*]-at^[URU] *Ku-wa-la-pa-aš-ša pa[-a-it ...]*, KUB 31.19 1.10 [... *A-NA*^[URU] *Iš-na-ti an-da-an pa-a-u-e[-ni ...]*].

190 Pace Gander (2010) 89 n. 347.

tion.¹⁹¹ If we take a closer look at KUB 21.6 we can see that the list of conquests or annexations was probably finished before the mention of Kuwalapassa, which again could be mentioned as refuge for the enemy.

- 5' KUR^{URU} *Wa-al-ma* KUR^{URU} *Wa-at-t(a-... KUR ...]*
 KUR^{URU} *Na-ḫi-ta* KUR^{URU} *Šal-lu-ša* KU[R ...]
 KUR^{URU} *Ša-an-ḫa-ta* KUR^{URU} *Šu-ri-i[m-ma KUR ...]*
 KUR^{URU} *Wa-al-wa-ra* KUR^{URU} *Ḫa-wa-li* KU[R ...]
 KUR^{URU} *I-na-aš-ša-ra* ^{GIS}TUKUL-*iš-ši pa-r(a-a ...]*
- 10' KUR^{URU} *Ku-wa-la¹-pa-aš-ša a-ar-aš-ke-e[t nu ke-e KUR.KUR^{MES}]*
ḫu-u-ma-an-ta ḫar-ga-nu-ut na-at-kán [...]
še-er-ši KUR^{URU} *Za-al-la-ra-aš* ZAG-aš *e-e[š-ta ke-e-iz-ma-aš-ši]*
 KUR ŠAP-LI-TI ZAG-aš *e-eš-ta [ke-e-ez-ma-aš-ši¹⁹²]*
 KUR^{URU} *Ḫar-zi-ú-na-aš* ZAG-aš *e-[eš-ta ...]*
- 15 *am-mu-uk* ^m*Ḫa-a[t-tu-ši-li-iš ...]*
[tar]-uḫ-ḫu-un x [...]
- 5' „The land of Walma, the land of Watta[... the land of]
 the land of Nahita, the land of Sallusa, the lan[d of ...]
 the land of Sanhata, the land of Suri[mma, the land of ...]
 the land of Walwara, the land of Hawali, [the land of ...]
 (and) the land of Inassara, [...] to/ with his weapon.
- 10' He again reached Kuwala'passa. [And all these lands]
 he destroyed them, and he [plundered] them.
 Above, Zallara was his boundary, [and on this side]
 the Lower Land was his boundary, [and on this side]
 Harziuna was his boundary [...]
- 15 I, Hat[tusili ...]
 I [con]quered. [...]"

Gurney interpreted *arsket* in l. 10' as „had repeatedly invaded“, and interpreted the countries named in ll. 5–9 as victims of this aggression.¹⁹³ First of all, we do not know whether the countries mentioned in these lines fell to the enemy or if they joined in with him. A comparison to KUB 21.6 II 1'–12' where Hawaliya most probably is one of the aggressors,¹⁹⁴ suggests the latter. Secondly, Gurney

191 For the relation of the different fragments of Hattusili's annals, s. Gurney (1997) 127–128.

192 If we compare the very plausible restorations of ll. 9, 10 and 12, the restoration of l. 13 should contain some 3 or 4 signs more.

193 Gurney (1997) 132.

194 KUB 21.6a II 1'-12' [x x x x] x KUR^{URU} *Ḫa-wa-li-ia-aš [...]* [KUR^{URU} *Na-t(a)-aš* KUR^{URU} *Par-ḫa-a* KUR^{URU} *Ḫur-a[š-na-aš-ša]*] [KUR^{URU} *x-š*] *i-da-wa-an-ta* KUR^{URU} *U-ti-iḫ- [...]* [KUR.KUR^{MES} ^{URU} *Lu-u*] *k-ka₄-ia ḫu-u-ma-an-ta [...]* [KUR^{URU} *ru-ri-ia*] *aḫ-ḫe-er nu-kán* ^{URU} *Wa-šu-wa-[at-ta-an]* [^{URU} *...-u*] *t-ta-wa-na-an e-ep-[per]* „Hawaliya, [Nat]a (or: [Nahit]a?), Parha, Huras[nassa, X-s]idawanda, Utih[-x] and all the [Luk] ka-[lands] made war, and [they took] Wasuwa[tta and Harpu]tawanna.“ For a detailed treatment of this text s. Gander (2010) 40–42. It is also worth noting that the restoration KUR^{URU}-

closes the list of victims with l. 9, but he does not say anything about the status of Kuwalapassa. Furthermore, Kuwalapassa is most likely the only object of the verb *arsket*, which normally means ‚repeatedly came to‘, a meaning ‚attacked/invaded‘ is not attested.¹⁹⁵ The countries of the ll. 1–9 were then most probably subject of the sentence which ends with the verb lost in the gap of l. 9. Gurney’s suggestion to restore *pa[rā tarnantat]* is not fully convincing. Would the Hittite king say about his subjects that ‚they were released“ from his control? Since, as we saw, these lands could also be aggressors, one could propose an integration like ^{GIS}TUKUL-*i=šši pa[rā tiyer]* ‚they stepped away, they defected to his weapon‘.

