

**THE CYPRO-ANATOLIAN CONNECTIONS  
IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE**

by  
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**DEPARTMENT OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART  
BILKENT UNIVERSITY**

**ANKARA  
January, 1999**

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THE CYPRO-ANATOLIAN CONNECTIONS  
IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
Bilkent University

by

EKİN KOZAL

In Partial Fulfillment Of The Requirements For The Degree Of  
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in

THE DEPARTMENT OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART  
BILKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

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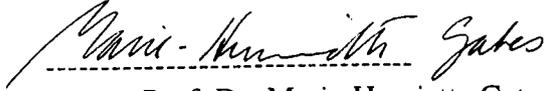
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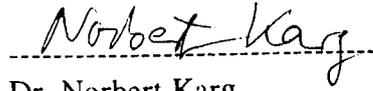
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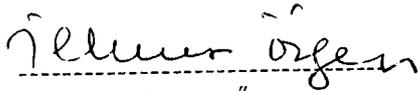
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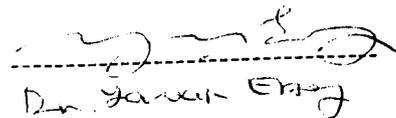
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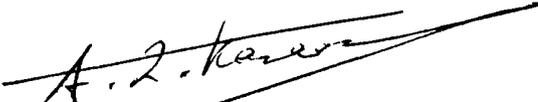
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Dr. Jansen Eray

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences

  
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## ABSTRACT

The relations between Anatolia and Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age have been neglected in contrast to the growing interest in the Eastern Mediterranean trade. The main goal of this thesis is to bring this subject to light.

These relations were attested in the Hittite sources for two centuries (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.) and in Ugaritic sources in the 13th century B.C. Within this historical framework the connections are reviewed in different perspectives. Correlations between the historical sources and the archaeological evidence are proposed. In this period, friendly relations existed, which were implied in the written texts until the time shortly before the collapse of the Hittite Empire. From the 15th until the 13th centuries White Slip and Base Ring wares were exported to Cilicia, whereas in the 13th century the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware was transported to the Hittite capital through the Göksu Valley. The new ceramic distribution pattern in the 13th century shows the increase of the Hittites' interest in overseas activities. Besides, this was the time when the Hittite capital was moved to the land of Tarhuntassa. At the end of the 13th century B.C. with the military intervention of Hittites, Cyprus came under the control of the Hittite Empire. This was demonstrated in the archaeological record by the Hittite small finds in Cyprus.

In this preliminary study I have also touched upon the geophysical features of southern Anatolia and Cyprus, the distribution of the Late Bronze Age sites in both places, the climatic factors and conditions, which play a very important role in the ancient navigation and the physical layout of the coastlines. Conclusively, a synthesis of these various factors are put forward.

## TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Geç Bronz Çağı Doğu Akdeniz ticaretine olan ve gittikçe artan ilgiye rağmen, bu dönemdeki Anadolu Kıbrıs ilişkileri incelenmemiştir. Bu tezin amacı bu konuyu gün ışığına çıkarmaktır.

Bu ilişkilerin varlığı Hitit kaynaklarında iki yüzyıl süre boyunca (M.Ö.1400-1200) ve Ugarit kaynaklarında M. Ö.13. yüzyılda bilinmektedir. Bu tezde, belirtilen tarihsel süreç içerisinde ilişkiler değişik yönlerden incelenmiştir. Tarihsel kaynaklar ve arkeolojik buluntular arasındaki bağlantı ortaya konmuştur. İyi ilişkilerin, Hitit İmparatorluğunun çökmesinden kısa bir süre öncesine kadar devam ettiği yazılı kaynaklardan anlaşılmaktadır. 15. ve 13. yüzyıllar arasında Beyaz Astarlı ve Halka Kaideli seramik türleri Kilikya Bölgesi'ne, 13. yüzyılda ise Kırmızı Boyalı Çarkta Üretilmiş seramik türü Göksu Vadisi üzerinden Boğazköy'e ihraç edilmiştir. 13. yüzyıldaki seramik dağılımı Hititlerin deniz aşırı faaliyetlere artan ilgisini göstermektedir. Ayrıca bu dönemde Hitit başkenti Tarhuntassa Bölgesi'ne aktarılmıştır. 13. yüzyıl sonunda, Hititlerin Kıbrıs'a askeri müdahalesi sonucu, ada Hitit kontrolü altına girmiştir. Bu tarihi olay, Kıbrıs'ta bulunan Hitit küçük buluntularıyla arkeolojik yönden açıklanabilmektedir.

Bu ön çalışmada Güney Anadolu ve Kıbrıs'ın jeofiziksel özellikleri, Geç Bronz Çağı merkezlerinin dağılımı, antik dönemdeki denizcilik açısından önem taşıyan iklim koşulları ve kıyıların fiziksel yapısı da incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, yukarıda belirtilen etkenlerin bir sentezi oluşturulmuştur.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis will review the relations between Cyprus and Anatolia in the late second millennium B.C. The main goal is to bring this subject to light, since it has been neglected in the analysis of Eastern Mediterranean trade. In this way, the relations between the island and the closest mainland should acquire a more visible definition.

This subject first attracted the interest of the scholarly world, when the Hittite and Ugaritic sources were recovered in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These yielded historical information about the relations between Anatolia and Cyprus. However, the connections in the archaeological record were disregarded. Therefore, the historical evidence could not be confirmed in the archaeological record. In this thesis, I attempt to show that a correlation between the written and the archaeological evidence can be made. The history of the relations covers the period of two centuries, from 1400 B.C. until the collapse of the Hittite Empire. The historical phase corresponds, in archaeological terms, to the second half of the Late Bronze Age (LC II). The collapse of the Hittite Empire coincides with LC IIIA:1 period (1225-1150 B.C.) in Cypriot chronology, when major destructions occurred at Late Bronze Age sites throughout the island. The post-destruction and final Late Bronze Age is characterized by enormous changes in Cyprus. These are dramatically attested in the appearance of ashlar masonry, Mycenaean pottery types and man-made harbors. Since this period is not documented by written material and has a very different culture, it will be excluded from this thesis.

Within this precise historical framework, this thesis will review the connections between Cyprus and Anatolia from several perspectives. The coastal geophysical features, which play a very important role in the distribution of the Late Bronze Age

sites, will be presented both for Cyprus and Anatolia. The climatic factors and conditions, on which ancient navigation depended, will be outlined. These will be the subjects of chapter two.

The next chapter will summarize the Hittite and Ugaritic sources. These describe the nature of formal relations between Cyprus and the Hittite world.

In chapter four, which reviews the archaeological evidence, correlations between the written evidence and archaeological record will be proposed.

In the light of these demonstrated contacts, the physical layout of the coastlines of southern Anatolia and northern Cyprus are discussed in the concluding chapter. It will consider changes in the coastlines, and the locations of potential anchorage sites in relation to the Late Bronze Age sites in the hinterland.

In conclusion a synthesis of these various factors will be put forward. In this way the neglected issue of relations between Cyprus and Anatolia will be reviewed and the need for further research in this subject will be demonstrated.

## CHAPTER 2: GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

### 2.1. Location of the island in the Eastern Mediterranean context (Map 1)

Cyprus lies on the 35th meridian in the northeast corner of the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> It is located 65 km south of Anatolia, 130 km southwest of Hatay,<sup>2</sup> 95 km west of Syria, 400 km north of Egypt and 480 km east of Aegean islands. The closest island in the Aegean is Rhodes.<sup>3</sup> The Greek mainland is 750 km away from the island.<sup>4</sup>

It is the third biggest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia with an area of 9251 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>5</sup> It measures approximately 224 km in the east-west direction and 100 km in the north-south direction.<sup>6</sup>

There are major differences in the sea level around the island. The sea level is 1000 m deep between Cyprus and Anatolia and also between the island and the Levant. It drops to 2000 m in the south, and 2500-4000 m in the west of the island (fig.1).<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2. Physical Features of Cyprus (Map 2)

There are three main geophysical features on the island. These are two

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<sup>1</sup> G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (London 1972) 1.

<sup>2</sup> P.-J. Albrecht, *Nord Zypern* (Berlin 1993) 38.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Knapp, "Emergence, Development and Decline on Bronze Age Cyprus" in C. Mathers and S. Stoddart eds., *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 8) (1994) 271.

<sup>4</sup> Albrecht (supra n. 2) 38.

<sup>5</sup> Hill (supra n.1) 1; Albrecht (supra n. 2) 38; Knapp (supra n. 3) 271.

<sup>6</sup> Albrecht (supra n. 2) 38.

<sup>7</sup> E. K. Mantzourani and A. J. Theodorou, "An Attempt to Delineate the Sea-Routes between Crete and Cyprus during the Bronze Age" in V. Karageorghis ed., *The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 B. C.* (Larnaca 1989) 47, fig.5.

mountain ranges: the Kyrenia range (Beşparmak Dağları)<sup>8</sup> in the north and the Troodos mountains in the southwest, and in the center the Mesaoria Plain (Mesarya Ovası) between them.<sup>9</sup>

The Kyrenia range runs along the north coast between Panagra (Geçitköy) in the west and Ephtankomi (Yedikonuk) in the east. A hilly landscape starts on either side of the mountain until Morphou Bay (Güzelyurt Körfezi) in the west and in the Karpas Peninsula in the east.<sup>10</sup> There is a narrow plain, no more than five km in width, in the northern side of the Kyrenia Range. There are at least three passes through the Kyrenia range to the Mesaoria Plain.<sup>11</sup>

The Mesaoria Plain is 0-230 m above the sea level. It is an alluvial plain except for the limestone plateau in the middle, which is at some places covered with a layer of *terra rossa* (red soil). It plays an important role in today's grain production.<sup>12</sup> Two large streams, Pedias (Kanlıdere) and Yialias (Çakıllı Dere) come from the eastern side of Troodos and reach the sea at Salamis Bay. Another river, Ovgos (Dar Dere) is flowing from east to west and enters the sea at Morphou Bay.<sup>13</sup>

The Troodos massif covers the south and southwestern parts of the island. Its highest peak is 1953 m high. It is rich in copper deposits, which are located on the foothills with rivers flowing in all directions (fig. 2). None of the rivers on Cyprus is perennial because they depend on rain and snowfall, and therefore in summer are dry.

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<sup>8</sup> The Turkish names of the places are given in brackets only when they are different from the Greek.

<sup>9</sup> H. W. Catling, "Patterns of Settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus" *Op Ath* 4 (1963) 133-134; Hill (supra n.1) 6-8; V. Tatton Brown, *Ancient Cyprus* (London 1987) 7; Knapp (supra n. 3) 271-72.

<sup>10</sup> Catling (supra n. 9) 133.

<sup>11</sup> Knapp (supra n. 3) 272.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Hill (supra n. 1) 7.

The valleys of the rivers allow travel through the region.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.3 Physical features of the southern coast of Anatolia

The Mediterranean coast of Anatolia covers the area from Dalaman to Iskenderun Bay, a distance of 770 km.<sup>15</sup> It is divided into four main regions:

a) The western Taurus, including the 'lake district' and the Antalya Plain (fig.3a)

b) The main Taurus (fig.3b)

c) The Seyhan lowland (fig.3b)

d) The 'Anti-Taurus', the Gâvur and the Kurt Dağlar<sup>16</sup> (fig.3b)

a) The western Taurus extends from the Dalaman River in the north-east direction as four ranges, separated by rivers and valleys. These ranges are perpendicular to the coastline from the Dalaman River to Cape Gelidonya and some of its rivers flow into the sea. The 'lake district' is situated in this part of the Taurus Mountains, close to the Anatolian Plateau where they are fed by the rivers flowing in the north-east direction. The four ranges turn toward the southeast. The Antalya Plain is situated between the western and eastern ranges. The eastern range is running perpendicular to the coast between Anamur and Silifke and is very similar in its characteristics to the western range. In this region it is difficult to travel inland

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<sup>14</sup> Knapp (supra n. 3) 272.

<sup>15</sup> Turkey Vol. 1, *Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division* (1942) 142.

<sup>16</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 144-45.

because of the mountains.<sup>17</sup>

b) The main Taurus consists of the Bolkar, Toros and Ala Dağları. This range runs parallel to the coast, leaving a coastal strip between the sea and itself from Silifke as far as Mersin. The coastal strip becomes wider to the east of Mersin. Rivers originate from these mountains and flow southwards into the sea and northwards to the plateau.<sup>18</sup> There are four passes between the Anatolian Plateau and the coastline.<sup>19</sup> The first one is the valley of the Lamas (Göksu) River, and is called Göksu Pass (fig.3b and 4). The Çakit Gorge and its valley form a natural passage between the coastline and the plateau. This passage, the Cilician Gates (Gülek Boğazı), represents the major route into central Anatolia (fig.3b and 4). The third is formed by the valley of the Gürgün River and the fourth, which is the Bahçe Pass (fig.3b and 4), by the Yenice River.

The Bolkar Mountains are rich in metal deposits. Lead and zinc are found there, usually mixed with traces of gold and silver.<sup>20</sup> Besides, gold is found in considerable amounts in the Bolkar Mountains.<sup>21</sup> There are very few copper deposits in the Taurus Range.<sup>22</sup>

During the last decade, a debate has arisen about the possibility of ancient tin processing in Göltepe, and tin mining at Kestel near Celaller village in the Bolkar Mountains. The director of this research, Aslıhan Yener, put forward that tin was

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<sup>17</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 145-49.

<sup>18</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 150.

<sup>19</sup> The first, second and the fourth passes are mentioned in S. R. Steadman, "Isolation or Interaction: Prehistoric Cilicia and the Fourth Millennium Uruk Expansion" *JMA* 9 (1996) 134-35; the third pass is mentioned in Turkey (supra n. 15) 152.

<sup>20</sup> Turkey Vol.2, *Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division* (1943) 123-24.

<sup>21</sup> Turkey (supra n. 20) 124.

mined and processed in that region in the Early Bronze Age.<sup>23</sup> These and related arguments have been hotly contested on archaeological and scientific grounds.<sup>24</sup> It is still an open question whether these mines were worked for tin.

c) The Seyhan Lowland is bordered by the main Taurus range in the north, Anti-Taurus and Amanos Mountains in the east, the Mediterranean Sea in the south and the eastern range of the western Taurus. The coastal line is narrow between Silifke and Mersin. To the east of Mersin, the coastal strip becomes wider; therefore a coastal plain was formed by two major rivers, the Seyhan and the Ceyhan. The plain becomes very narrow again to the north of the İskenderun Bay. There are the 'Amanus Gates' (Kaleköy) at the north end of the plain.<sup>25</sup>

d) The Anti-Taurus is located north of the Seyhan Plain and it is in the alignment of the Main Taurus. It has five ranges with rivers, which feed the Seyhan and valleys in between. The Turkish names of the Amanus Mountains are Gavur Dağ and Kurt Dağ in the south and Nur Dağ in the north. The rivers from the Amanus Mountains feed the Ceyhan and the Asi (Orontes). The Ceyhan enters the sea at the northwest of the İskenderun Bay and the Asi to the southwest of Antakya.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> P.S. De Jesus, "Metal Resources in Ancient Anatolia" *AnatSt* 28 (1978) 99, map 1.

<sup>23</sup> K.A. Yener and H.Özbal, "Tin in the Turkish Taurus Mountains: The Bolkardağ mining district" *Antiquity* 61 (1987) 220-26; K.A. Yener and P.B. Vandiver, "Tin Processing at Göltepe, An Early Bronze Age Site in Anatolia" *AJA* 97 (1993) 207-238; K.A. Yener and P.B. Vandiver, "Reply to J.D. Muhly 'Early Bronze Age Tin and the Taurus'" *AJA* 97 (1993) 255-64.

<sup>24</sup> J.D. Muhly, "Early Bronze Age Tin and the Taurus" *AJA* 97 (1993) 239-53; J.D. Muhly, F. Begemann, Ö. Öztunalı, E. Pernicka, S. Schmitt-Strecker, G.A. Wagner, "The Bronze Age Metallurgy of Anatolia and the Question of Local Tin Sources" in E. Pernicka, G.A. Wagner eds., *Archaeometry '90, International Symposium on Archaeometry* (Heidelberg 1991) 209-20; E. Pernicka, G.A. Wagner, J.D. Muhly, Ö. Öztunalı, "Comment on the Discussion of Ancient Tin Sources in Anatolia" *JMA* 5\1 (1992) 91-98.

<sup>25</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 152-54.

## 2.4. Climatic factors and currents affecting the north-south trade routes

The maritime trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age have been determined as anticlockwise, according to the archaeological and textual evidence as well as physical factors, which are winds, currents and littorals. The trade routes demonstrate the relations between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean basin. In other words, the trade routes show mainly west-east direction to the south and east-west to the north of Cyprus (fig.5).<sup>27</sup> For the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, currents and winds allow only anticlockwise routes unless it was possible to sail against the currents and/or the winds.

Only the currents and the winds affecting the trade in the north-south and south-north directions will be discussed here, since the other classes of evidence will be the subjects of later chapters.

Along the southern coast of Anatolia, the winds change directions and frequencies at different times of the year (Table 1a-d). Statistics will be shown here from four modern cities, Antalya, Mersin, Adana and İskenderun. The first three cities show a similar pattern to each other, whereas İskenderun has a different wind pattern.

In Antalya, in December and the first three months of the year the north wind is dominant in the region. In April the north wind is still dominant but the calm days make up a considerable percentage. From May until October, the calm days are the most common. In November, the north wind becomes more frequent, but calm days

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<sup>26</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 154-59.

<sup>27</sup> D.E. McCaslin, *Stone Anchors in Antiquity: Coastal Settlements and Maritime Trade-routes in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1600-1050 B. C.* (Göteborg 1980) 102-7.

are as frequent as in the previous months. The south wind is the second most frequent wind from March until September.<sup>28</sup>

In Mersin there are similar wind patterns. In the first three months of the year the north wind is dominant, whereas in April, May, June, July the southwest and south winds are most common. In August north and south winds are frequent, in contrast to the last three months of the year, when the north wind becomes most common again.<sup>29</sup>

Adana has the same wind patterns as Mersin, since they are very close to each other.<sup>30</sup>

In contrast to Antalya, Mersin and Adana, İskenderun has a totally different wind pattern. In the first three months of the year southeast winds are dominant. Until June west and northwest winds are the most common and from June until September west wind becomes dominant. Like the first three months, the last three months of the year the wind blows most from the southeast.<sup>31</sup>

Besides wind patterns, the current in the Eastern Mediterranean plays an important role in determining the trade routes. The current runs east-west in the north of Cyprus (fig.6a-b),<sup>32</sup> which is not favorable for sailing in the north-south direction or vice versa. However, for July the constancy of the currents are between 25 and 49

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<sup>28</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 402.

<sup>29</sup> Meteorological office in Turkey.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> O. Höckmann, "Frühbronzezeitliche Kulturbeziehungen im Mittelmeergebiet unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kykladen" in H.G.Bucholz *Ägäische Bronzezeit* (Darmstadt 1987) 62-63, fig.9a-b.

percent (fig.7).<sup>33</sup> This shows that there are days in July without the current running from east to west.

## **Conclusion**

The northern coast of Cyprus faces the southern coast of Anatolia. The northwestern coast of Cyprus, Morphou Bay and Chrysochou Bay, are facing the Gulf of Antalya. The coast north of the Kyrenia Range is opposite to Rough Cilicia. The northern coast is southwest of the region from Silifke to İskenderun Gulf. Therefore, if possible, sailing between these two regions would be in northwestern, north and northeastern, and opposite directions.

Do the climatic conditions allow sailing in the directions mentioned above? In southern Anatolia, except for the İskenderun Gulf, northerly and southerly winds are dominant throughout the year. The south winds are most frequent between May and August, whereas in the other months of the year the north wind is dominant. Although southerly winds are prevailing during the sailing season (May until September), northerly winds occur as well. Therefore it is possible to sail from north to south as well, although the ships had to wait for the northerly winds. The winds are favorable for sailing between these two regions, without taking the currents into consideration. The currents are not suitable for such sailing but since they are not constant at least half of the summer,<sup>34</sup> the days without east-west current presented suitable options.