The next sentence contains most probably a verb in the 3rd sg., so we would have a change in subject, which would be indicated in the end of l.9. The enemy reaches Kuwalapassa, but we do not know what for. It may even be that Kuwalapassa was his base, from where he started his expeditions. Therefore, although it is possible, I see no ground to be absolutely sure that Kuwalapassa here must have been part of the countries belonging to the Tarhuntassa/the Lower Land, as those mentioned in ll. 5–9.

Furthermore, if Inassara in l.9 is the same place as Anassara in KBo 18.86, which is mentioned together with Talawa and Huwarasnassa¹⁹⁶ then the list would at least provide a connection between Talawa–Kuwalapassa and the border lands of Tarhuntassa.

An alternative solution would be to accept the reading Kuwappassa – on the photo a reading AP is clearly preferable to LA – and to suggest that Kuwappassa and Kuwalapassa are two different cities.¹⁹⁷

The land of Huras[nassa] mentioned in KUB 21.6a II 4' according to Forlanini¹⁹⁸ would provide a connection to the border territory of Arzawa (Attarimma, Suruta, Huwarsanassa) and the lands conquered by Madduwatta (Iyalanda, Attarimma, Suruta, Huwarsanassa, Zumanti, Zumari). These towns could then be

Hur-aš[na-aš-ša] proposed by Forlanini (1988) 162; Forlanini (2012) 137, may provide further support for the connection. Hu(wa)rasnassa is mentioned together with Talawa and Annasara in KBo 18.86, and with Attarimma and Suruta in KUB 14.16 III 26–31 // KUB 14.15 III 54–58, and with Iyalanda, Suruta, Attarimma, Zumanti and Zumari in KUB 14.1 rev. 29–30, 55–58.

¹⁹⁵ S. HW², s. v. ar-/er- IV, 217.

¹⁹⁶ Forlanini (1988) 162.

¹⁹⁷ Forlanini (1988) 158 with n. 135. The identification of Kuwalapassa with Kolbasa, and Talawa with a Pisidian Tlos is difficult. The Pisidian Tlos is only attested by Stephanus Byzantinus s. v. Τλώς where it is probably just a misunderstanding by Stephanus himself, s. Robert (1983) 258. But one has to keep in mind that the name Τλαμώας (i.e. Talawa-muwa) is attested in several inscriptions from Adada in Pisidia, s. Sterret (1888) 285 no. 404–405; 288 no. 409; 296 no. 420; 300 no. 421; 302 no. 423; 308 no. 433.



¹⁹⁸ Forlanini (1988) 162; Forlanini (2012) 137.

localized in the wider area south of Denizli and Dinar, in the Acipayam Ovası and the Tefenni Ovası.¹⁹⁹

The towns of Kuwakuwaluwanda and Kuwalatarna which are mentioned in the Yalburt and the Emirgazi V inscription, are very difficult to localize. They are mentioned in the sequence of blocks 7–17–6, which are most likely to be placed before block 14 and the Lycian invasion. Consequently, we are not aware of whether these places lay in Lycia, and, if not, how far from Lycia they are to be situated. The pairing of Kuwalatarna and Talawa in Emirgazi V may well be thematical and does not necessarily imply that these two places were close together (s. above p. 372). Any identification of the names, e.g. with Telandros and Kalynda,²⁰⁰ therefore has to remain entirely conjectural.

8 Conclusions

The reconstruction of the Yalburt inscription brought forward by Poetto, Hawkins and Schürr could establish a certain order of events, which I tried to elaborate a little further. It could be shown that the events in the Xanthos valley concerning Talawa, Pinara and Awarna are closely connected. Block 4 which contains a summary of the achievements of Tudhaliya IV and sacrificial actions on or with regard to Mount Patara should be placed at the end of the text. In spite of claims to the contrary block 9, mentioning Lukka and VITIS, cannot be surely linked with any other text part. It may have stood somewhere in the main part of the text, or alternatively as part of the summary, at the end.

The reading of the signs  and  as VITIS is at least difficult. The long tail of these two signs would make no sense if added to the pied de vigne²⁰¹ or vine branch²⁰² which the sign represents.