Therefore, it might have been possible to sail with the appropriate wind during

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<sup>33</sup> C. Lambrou-Phillipson, "Seafaring in the Bronze Age Mediterranean" in R. Laffineur and L. Basch eds., *Thalassa. L'égée préhistorique et la mer, (Aegaeum 7)* (Liège 1991) 11-20.

<sup>34</sup> The month July is taken as representative here, see fn. 33.

the days when the currents were not running in the east-west direction. In addition, the ships could have sailed between these regions during the days with current, but only if they could sail cutting the current at right angles.

It is evident from the written texts that there was a connection between Alasia (Cyprus)<sup>35</sup> and the Hittite world, most probably via Flat Cilicia. This can be confirmed with the archaeological record as well. This leads to investigating the possible routes between Cyprus, the southern coast of Anatolia and even the Anatolian Plateau. The probability of the sea journey was demonstrated above. The inland route must have been through the passes in the Taurus Mountains.

The north coast of Cyprus is closest to south Anatolia. Therefore, I assume that this northern region played a considerable role in their relations, especially the western end of the coast, which has a hilly landscape and is closest to the copper mines in the northern foothills of the Troodos Mountains.

Besides the closest route, it might have been possible to travel from the eastern and southern coast of Cyprus to Anatolia. Since it was possible to travel to the east, to the Syrian coast,<sup>36</sup> the coastline could have been followed and the Anatolian coast could be reached indirectly from there.

Here, I attempted to show the probable routes between southern Anatolia and Cyprus for the first time. The distance is close and under adequate conditions sea travel must have been possible. The written and archaeological evidence confirm this. These will be reviewed in the next chapters.

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<sup>35</sup>In this thesis, the equation of Alasia to Cyprus is accepted.

<sup>36</sup> McCaslin (supra n. 27) 105, fig. 36.f

## CHAPTER 3: WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Written sources are very important because they not only help to reconstruct historical events and historical geography, but they also show the relationship, even the nature of the relationship, between the lands. However, in reviewing the relations of Alasia to Anatolia in the written texts, one comes across difficulties in understanding the nature of relationships because the texts do not give every kind of information, and the archaeological evidence is surprisingly rare.

In this chapter, only Hittite and Ugaritic sources will be reviewed. The Egyptian texts are deliberately excluded, because they do not yield information about the relations of Alasia to Anatolia.

### 3.1. Hittite Texts

Eleven Hittite texts concerning Alasia were found in Boğazköy, the ancient Hittite capital Hattuša. The documents were written on clay tablets in Hittite cuneiform. Alasia was mentioned in Hittite written sources between ca. 1400-1200 B.C.<sup>37</sup> This covers the time from the reign of Arnuwanda I to the last Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II (Table 2).<sup>38</sup> The dating of some of these clay tablets have been debated and different dates have been suggested. The tablets show correspondence between Alasia and the Hittite Kingdom, but the nature of the relationship remains open to interpretation, because the archaeological evidence is insufficient to support the historical events mentioned in the texts. Here the texts will be reviewed according to their contents. They are mainly diplomatic texts. Some of these relate to the

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<sup>37</sup> L. Hellbing, *Alasia Problems* (SIMA 57) (Göteborg 1979) 53.

banishments from the Hittite land to Alasia. Alasia was mentioned also in religious texts as well as in one historical text.

### 3.1.1. Diplomatic Texts

These texts refer to diplomatic relations and correspondence between Hatti and Alasia.

#### The Madduwattas Text

The Madduwattas text (KUB XIV 1)<sup>39</sup> is the earliest Hittite text, in which Alasia is mentioned, according to a re-examination mainly in the light of new comparative philological evidence.<sup>40</sup> The text was first dated to around 1200 B.C. by Goetze<sup>41</sup> and later to about 1400 B.C., before the reign of Šuppiluliuma I by Otten.<sup>42</sup> Georgiou claims that the events of the Madduwattas text may belong to the reign of two Hittite kings, Tudhaliya III and Arnuwanda I. She relates the expansionist policy of Tudhaliya III, the mention of two kings in the text and Otten's dating of the text philologically to the turn of the fifteenth to the fourteenth century, as the basis for her argument.<sup>43</sup>

The Madduwattas text is a letter, which was exchanged between the Hittite king and Madduwattas. The text is as follows:

*'The Land of Alasiya is a Land of the Hittite king and brings him tribute. Why have you taken it?' But Madduwatta answered: 'The Land of Alasiya was disturbed by Attarsiya and the Man*

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<sup>38</sup> H. Georgiou, "Relations between Cyprus and the Near East in the Middle and Late Bronze Age" *Levant* 11 (1979) 100.

<sup>39</sup> F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijava-Urkunden* (München 1932) 329-49.

<sup>40</sup> H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes* (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 11) (Wiesbaden 1969).

<sup>41</sup> Sommer (supra n. 39) 329.

<sup>42</sup> Otten (supra n. 40) 36.

<sup>43</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 88-89.

*of Piggaya. But the father of the Hittite king did not subsequently write to me, the father of the Hittite king never stated to me, "The Land of Alasiya is mine. Leave it so!" If now the king demands back the prisoners taken from Alasiya, I will give them back to him.*<sup>44</sup>

According to Georgiou, Alasia was not under Hittite control but it was important to the Hittites economically and in a military sense. She argues that Alasia was independent, since it was not mentioned as a vassal state in the text.<sup>45</sup> Hellbing also argues that Alasia was not under Hittite control because Madduwattas did not know that it belonged to the Hittite king and could not argue with it if he knew it.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, the Hittite king claims that Alasia belongs to him<sup>47</sup> but it is not clear in what sense. In the text it is obvious that the Hittite king claimed his political power to protest the invasion of Alasia by a foreign power and the imprisonment of the people. This may be because, as Georgiou suggested, the island was important to him and/or Alasia was under political protection of the Hittite king. If so, Alasia was protected from the foreign powers, under the Hittite king's influence, and therefore could keep its independence perhaps by paying tribute to the Hittite king. Georgiou mentioned that the text yields information about the enemy raids on Alasia in that period.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, such a protection might have been necessary. On the other hand, Georgiou wrote that there is no evidence for a treaty binding Alasia to the Hittites at that time.<sup>49</sup> This is correct. However, the treaties need not bind one land to the other. With the kind of relationship suggested above, the lands can stay independent. Scholars have always asked whether Alasia was under Hittite control.

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<sup>44</sup> T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998) 147. Here the text is slightly adapted.

<sup>45</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 87.

<sup>46</sup> Hellbing (supra n. 37) 54.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 89.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

There is no historical and archaeological evidence for this kind of relationship, but some less formal type of relationship must have existed.

I assume that there was a kind of agreement between Alasia and the Hittite Kingdom, according to which Alasia paid tribute to keep its independence and received a favorable policy from the Hittites.

#### Texts about banishments from the Hittite Kingdom to Alasia

There are two texts referring to Alasia as a place to which Hittite political prisoners were sent in exile. Two other texts are also about deportations but the place of banishment, which could be Alasia, was not mentioned. In another text, a treaty between Hittite and Alasian Kings deals directly with banishments.

In the first prayer of the Plague Prayers of Muršilis II (KUB XIV 14), which refers to the events before the accession of Šuppiluliuma I, the conspiracy against Tudhaliya III is mentioned. He was murdered together with some of his followers, and other followers were banished to Alasia in exile.<sup>50</sup>

The second text (KUB I 1 IV 36) dates to the reign of Hattušili III. It mentions that the sons of Armadatta, Hattušili's enemies, were sent in exile to Alasia.<sup>51</sup>

Two other texts refer to a place "over the sea" which could indeed be Alasia. The one (KBo III 4+KUB XXIII 25) is Uhha-LU's escape with his sons and followers under Muršili II's reign.<sup>52</sup> The second (KUB I 1 III 27-29) is about the second banishment of Urhitesup (Muršili III), nephew of Hattusili III.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> A. Goetze, "Die Pestgebete der Muršilis" *KF* 1 (1930) 164-204; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 89-90.

<sup>51</sup> G. Steiner, "Neue Alašija-Texte" *Kadmos* 1 (1962) 134-36; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 90.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

At the end of the 13th century B.C. a treaty was made between the Hittite king and his vassal, the king of Alasia (KBo XII 39).<sup>54</sup> Georgiou explains the text as follows:

*“... [The king of Alasia] receives the blessing and the good wishes of the great King, which implies a favorable policy towards Alasiya. In return for this, Alasiya is bound to accept Hittite political prisoners or exiles and guard them. The sending of a prisoner is mentioned in the treaty...”*<sup>55</sup>

According to Georgiou, this treaty shows the allegiance of Alasia to the Hittites.<sup>56</sup> Georgiou dated this text historically either to the reign of Arnuwanda III or Šuppiluliuma II.<sup>57</sup> Otten argued that this treaty has a nature of a vassal treaty.<sup>58</sup> This raises the question whether this treaty is related to Tudhaliya’s invasion.<sup>59</sup>

#### Correspondence between the royal people

There are two letters, exchanged between the royal people of Hatti and Alasia, which show good relations. One is the letter of Puduhepa (KUB XXI 38), wife of Hattušili III, to the Alasian King, addressing him as brother to discuss the marriage between the king of Alasia and a Near Eastern Princess.<sup>60</sup>

The second (KBo 1 26) is a fragmentary, undated letter from a Hittite king to the Alasian king, in which the Hittite king asks for precious objects (gold utensils of good quality, rhytons, girdles and covers for horses) to be sent by the Alasian king as the latter had promised. Knapp interpreted this as a text of tribute payment and

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<sup>54</sup> H. Otten, “Neue quellen zum Ausklang des Hethitischen Reiches“ *MDOG* 94 (1963) 10-13; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 54-55; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91.

<sup>55</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91.

<sup>56</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38)

<sup>57</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91.

<sup>58</sup> A. B. Knapp, “Alasiya and Hatti“ *JCS* 32 (1980) 45.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Sommer (supra n. 39) 253-60; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 90.

therefore dated it to the reign of Tudhaliya IV historically.<sup>61</sup> However, these objects are not likely to be tribute objects but prestige goods, exchanged between the kings. If so, the dating of the text must be reviewed.

### 3.1.2. Historical Text

This text (KBo XII 38) is about the historical events concerning the invasion of Alasia during the reign of Tudhaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II.<sup>62</sup>

#### Conquest of Alasia

The last Hittite text mentioning Alasia dates to the reign of the last Hittite king Šuppiluliuma II (KBo XII 38). The text has four columns. There is a double line after the first two columns, which generally shows the beginning of a new text.<sup>63</sup> The text is summarized by Georgiou as follows:

*“The first column recounts a conquest of Alasiya and the tribute exacted by a Hittite king from the king of Alasia and the Pidduri. The second portion begins with the dedication of a statue to Tudhaliya, continues with the full genealogy of Šuppiluliuma, and mentions the dedication of a sanctuary... After the double line, the column continues with another full genealogy of Šuppiluliuma II. The third portion of KBo XII 38 is the description of another campaign in Alasiya. This second war is a sea engagement and therefore interesting because the Hittites relied upon Ugarit for naval power...”<sup>64</sup>*

With this text, it is clear that the friendly relations between the Hittite Kingdom and Alasia had come to an end, shortly before the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

According to Georgiou, it might not have been Alasia that was hostile to the Kingdom

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<sup>61</sup> Knapp (supra n. 58) 43-47.

<sup>62</sup> H.G. Güterbock, “The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered” *JNES* 26 (1967) 73-81.

<sup>63</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91-92; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 54.

<sup>64</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91.

but another power which conquered Alasia. These people might have been the “Sea People“ who could be ethnic Mycenaeans.<sup>65</sup> This is the subject of an ongoing debate.

### **3.1.3. Religious Texts**

Alasia is mentioned in two religious texts. One ritual text (KUB XV 34) lists Alasia amongst a number of other countries, from which gods are called to come to Hatti.<sup>66</sup>

The second (KBo IV 1) is also a ritual text, related to the erection of a temple. Precious materials like gold, silver and other are listed in the text as foundation gifts. Among these are copper and bronze that were brought from Mount Tagatta in Alasia.<sup>67</sup> It shows that these high value products were brought from Cyprus but it was not mentioned if they were commercial goods or tribute.

### **3.1.4. Conclusion**

The historically attested relations between Alasia and Hatti were mainly on a diplomatic level. The letters reflect a friendly relationship between Alasia and Hatti, until the time of the last two Hittite Kings. During this period Alasia kept its independence and received favorable policy from the Hittites. As the Maduwattas text shows, Alasia was important to Hatti and therefore the Hittite king had used his political power to keep Alasia independent. There must have been not necessarily a treaty, but an agreement between these lands, which demonstrates their friendly relation. This is also evident in the text about banishments. Alasia was a place, which kept the political prisoners of Hatti. Later a treaty was made between these lands.

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<sup>65</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 91, 99.

Alasia would agree to keep the exiles and in return would receive a favorable policy from Hatti. This text shows what Alasia had received in return for keeping political exiles. In the Maduwattas texts, it was mentioned that Alasia was paying tribute to Hatti and in return the island might have received also favorable policy. This indicates that there was an exchange between these lands, showing Alasia's independence and that these lands were on equal levels. This is also evident in the texts in which the Alasian king was addressed as "brother". In another text the Hittite king was demanding prestige goods which again shows good relations. These good relations came to an end at the time of Tudhaliya IV and afterwards during his son's reign. The historical text shows that Alasia was invaded and exacted tribute. This is the only text, showing the invasion of Alasia by Hatti but it did not last long due to the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

To sum up, the relations were mainly on the diplomatic level. There is no direct mention of commercial activities. Therefore, these relations cannot be recovered extensively in the archaeological record. Only one kind of pottery, Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, shows the direct archaeological contact of Alasia to Hatti. In addition, the journey between Alasia and Hatti was implied in the texts of banishments. The political prisoners must have been brought to Alasia under guard and from the shortest way to avoid the fleeing of the exiles. Travel between these lands must have taken place.

The Ugaritic texts are similar in nature to the Hittite texts. They are mainly diplomatic texts. In contrast to Hittite texts, the Ugaritic texts yield evidence for trade

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<sup>66</sup> A. Goetze, "Hittite Rituals, Incantations and Description of Festival" in J. B. Pritchard ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to Old Testament* (Princeton 1955) 351-53.

<sup>67</sup> Goetze (supra n. 66) 356-57.

between Ugarit and Alasia. Another difference in the Ugaritic texts is the collaboration of Alasia and Ugarit against a common enemy.

### **3.2. Ugaritic Texts**

Ugarit was a harbor town in northern Syria.<sup>68</sup> Thirteenth century B.C. texts mentioning Alasia (in Akkadian and Hurrian) were found in this site.<sup>69</sup> Ugarit came under Hittite political control around 1345 B.C., with the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. It stayed under the influence of the Hittites until the collapse of the Hittite Kingdom. Therefore, these texts are important in understanding the relations between the Hittite world and Alasia. After the treaty of Qadesh (ca. 1259 B.C.), Ugarit renewed stronger commercial ties with Egypt and achieved quasi-political independence.<sup>70</sup> However, this port was always used by the Hittites, which is obvious in the written texts.

The Ugaritic texts mentioning Alasia will be reviewed here according to their contents. These are diplomatic, commercial and religious texts.

#### **3.2.1. Diplomatic Texts**

##### Collaboration between Alasia and Ugarit

Three letters show that Alasia and Ugarit had collaborated against a common enemy, coming from the sea.

In the first letter (R.S. 20.18), the vizier of Alasia explains to the king of Ugarit the loss of twenty ships. He says that these people came and had sent on the ships to

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<sup>68</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 92; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

<sup>69</sup> Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

an enemy. It is not clear from the text who “these people“ and the “enemy“ were. The vizier of Alasia does not want to be blamed for it.<sup>71</sup>

The next two letters show a close connection with the events discussed in the previous one. These two letters indicate that Alasia and Ugarit were friendly to each other. According to Georgiou, these letters give direct information which helps to reconstruct the historical events of that time.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand these letters were dated according to the historical events known for that period.

In one letter (R.S. L 1), the king of Alasia warns Ammurapi, the last attested king of Ugarit, that the enemies from the sea are coming. He advises him to take precautions.<sup>73</sup> In another letter (R.S. 20.238),<sup>74</sup> from the king of Ugarit to Alasia, “*the king of Ugarit complains that he was caught unaware, his troops being in Hittite country and his boats in Lukka. He asks to be informed if any enemy boats are spotted so that he will be prepared.*”<sup>75</sup> It is not clear in which order the letters were written. According to Georgiou these texts may refer to the movements of the Sea People, who in this case might be Mycenaeans.<sup>76</sup>

It is clear from these texts that Alasia and Ugarit are on the same side or at least friendly to each other. It is also probable that they had a common enemy but the ethnicity of the enemy is never mentioned. According to Georgiou these texts show the increase in hostile activities at that time.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> E. H. Cline, *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea, International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford 1994) 48.

<sup>71</sup> J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud, C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V* (Mission de Ras Shamra XVI) (Paris 1968) 83-85; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 56; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 94.

<sup>72</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 94.

<sup>73</sup> Nougayrol et al. (supra n. 71) 85- 86; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 94.

<sup>74</sup> Nougayrol et al. (supra n. 71) 87-89.

<sup>75</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 94.

<sup>76</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 95.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

A text (R.S. 1929), which was dated to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II according to the historical events, mentions Alasians among the enemies of Ugarit together with the Hittites and the Hurrians. This letter may be later than the ones mentioned below, because these events might refer to the period after the collapse of the Hittite Empire.<sup>78</sup>

The last text (R.S. 20.212) does not mention Alasia but gives information about the relations of the Hittite Kingdom and Ugarit. It also mentions a port, of which the location is debated. The letter was sent from the Hittite court to the king of Ugarit, asking for grain to be sent to the city of Ura from Mukish. This text shows that Ugarit has some duties to the Hittite Kingdom.<sup>79</sup>

Besides, the text demonstrates the existence of a port (Ura) in southern Anatolia. The port is located in Cilicia. Its more precise location is subject to debate. Lastly, it was located as Gilindere by Beal,<sup>80</sup> and at the mouth of Göksu by Hawkins<sup>81</sup> and Gurney.<sup>82</sup>

### Texts about banishments

The earliest text (R.S. 18.114) is about the transfer of exiles who escaped from Alasia to Carchemish. The letter was written by Hattušili III to the King of Carchemish.<sup>83</sup> Another text (R.S. 17.352) concerns the banishment of the two sons of

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<sup>78</sup> Sommer (supra n. 39) 385; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 94.

<sup>79</sup> Nougayrol et al. (supra n. 71) 105-107; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 95-96.

<sup>80</sup> R. H. Beal, "The Location of Cilician Ura" *AnatSt* 42 (1992) 65-73.

<sup>81</sup> J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 3) Wiesbaden 1995, 56.

<sup>82</sup> O.R. Gurney, "Hittite Geography: thirty years on" in H. Otten et al., eds., *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara 1992) 218.

<sup>83</sup> J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit IV*, (Mission de Ras Shamra IX) (Paris 1956) 108; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 93; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 56.

the queen of Ugarit by Initešub of Carchemish. They were sent to Alasia in exile.<sup>84</sup>

Three other texts are referring to the same event but the place of the banishment is not mentioned.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.2.2. Commercial Texts

Although the Hittite texts do not refer to commercial activities, the Ugaritic texts yield information about the commercial relations between Alasia and Ugarit.

One is a letter (R.S. 20.168), sent from king Niqmadu III? to the king of Alasia, addressing him as “my father“. In this letter Niqmadu complains about the price of a shipment of oil, which was not paid totally.<sup>86</sup> Another text (R.S. 15.39) mentions the distribution of wine jugs.<sup>87</sup> The third one (R.S. 18.42:2) is about a man from Alasia receiving oil.<sup>88</sup> The fourth letter (R.S. 18.119) reports a ship, which has arrived from Alasia with copper and chariots on board.<sup>89</sup>

### 3.2.3. Religious Texts

Two religious texts refer to Alasian gods. One (R.S. 24.274) is about the offerings to the gods, among which a god of Alasia is mentioned.<sup>90</sup> In the other text (R.S. 18.113), gods of Alasia were invoked with the gods of other countries.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Nougayrol (supra n. 83) 121.