If however, the identification as VITIS should be correct, then the phonetic reading should no doubt be *wi* or *wiya(n)* as is shown by the name VITIS-*ni* (= Wiyani). The city would then naturally be a Wiyanawanda.

The Hittite texts mention at least three places which were called Wiyanawanda or Winuwanda. One certainly lay in the area of the Upper Kızıl Irmak, one in Cilicia, probably to be identified with Epiphaneia/Oeniandus mentioned

¹⁹⁹ Forlanini (2007) 293 n. 46 wants to place Iyalanda in the area of Tefenni. I prefer the Acipayam Ovası, because of the connection of Iyalanda to Kuwalapassa and Talawa.

²⁰⁰ Carruba (1996) 33; Schürr (2010) 15–16.

²⁰¹ Laroche (1960) 85.

²⁰² Gelb (1931) 10.

by Pliny, and one more lay in Western Anatolia. Forlanini may be correct in further differentiating two western and two central Anatolian Wiyanawandas,²⁰³ although definitive proof is lacking.

The land of *VIITIS*/Wiyanawanda in Yalburt is often directly identified with Greek Oinoanda in the Kibyris. This is untenable on archaeological and historical grounds. The earliest traces of settlement at İncealiler date from the 2nd century B.C., exactly when the Termessians from Pisidia installed themselves in Termessos *by Oinoanda*. Oinoanda lay therefore not on the hill above İncealiler, but only „nearby“.

Furthermore, we have seen that the Hittites, if prudent, should have avoided the mountainous Kibyris and invaded Lycia by way of the Acıpayam Ovası, the Indos valley and Telmessos or less probable via western Anatolia, as many of their successors have done. This would mean that Tudhaliya IV did not bypass Termessos by Oinoanda.

The original Wiyanawanda/Oinoanda should be sought further south, probably in the Xanthos valley itself, as has been pointed out on account of the Lycian inscription TL 26, which lists communities of Tlos. Among others the town of Winbête is mentioned, which definitely is a precursor of the name Oinoanda. Diether Schürr connected *malijehe* and *arailise* mentioned in the inscription with the Tlo-an demoi Malieus and Araileisis, and so made it very likely that also the town of Winbête/Wiyanawanda in the 4th century belonged to the territory of Tlos.

The assumed route of invasion via Telmessos, the appartenance of Winbête to the territory of Tlos and the original naming of the site above İncealiler as *Termessos by Oinoanda*, make it further likely that the original Winbête/Oinoanda lay at the northern end the Xanthos valley.

Winbête/Oinoanda may hide itself under one of the höyüks in the area of Kemer (Fethiye) and Seydiler. But the area best suited, which covers all requirements for Winbête/Oinoanda, is the site of Ören/Araxa at the extreme north of the Xanthos valley.

Since the sources mentioning a city of Oinoanda always refer to Termessos *pros Oinoandois*, it reasonable to think that the original Oinoanda disappeared around the beginning of the third century B.C.

Araxa is only attested from the late third century onwards; before that, it may well have borne the name Winbête. It is possible that Araxa has been renamed in the Persian period, since its name corresponds exactly to a reconstructed Persian word **āraxšā*, a word which is attested in Sanskrit *āraḁṣā*, in Ossetic *’r’xs’y* and in Sogdian *aræxst* with the meaning ‚protection, guard, re-

203 Forlanini (2012) 137.

fuge, ability'. If we assume that Araxa was the seat of a Persian official or of a dynast of Persian provenance, this name would be a significantly good fit.

If we accept the route of invasion presented above, the city of Kuwalapassa, mentioned together with Talawa, should probably be identified with class. Telmessos/Fethiye. It is still unclear if there existed more than one Kuwalapassa, but one should not overestimate the text KUB 21.6, because there Kuwalapassa may as well be mentioned apart from the other toponyms, which have strong connections to the Lower Land and Tarhuntassa.

The lands mentioned in the Madduwatta text, including Iyalanda, should then be probably sought in the area south of Denizli, in the Acıpayam and Tefenni Ovası.

Acknowledgements: I'd like to thank Prof. Christian Marek (Zürich), Prof. Jared Miller (München), Prof. Stefano de Martino (Torino), Chiara Cognetti (München) for their comments on a draft of this paper, I also would like to thank Dr. Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer (Feldkirchen-Westerham), Dr. des. Zsolt Simon (Budapest/Istanbul), Rostislav Oreshko (Berlin/Hamburg) and Diether Schürr (Gründau) for discussion and critical remarks, and finally Ricardo Dorado (Madrid) for improving the style of this article.

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The maps (Fig. 5–9) were created with the Antiquity-à-la-carte application available by the Ancient World Mapping Center, „À-la-carte“. <<http://awmc.unc.edu/awmc/applications/alacarte/>>. Route drawings are my own.