<sup>85</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 38) 93.

<sup>86</sup> Nougayrol et al. (supra n. 71) 80-83; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 93.

<sup>87</sup> C. Virolleaud, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit II* (Mission de Ras Shamra VII) (Paris 1957) 114-15.

<sup>88</sup> M. C. Astour, “Second Millennium B.C. Cypriot and Cretan Onomastica Reconsidered“ *JAOS* 84 (1964) 245; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 93.

<sup>89</sup> C. Virolleaud, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit V* (Mission de Ras Shamra XI) (Paris 1965) 74; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

<sup>90</sup> Nougayrol et al. (supra n. 71) 504-7; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

<sup>91</sup> Virolleaud (supra n. 89) 14-15; Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

Hellbing interprets these as the indication of lively contacts between the two countries.<sup>92</sup>

#### **3.2.4. A problematic text**

This text (R.S. 11.857)<sup>93</sup> gives the list of ca. thirty families or households from the town of Alasia with the name of the male owning the house and number of wives, children and probably servants. This text is problematical because the names are in Canaanite and Hurrian. Two interpretations were put forward. In the first, it was argued that Alasia is a town on the Syrian coast. The other argument is that the text is a list of captives of war or people from Alasia, who were living in Ugarit or another city under control of Ugarit.<sup>94</sup> This text is hard to understand. The arguments that were put forward are only suggestions and do not rely on anything substantial, because there is no information besides the names what this list is about.

#### **3.2.5. Conclusion**

Ugaritic texts are mainly diplomatic in nature like the Hittite texts. These texts show that political prisoners of Ugarit were sent in exile to Alasia and that there was a collaboration between these lands against a common enemy. These texts demonstrate the friendly relations between Ugarit and Alasia. In the religious texts Alasian gods were mentioned among the gods of Ugarit and other countries, which implies a good relation between these lands.

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<sup>92</sup> Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55.

<sup>93</sup> C. Virolleaud, "Lettres et documents administratifs provenant des archives d'Ugarit" *Syria* 21 (1940) 267-73.

<sup>94</sup> Hellbing (supra n. 37) 55; Georgiou (supra n. 38) 93-94.

There are two main differences between the nature of the Ugaritic and the Hittite texts. One is the mention of commercial activities in the Ugaritic texts. Oil, wine jugs and copper are trade goods mentioned in the texts. The second is the collaboration of Ugarit and Alasia against a common enemy.

One of the Ugaritic texts is particularly interesting, because it refers to a Hittite port in Cilicia. The location is debated but it shows that the Hittites were involved in overseas activities. The extent of its involvement is not known. However, this port could have been the place from where oversea-goods were transported inland.

The archaeological record shows relations between Cyprus and Cilicia, as well as between Cyprus and the Anatolian Plateau. The written evidence demonstrates the existence of relations of the Anatolian Plateau to Cyprus, most probably via Cilicia. These regional relations are confirmed in the archaeological record, which is the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In this chapter I will review the archaeological evidence in order to confirm the written evidence for connections between Cyprus and Anatolia. First, the ceramics will be considered. Since no Hittite ceramics were found outside its territory, only the Cypriot pottery in Anatolia can be taken into consideration here. Second, architectural features will be compared. Finally, Hittite small finds in Cyprus and Cypriot small finds in Anatolia will be presented.

### 4.1. Cypriot Pottery in Late Bronze Contexts of Southern Anatolia

In this section of the chapter, excavations and surveys in Southern Anatolia will be reviewed. The presence of Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery, its context and related pottery will be discussed. In addition, attention will be paid to the distribution of Cypriot wares onto the Anatolian Plateau.

There are two final reports concerning Late Bronze Age sites in Cilicia. These are Mersin Yumuk Tepe<sup>95</sup> and Tarsus Gözlü Kule.<sup>96</sup> Three other more recent excavations have also yielded Late Bronze Age material: Kilise Tepe,<sup>97</sup> Sirkelihöyük<sup>98</sup> and Kinet Höyük.<sup>99</sup> The excavations are being carried out since the beginning of the 1990s and preliminary reports are published. Several regional surveys are also concerned with Late Bronze Age material. Seton-Williams in her survey recorded the

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<sup>95</sup> J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin, Yümük Tepe in Southern Turkey* (Oxford 1953).

<sup>96</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule Vol II: From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age* (Princeton 1956).

<sup>97</sup> H. D. Barker, D. Collon, J. D. Hawkins, T. Pollard, J. N. Postgate, D. Symington and D. Thomas, "Kilise Tepe 1994" *AnatSt* 45 (1995) 139-91.

<sup>98</sup> B. Hrouda, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungsergebnisse auf dem Sirkelihöyük/Süd-Türkei von 1992-1995" *XVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1996 (Ankara 1997) 291-311; B. Hrouda, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungsergebnisse auf dem Sirkeli Höyük/Süd-Türkei von 1992-1996" *Ist Mitt* 47 (1997) 91-150.

pre-classical sites in Cilicia and around the İskenderun Bay.<sup>100</sup> French's survey was focussed on the Göksu Valley; he documented many prehistoric sites and demonstrated the importance of the valley in the relations between the coastal plain and the inland plateau.<sup>101</sup> Mellaart's survey aimed to record the pre-classical sites in Southern Anatolia and the southern Konya Plain and collect characteristic pottery from those. His survey covered the Chalcolithic Period, Early Bronze Age and the second millenium B. C. In his study, he was able to demonstrate the inland relations with the Cilician Plain and thus the importance of the passes through the Taurus mountains.<sup>102</sup> The Bilkent University survey covered the eastern half of the Cilician coastal plain. In this survey prehistoric, classical and medieval sites have been recorded.<sup>103</sup> Geomorphological features and changes were also investigated.<sup>104</sup>

### **Mersin Yumuk Tepe**

Yumuk Tepe is located in the Cilician Plain, 3.2 km north-west of modern Mersin. The mound is situated next to the Soğuk Su River.<sup>105</sup> It is 25 m high and 32 habitation levels (1-32) were recorded (table 3)<sup>106</sup> without reaching virgin soil. It showed continuous occupation from the Neolithic until the end of the Archaic periods

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<sup>99</sup> M.-H. Gates, "1992 Excavations at Kinet Höyük (Dört Yol/Hatay)" *XV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1993 (Ankara 1994) 193-200.

<sup>100</sup> M. V. Seton-Williams, "Cilician Survey" *AnatSt* 4 (1954) 121-174.

<sup>101</sup> D. H. French, "Prehistoric Sites in the Göksu Valley" *AnatSt* 15 (1965) 177-201.

<sup>102</sup> J. Mellaart, "Preliminary Report on a Survey of Pre-Classical Remains in Southern Turkey" *AnatSt* 4 (1954) 175-239; J. Mellaart, "Second Millenium Pottery from the Konya Plain and Neighborhood" *Bulleten* 22 (1958) 311-45.

<sup>103</sup> I. Özgen and M.-H. Gates; "Report on the Bilkent University Archaeological Survey in Cilicia and Northern Hatay: August 1991" *X. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (1993 Ankara) 387-394; S. R. Steadman, "Prehistoric Sites on the Cilician Coastal Plain: Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery from the 1991 Bilkent University Survey" *AnatSt* 44 (1994) 85-103.

<sup>104</sup> F. S. Özaner, "İskenderun Körfezi Çevresindeki Antik Yerleşim Alanlarının Jeomorfolojik Yönden Yorumu" *VIII. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (1993 Ankara) 337-55.

<sup>105</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 1, 3.

<sup>106</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 2.

(ca. 6000-550 B.C.). The site was then abandoned, but reoccupied in the Byzantine and Islamic periods.<sup>107</sup>

Although the plain is blocked by the Taurus Ranges in the north and west, by the Mediterranean Sea in the south and the Amanus Mountains in the east, the site had always, except during the Neolithic period, contacts beyond these geographical boundaries. The passes to the north in the Taurus Mountains and to the east in the Amanus allow travel beyond the mountains.<sup>108</sup> It is evident that it had relations with Syria in the Chalcolithic Period and with the Anatolian Plateau in the Bronze Age.<sup>109</sup> In the Late Bronze Age overseas relations existed with Cyprus<sup>110</sup> and the Aegean World.<sup>111</sup> The period of overseas relations coincides with the Hittite levels of the mound.

The Late Bronze Age occupations of Yumuk Tepe (Levels 7-5) were dated to ca. 1500-1200 B.C. with a pre-Hittite level (Level 8) between the Middle and Late Bronze Age.<sup>112</sup> The relative chronology of these levels was established according to 1) the comparison of the Hittite architecture with that in Boğazköy;<sup>113</sup> 2) the written sources;<sup>114</sup> and 3) the pottery at Kültepe.<sup>115</sup>

According to the Yumuk Tepe chronology, the relations with the Anatolian Plateau started at the beginning of the third millennium. This connection was never lost

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 1.

<sup>109</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 2, 210-211.

<sup>110</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 243-44.

<sup>111</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 253-56. The presence of Cypriot pottery in Late Bronze Age II contexts and the presence of Mycenaean after the destruction of the Late Bronze Age level II demonstrate the links.

<sup>112</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 2, 237-38.

<sup>113</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 237-238. The construction of the Hittite fortification walls in Boğazköy was compared with the one in Mersin.

<sup>114</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 237-38. Cilicia (campestrispedias) as part of Hittite Kizzuwatna. The earliest treaty with Kizzuwatna dates to the fifteenth century B. C. Garstang argues that the Hittite building activity might have belonged to this period.

<sup>115</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 241. Parallels of cross-hatched triangles on numerous small pedestals and the jugs with "hawk eye" were found in Kültepe in the Early Hittite Period.

in later periods. In the Middle Bronze Age the presence of Cilician Painted Ware shows more developed relations.<sup>116</sup> In the Late Bronze Age the mound was under strong influence of the Hittite World. This is demonstrated in its architecture<sup>117</sup> and finds.<sup>118</sup>

The Late Bronze Age pottery of the mound was classified mainly in two groups, disregarding the unidentified sherds which are little in number. In this way, two major classes could be established. The first class includes the pottery from levels 8 and 7, which are still produced under Syrian influence and which are mostly painted and burnished. The second class of pottery was found in levels 5 and 6. In contrast to the first class, the pottery of level 6 and 5 shows influence of Hittite Imperial Age pottery, which is mainly monochrome. In the latter class all the undecorated wares are classified in one group. Later level 6 was described as a transitional level, which has both painted and monochrome pottery. According to the excavator, the Cypriot pottery was found in the latter class.<sup>119</sup> Two kinds of Cypriot pottery were mentioned: White Slip Ware and Base Ring Ware. The latter was found in level 6 and was replaced by the former in level 5.<sup>120</sup> A third type of pottery was not recognized as of Cypriot origin.<sup>121</sup> Some red burnished handles and fragments were found which are similar to spindle bottles. Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware was later claimed to be of Cypriot origin.<sup>122</sup> Eriksson, who studied this ware and its distribution, determined that 50 percent of this ware was found on Cyprus. Besides, potmarks, which were incised

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<sup>116</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 210-213.

<sup>117</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 237-238: the similarity in construction of the fortification wall with those in Boğazköy.

<sup>118</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 211. A bronze lugged axe was identified as a distinctive Hittite find.

<sup>119</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 241-42.

<sup>120</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 242.

<sup>121</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 243.

on the pot before firing, are letters from the Cypro-Minoan script.<sup>123</sup> According to the recent identification, this type of pottery can be added to the group of Cypriot pottery from Mersin.

#### Base Ring Ware

Several fragments of this ware were found in Level 6.<sup>124</sup> They were not illustrated.

#### White Slip Ware (Plate 1)

This ware was found only in Level 5.<sup>125</sup> Two fragments were published. One is a fragment of a milk-bowl (Pl. 1:1).<sup>126</sup> The fabric is red-brown.<sup>127</sup> It has a blue-gray slip and dark brown paint. The other fragment is a wish bone handle with red-brown fabric, gray-buff slip and brown paint (Pl. 1:2).<sup>128</sup>

#### Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware

Eriksson identified a fragment of an arm-shaped vessel, which was recorded in Level 7. According to her, this piece is intrusive because 1500 B. C. is too early a date for this shape.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> K. Eriksson, "Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: A Product of Late Bronze Age Cyprus" in J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger, B. Kling eds., *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Report* (Philadelphia 1991) 81-96; K. Eriksson, *Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware* (SIMA 103) (Jonsered 1993).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Garstang (supra n. 95) 242.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Here only the illustrated pottery fragments are numbered according to their place of find.

<sup>127</sup> J. Garstang, "Explorations in Cilicia - Excavations at Mersin 1938-39", *LAAA* 26 (1939) 144, Pl. 58, no. 4.

## Tarsus Gözli Kule

The site is located ca. 30 km northeast of Mersin. The Tarsus River (classical Kydnos) passes nearby the mound. It is 32 m high. The site has been inhabited from the Neolithic until the Roman period. Virgin soil was not reached.<sup>130</sup> The site is south of the Cilician Gates, which is a major route between the Anatolian Plateau and the Cilician Plain. In the second millennium B. C. the coastline was much further inland and close to Tarsus.<sup>131</sup> Tarsus was identified with Hittite Tarsa.<sup>132</sup>

The chronology of Early Bronze Age Tarsus was based on the chronologies of Egypt, Greece and the Aegean. The Middle Bronze Age was dated according to finds from the Assyrian Colony period. The chronology of the Late Bronze Age was based on the Egyptian, Hittite and Aegean chronology.<sup>133</sup> No absolute chronology was established for Tarsus.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age Levels of Tarsus were analyzed again by Slane in her doctoral thesis.<sup>134</sup> She re-evaluated Goldman's stratigraphy and established a new sequence on the basis of architecture (Table 4). The levels from Level A. I until Level A. III represent the Middle Bronze Age Period. The levels IV and V are dated to the Old Hittite Period. Level VI was dated to the 16th century, levels VII and VIII to the 15th, Level IX to the 14th and Level X to the 13th-12th century B.C.<sup>135</sup> In this study, Slane's revised chronology is used.

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<sup>128</sup> Garstang (supra n. 127) 144, Pl. 58, 6.

<sup>129</sup> Eriksson 1993 (supra n. 122) 133, Cat. no. 1164.

<sup>130</sup> Goldman (supra n. 96) 65.

<sup>131</sup> See below, chapter 5.

<sup>132</sup> L. K. Blue, "Cyprus and the Cilicia: The Typology of and Palaeogeography of Second Millennium Harbors" in S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder, H. W. Swiny eds., *Res Maritimae, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity* (Atlanta, GA 1998) 31-43.

<sup>133</sup> Goldman (supra n. 96) 62-63.

<sup>134</sup> D. A. Slane, *Middle and Late Bronze Age Architecture and Pottery in Gözli Kule, Tarsus: A new Analysis*. (unpublished PhD Thesis, Bryn Mawr 1987).

<sup>135</sup> Slane (supra n. 134) 466-71.

Excavations were conducted in two trenches, Section A on top of the mound and Section B on the saddle. Neolithic layers were reached in the deep sounding in Section A. Section B was excavated until the Late Bronze Age II level.

In the Chalcolithic Period, Tarsus like Yumuk Tepe had close contacts with North Syria and Mesopotamia.<sup>136</sup> The Early Bronze Age marks the start of Tarsus' foreign relations with the Anatolian Plateau.<sup>137</sup> Mellink demonstrated the continuation of relations with the Anatolian Plateau for the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>138</sup> Before the Late Bronze Age, scarce evidence was found for the relations with Cyprus. According to Mellink, Chalcolithic Cypriot Erimi Ware was found in Tarsus EB II.<sup>139</sup> Another fragment<sup>140</sup> from Philia B type ware was found in Tarsus EB II as well.<sup>141</sup>

Cypriot pottery in Tarsus first appeared in the Early Bronze Age.<sup>142</sup> In the Middle Bronze Age Black on Black and Red on Red wares were found.<sup>143</sup> In the Late Bronze Age Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware ("incense burner"), theriomorphic vessels, Monochrome Ware, White Slip Ware, Base Ring and Bichrome Ware are the types of pottery from Cyprus.

#### Middle Bronze Age Black on Red and Red on Red Wares (Plate 2)

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<sup>136</sup> Goldman (supra n. 96) 61-2.

<sup>137</sup> M. J. Mellink, "Anatolian and Foreign Relations of Tarsus in the Early Bronze Age" in K. Emre, M. Mellink, B. Hroudá and N. Özgüç, eds., *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara 1989) 326. The relations were based on the comparisons from Kültepe and Acemhöyük.

<sup>138</sup> M. J. Mellink, "The Bronze Age Pottery" in H. Goldman, ed., *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus II* (Princeton 1956) 62-63. The relations are based on the comparisons of the pottery from Kültepe.

<sup>139</sup> Mellink (supra n. 137) 323-24.

<sup>140</sup> It is not mentioned which part of the vessel this fragment belongs to and it is not clear from the picture.

<sup>141</sup> Mellink (supra n. 137) 323-24.

<sup>142</sup> Mellink (supra n. 137) 323-24.

<sup>143</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 164, 182.

Three hemispherical bowl rim fragments of Black on Red Ware were found (Pl. 2:1-3),<sup>144</sup> perhaps all part of the same vessel. They have buff clay, lustrous metallic black slip and crossed bands in red paint. The ware was identified as Black on Red Ware<sup>145</sup> but since the slip is in black and the paint is in red, the ware should be named as “Red on Black Ware“. These fragments come from the Late Bronze Age terrace cutting, which was dug into the domestic architecture of the Middle Bronze Age Level A. I (7.50 m).<sup>146</sup> Although the fragments were found in a secondary context their primary context seems to have been domestic, since the excavated Middle Bronze Age levels of Tarsus consisted only of domestic architecture.<sup>147</sup>

Another rim fragment, which has reddish gritty fine clay, slightly red lustrous red slip and bands of red paint, was found under the staircase room of the Late Bronze Age I level. This fragment was identified as Red on Red Ware.<sup>148</sup>

### The Late Bronze Age Wares

#### White Painted Cypriot II Ware (Plate 3)

This ware is the same as White Slip Ware. The two definitions were used by Mellink. The fragments of this ware belong only to one form, which is a milk bowl.<sup>149</sup>

Four rim fragments have red clay, pinkish cream slip, brown paint of hatched lines around the rim and hatched lines with dotted lines (Pl. 3:1,2) Their diameter is ca. 15 cm. They were found in section A, the area of the “Hittite Temple“ (Level A. IX, 2.75-3.25 m).<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 182, fig. 293, no. 945.

<sup>145</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 182.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 40-44.

<sup>148</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 182, fig. 946.

<sup>149</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 203-205, 219-20.

<sup>150</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 219-20; fig. 329, no. 1248.

Another rim fragment (Pl. 3:3) of gray clay, white slip, hatched bands on rim and side enclosing a S-spiral was also found in section A, Level A. IX (2-3 m).<sup>151</sup> An unstratified similar rim fragment was also found (Pl. 3:4).<sup>152</sup>

Two joining pieces were recovered with the base of the handle (Pl. 3:5). They have gray clay, white slip, hatched lines around the rim, vertical ladders, line groups, strokes on the handle and a diameter of 18 cm. These are the only pieces found in section B, Level B. IX.1 (17.50 m)<sup>153</sup>

A wishbone handle (Pl. 3:6) with gray clay, gray slip, brown paint in irregular stripes was found in section A, Level A. IX (2.50 m).<sup>154</sup>

A fragment with a wishbone handle was identified by the excavator as a possible local imitation of the milk bowl handles (Pl. 3:7). The fragment has buff-red gritty clay with much lime and greenish slip. It has a diameter of ca. 18 cm. It was found in section A but it is intrusive.<sup>155</sup>

#### “Incense Burner Handles“ (Plate 4)

Two fragments were found but not identified as of Cypriot origin.<sup>156</sup> Later these vessels were studied by Eriksson, who identified them as a form (arm-shaped vessel) of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware of Cypriot origin.<sup>157</sup>

One of the two is the closed end of the hollow tube (Pl. 4:8). The clay is bright red, the surface is streak-burnished and there are bands of black paint. Its diameter is

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<sup>151</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 220; fig. 329, no. 1249.

<sup>152</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 220; fig. 329, no. 1250.

<sup>153</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 220; fig. 329, no. 1251.

<sup>154</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 220; fig. 329, no. 1252.

<sup>155</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 220; fig. 329, no. 1253.

<sup>156</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 204, 218.

<sup>157</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122).

6.5 cm. Its preserved length is 7.3 cm. It was found in the Hittite Temple, in section A, Level A. IX (3.5 m).<sup>158</sup>

The second fragment belongs to the hollow tubular part (Pl. 4:9). Its features are similar to the one above. Its diameter is 3.8-4.2 cm and the preserved length is 16.2 cm. It was also found in section A, in the Hittite Temple, Level A. IX.<sup>159</sup>

Slane identified another fragment of an arm-shaped vessel, which is not published and kept at Bryn Mawr College. It was found in the fill of the building 3, which belongs to Level A. X.<sup>160</sup>

#### Unidentified Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware in Tarsus (Plate 4-6)

Three fragments were identified as “potstands originally attached to a flask“. Mellink shows parallels of these from Ugarit.<sup>161</sup> However, Eriksson demonstrated that two of these belong to the group of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, which she called pilgrim flasks.<sup>162</sup> It is clear that the three fragments belong to the same category.

The first one (Pl. 4:10) was described insufficiently and this might explain why Eriksson omitted it. It is a rectangular bar with two attached feet. It has vertical incisions on the bar and the feet. It is 8.5 cm long, 4 cm high.<sup>163</sup>

The side and one leg of the second fragment are preserved (Pl. 4:11). It is a similar shape with the one above but the motif of the incision is different. It is red washed. There are two incised panels with crosses in relief and herringbone incision on the foot. It is 10 cm long, 6 cm high. The context is not clearly mentioned. The

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<sup>158</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218; fig. 328, no. 1229; Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132-33; Cat. no. 1166.

<sup>159</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218; fig. 328, no. 1230; Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132-33; Cat. no. 1167.

<sup>160</sup> Slane (supra n. 134) 450, Cat. no. 680; Bryn Mawr College n. 69.

<sup>161</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218.

<sup>162</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 25-27.

<sup>163</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218; fig. 329, no. 1232.

excavator wrote that this piece came “*from an intrusion containing chiefly Hittite and Mycenaean sherds*“ .<sup>164</sup>

The third one has a similar shape with the ones above (Pl. 4:12). It has vertical herringbone incision between the shallow niches. It is 14.5 cm long, 5.3 cm high. It is an intrusive piece.<sup>165</sup>

A pointed base jug was identified as Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, hence of Cypriot origin by Eriksson (Pl. 5:13).<sup>166</sup> It is wheelmade. It has long, slender tapering body, long narrow tubular neck flaring to the body and the rim and pointed base. The rim is thicker on the exterior and the vertical handle, round in section, is placed from the neck to the shoulder. The clay is light reddish brown and is tempered with sand and fine stone. It is burnished with vertical strokes. It is 79.5 cm high, the body is 23.1 and the rim is 9 cm in diameter. It was found in section A, in the Hittite level, Level A.

IX.<sup>167</sup>

There is a ring-base which was identified as Hittite monochrome ware (Pl. 6:14). Unfortunately the features of the clay and the color of the slip are not mentioned. Therefore, it is not possible to identify this piece which is most probably of Cypriot origin. It was found in section B, in the East House (Level B. IX.1). It is not mentioned by Eriksson. The important feature of this fragment lies in the three signs scratched under its base. Ventris, who analyzed them, argued that they might not be Linear B but signs from the Cypro-Minoan script.<sup>168</sup> Eriksson showed that the signs scratched under the bases of the Red Lustrous Wheelmade wares are of Cypro-Minoan

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<sup>164</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218; fig. 329, no. 1233; Eriksson (supra n. 29) 132; Cat. no. 920.

<sup>165</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 218, fig. 329, no. 1234; Eriksson (supra n. 29) 132, Cat. no. 921.

<sup>166</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 82.

<sup>167</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 214, fig. 322 and 385, no. 1191.

<sup>168</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 229, fig. 328, no. 1372.

character.<sup>169</sup> The re-examination of this fragment is necessary in order to find out its features. In this way, its ware and origin can be more securely identified.

#### Zoomorphic Vessels (Plate 6)

Three fragments of zoomorphic vessels have been identified as Cypriot by the excavator. Two joining fragments are part of a barrel-shaped body and a stump leg of the animal (Pl. 6:15). The clay is gray buff and the slip is buff in color. There are red stripes of paint on the body. The length is 6.2 cm. It was found in section B.<sup>170</sup>

A similar fragment of a stump leg of an animal was found (Pl. 6:16). Its difference from the one above is its brownish buff clay and yellow to cream slip.<sup>171</sup> The context is not mentioned.

#### Cypriot Monochrome Ware (Plate 6)

A one-handled bowl was identified as of Cypriot origin (Pl. 6:17). It has a handmade turned rim, an ovoid body, a ring base and a wishbone handle. The clay is red and sparse medium to coarse sandy. The surface was covered with a thin mottled rose-gray to brownish wash or slip. It is 18.2 cm high. Its maximum diameter is 25.2 cm and the diameter of the rim is 29.2 cm. It was found in the West House, Room 1, in section B (Level B. IX.1).<sup>172</sup>

#### Cooking Pot Ware (Plate 6)

Two body fragments were recovered, which are red burnished and have a black slipped reserved band with incised cross hatching (Pl.18,19). These were found in the

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<sup>169</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 145-47.

<sup>170</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 204, 218, fig. 328, no. 1226.

East House, in section B (Level B. IX.1). The origin of these pieces are uncertain.

Dikaios identified this decoration on a pitcher found in Enkomi.<sup>173</sup>

#### “Tell al Ajjul Ware“ (Plate 6)

Two joining fragments of wheelmade rim and body were found (Pl. 6:20). The clay is greenish and the surface is creamish and vertically burnished. The paint is black and red. On the rim there are two thick black lines and a red band between. A bird was depicted with the outline in black and the body in red.<sup>174</sup> The production center of this ware was first identified as Tell al Ajjul, hence Palestine. However, later Neutron Activation Analysis showed that this identification was wrong and Artzy claimed that this ware was manufactured on Cyprus.<sup>175</sup> She identified this ware as Cypriot Bichrome Ware. She argued that this ware comes from a Cypriot tradition.<sup>176</sup> Accepting the Cypriot origin of this ware, the fragment mentioned above is included here in the group of imports from Cyprus. It was found in Section A on the floor, Level A. IX (4.01 m).

#### **Kilise Tepe**

Kilise Tepe is located in the Göksu Valley, next to the Göksu (classical Calycadnos) River. The valley forms a natural pass through the Taurus Mountains which allows travel to the Anatolian plateau. The river flows into the sea and at its

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<sup>171</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 204, 218, fig. 328, no. 1227.

<sup>172</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 205, 220, figs. 329, 387, no. 1254.

<sup>173</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 219, fig. 329, no. 1247.

<sup>174</sup> Mellink (supra n. 138) 200, fig. 315, no. 1085.

<sup>175</sup> M. Artzy, “The Late Bronze Age “Palestinian“ Bichrome Ware in its Cypriote Context“ in H. A. Hoffner, ed., *Orient and Occident, Essays presented to Cyrus Gordon* (Kevelaer 1973) 9-16.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

mouth forms an alluvial plain, the Silifke Plain.<sup>177</sup> In other words, the site has an important strategic location. It is situated on one significant route between the Anatolian Plateau and the Mediterranean Sea.

In the preliminary report of the salvage excavations, a small selection of the pottery has been studied and published by Symington. Symington mainly focussed on the relations with the central plateau rather than overseas relations. So far only one type of Cypriot pottery has been identified on the site. This is Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware. It is mentioned that it might have been imported from Cyprus but its parallels from inland are demonstrated. Four shapes of this ware were found. These are the arm-shaped vessel, pilgrim flask, lentoid flask<sup>178</sup> and bowl.<sup>179</sup>

#### Arm-shaped vessels (Plate 7)

Four fragments of this shape have been found. Three of them came from the destruction debris in I20 (domestic context). The fourth was found in a stratified ashy layer in J20 (domestic context). Their fabric is dense brown in color and has no visible temper. They are longitudinally burnished. One is the wrist and the beginning of the tubular part (Pl. 7:1a).<sup>180</sup> The fingers and the cup are missing. The second fragment is from the tube and might belong to the same vessel (Pl. 7:1b). The third fragment is the rim of a cup with finger tips on it (Pl. 7:3).<sup>181</sup> The fourth fragment is the closed end of the tubular part, which is convex (Pl. 7:2).<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 139-42, 176-82.

<sup>178</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 166-68.

<sup>179</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) Cat. no. 39.

<sup>180</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180-82, fig. 17, no. 1.

<sup>181</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180-82, fig. 17, no. 3.

### Spindle Bottle (Plate 7)

A neck of a spindle bottle (Pl. 7:4) was found in Mellaart's survey; he described it as a fine red burnished Syrian spindle bottle.<sup>183</sup> This fragment might also be Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware but this cannot be demonstrated here.

### Pilgrim Flask (Plate 7)

Two pilgrim flask fragments are known from Kilise Tepe. One was found by Mellaart in his survey, when the site was called Maltepe (Pl. 7:5).<sup>184</sup> The second piece was found in the excavations, in area R18. The piece is part of a stand and not made in Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware. It has a buff fabric, gray core and traces of red wash on the exterior. Its decoration consists of a herring-bone pattern and vertical grooves.<sup>185</sup> Unfortunately the fragment is not illustrated.

### Bowl

Eriksson identified a rim fragment of a bowl as Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (Pl. 7:6),<sup>186</sup> which was found in French's survey.

### **Sirkeli Höyük**

Sirkeli Höyük is located on the left bank of the Ceyhan River (classical Pyramos), 40 km east of Adana. The site is on the ancient military and commercial route running east-west.<sup>187</sup> The site must have been important in the Hittite Imperial Age, because there are two reliefs of Hittite kings. One is a rock relief of Muwatalli II,

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<sup>182</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180-82, fig. 17, no. 2.

<sup>183</sup> Mellaart (supra n. 102) 330, 341, Pl. 4, no. 38.

<sup>184</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180; Mellaart 1958 (supra n. 102) 330, Pl. 4, no. 36.

<sup>185</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180.

<sup>186</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 39; French (supra n. 101) 184-5, fig. 8:4.

who clashed the forces of Ramses II in the Qadesh Battle (1275 B.C.). The second is identified from the iconography as a Hittite king but due to the badly preserved state of the relief it is not possible to say which king is depicted.<sup>188</sup>

In the preliminary report, Hrouda mentions the presence of imported second millennium pottery from Cyprus.<sup>189</sup> Unfortunately, no further explanations were made at this stage.

### **Kinet Höyük**

Kinet Höyük is located on the coast of the İskenderun Bay, in the Erzin (Issos) Plain and 30 km north of İskenderun. It had a natural harbor, which is now silted in. The site, being the largest mound in eastern coastal Cilicia, must have been involved in maritime activities and its situation is favorable for inland relations between Cilicia and the Amuq Plain, inland Syria, and the Levant.<sup>190</sup>

The site was occupied continuously from the Early Bronze Age until the Hellenistic Period and reoccupied in the Medieval Period (table 5). The importance of the site in the Iron Age in the commercial activities is demonstrated by the Iron Age pottery.<sup>191</sup>

Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery was found in Kinet Höyük. All sherds came from a Period 14 structure (for chronology of Kinet Höyük see table 5).<sup>192</sup> Four fragments of White Slip II Ware (rim fragments of milk bowl), four fragments of Base-

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<sup>187</sup> Hrouda (supra n. 98) 291.

<sup>188</sup> Hrouda (supra n. 98) 292-95.

<sup>189</sup> Hrouda (supra n. 98) 295.

<sup>190</sup> Gates (supra n. 99) 193-94.

<sup>191</sup> Gates (supra n. 99) 194-96.

<sup>192</sup> M.-H. Gates, "1998 Archaeological Excavations at Kinet Höyük (Yesil-Dörtüol, Hatay)" *XXII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1999 (Ankara 2000) (forthcoming).

Ring II Ware (three from juglets and one from a bowl rim),<sup>193</sup> fragments of Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottles<sup>194</sup> and Bichrome Ware<sup>195</sup> were recovered in the excavations. The number of Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery is very little in number compared to the local wares from the same structure.

### **Tekirköy (Plate 8)**

Tekirköy is located on the right bank of the Göksu River in the Silifke Plain. It is close to the coast.<sup>196</sup> Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware is the only Cypriot ware found in the surveys of French and Mellaart. Three forms of this ware were collected: arm-shaped vessel, jar and spindle bottle. The middle section of the tubular part of an arm-shaped vessel has been found (Pl. 8:1).<sup>197</sup> It was described very briefly by French. It is wheelmade and orange burnished.<sup>198</sup> Another piece was identified by Symington as a fragment from a jar, which is orange burnished (Pl. 8:2).<sup>199</sup> The other piece is the neck of a spindle bottle (Pl. 8:3). This piece was identified by Mellaart as a fine red burnished Syrian spindle bottle,<sup>200</sup> which can be Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware. The re-examination of the piece is necessary.

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<sup>193</sup> Gates 2000 (supra n. 192).

<sup>194</sup> M.-H. Gates, "The 1992-1997 Bilkent University Excavations at Cilician Kinet Höyük (Hatay, Turkey), A Preliminary Summary" (forthcoming).

<sup>195</sup> Personal communication.

<sup>196</sup> French (supra n. 101) 181.

<sup>197</sup> French (supra n. 101) 201, fig. 11, no. 28.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 182; French (supra n. 101) 195, 201, fig. 11, no. 27.

<sup>200</sup> Mellaart 1958 (supra n. 102) 330, 341, Pl. 4, no. 37.

### **Çingantepe (Plate 9)**

Çingantepe is located on the west bank of the Göksu River opposite Kilise Tepe.<sup>201</sup> From this site only Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware was found as an import from Cyprus. There is an orange burnished arm-shaped vessel, of which only a section of the tubular part is preserved (Pl. 9:1).<sup>202</sup> Symington identified five other fragments of this ware.<sup>203</sup> These are one spout (Pl. 9:2),<sup>204</sup> three rim fragments (Pl. 9:3-5),<sup>205</sup> and a handle (Pl. 9:6).<sup>206</sup>

### **Kozlubucak (Plate 10)**

Kozlubucak is located in the Göksu Valley, on the pass which leads to the plain of Karaman. It is 21 km south of Karaman.<sup>207</sup> Only one arm-shaped Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware fragment was found at this site (Pl. 10:1). The fragment is a section of a tubular part and it is orange burnished.<sup>208</sup>

### **Örentepe (Plate 11)**

Örentepe is located on the right bank of the Göksu River, 3 km southwest of Mut.<sup>209</sup> Symington identified a handle of the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware (Pl. 11:1).<sup>210</sup> Only the handle is preserved and it is orange burnished.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> French (supra n. 101) 180.

<sup>202</sup> French (supra n. 101) 188, 197, fig. 4, no. 1.

<sup>203</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 182.

<sup>204</sup> French (supra n. 101) 187, 197, fig. 3, no. 23.

<sup>205</sup> French (supra n. 101) 187, 197, fig. 3, no. 24, 25, 27.

<sup>206</sup> French (supra n. 101) 188, 197, fig. 4, no. 2.

<sup>207</sup> French (supra n. 101) 180.

<sup>208</sup> French (supra n. 101) 189, 198, fig. 5, no. 17.

<sup>209</sup> French (supra n. 101) 180.

### **Tömükkale (Plate 12)**

Tömükkale is located between Mersin and Silifke close to the coast.<sup>212</sup> A fragment of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware pilgrim flask was identified by Symington (Pl. 12:1).<sup>213</sup> It is orange burnished outside.<sup>214</sup>

### **Kabarsa**

Kabarsa is 35 km southwest of Adana. Seton-Williams has reported the presence of White Slip II ware at this site.<sup>215</sup>

### **Tarmil**

Tarmil is ca. 60 km northeast of Adana. In Seton-Williams' survey a sherd of Late Bronze Age Cypriot Black Slip Ware was found.<sup>216</sup>

### **Inland Sites**

Late Cypriot pottery was found beyond the Taurus Mountains, on the Anatolian Plateau as well. The most common ware that was exported to inland is the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, which is identified as of Cypriot origin by Eriksson. This shows that the distribution of the wares change according to the geographical areas. The Anatolian Plateau, which was the core of the Hittite Empire, imported mainly one kind of ware which was not a daily use product but had special functions.

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<sup>210</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 180.

<sup>211</sup> French (supra n. 101) 193, 200, fig. 9, no. 23.

<sup>212</sup> French (supra n. 101) 181.

<sup>213</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 3) 182.

<sup>214</sup> French (supra n. 101) 196, 200, fig. 12, no. 6.

<sup>215</sup> Seton-Williams (supra n. 100) 133, 135.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

The distribution of the wares, as will be shown below, demonstrates the relations of Cyprus with the Anatolian Plateau via the Göksu Valley and the Cilician Plain, which was the closest coast to the capital in the territory of the Hittite Empire.

### **Boğazköy**

The largest amount of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware in Anatolia was found in the Hittite capital, Hattuša. Four shapes of this ware were found in Boğazköy. These are the arm-shaped vessel, spindle bottle, pilgrim flask and jug. The most frequent shape is the arm-shaped vessel, whereas the spindle bottles are rare. The other shapes are represented by a few sherds. There are 120 fragments or vessels of this ware from these shapes. Ninety-five of these belong to the arm-shaped vessels and 22 to the spindle bottles. There are two fragments of pilgrim flask and one fragment of a jug.<sup>217</sup>

Eriksson grouped the pottery chronologically in two classes: the ones of 14th century B. C. in date and the others of 13th century B.C. in date. The first group falls into the period from the reign of Šuppiluliuma I until the reign of Muwatalli. The second group covers the reigns from Muwatalli until Šuppiluliuma II (for chronology of Boğazköy see table 6). The third group consists of the fragments of uncertain date.<sup>218</sup>

### Šuppiluliuma I - Muwatalli II (Plate 13,14)

From this period 18 arm-shaped vessels (Pl. 13:1-7)<sup>219</sup> and three spindle bottles (Pl. 14:8-10)<sup>220</sup> were found in Level 2 of the Lower city.

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<sup>217</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

Muwatalli II - Šuppiluliuma II (Plate 15-17)

From the Lower City 27 arm-shaped vessels (Pl. 15:11-18)<sup>221</sup> and two spindle bottles (Pl. 15:20,21)<sup>222</sup> were found in Level 1. One arm-shaped vessel was found in Temple I (Pl. 15:19).<sup>223</sup>

From Büyükkale one arm-shaped vessel under level IVa (Pl. 16:22),<sup>224</sup> and two arm-shaped vessels (Pl. 16:23),<sup>225</sup> two spindle bottles (Pl. 16:24,25)<sup>226</sup> and a jug (Pl. 16:26)<sup>227</sup> were recorded from level III.

In contrast to the Lower City and Büyükkale, the Upper City with its many temples revealed a considerably larger amount of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware. From the houses in the Upper City three spindle bottles from House 10,<sup>228</sup> one spindle bottle (Pl. 17:27),<sup>229</sup> 20 fragments<sup>230</sup> and seven arm-shaped vessels from House 12,<sup>231</sup> nine arm-shaped vessels from House 15,<sup>232</sup> one arm-shaped vessel each from House 18<sup>233</sup> and House 19<sup>234</sup> were found.

From the temples in the Upper City the following vessels were found: in Temple VI fragments of one spindle bottle from Room 17 (Pl. 17:28)<sup>235</sup> and an arm-shaped vessel from Room 8 (Pl. 17:29);<sup>236</sup> in Temple VII one arm-shaped vessel;<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1026, 1084-1101.

<sup>220</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 431, 696-97.

<sup>221</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1025, 1074-83, 1102-14, 1116-8.

<sup>222</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 698-99.

<sup>223</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1119.

<sup>224</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1072.

<sup>225</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1060, 1062.

<sup>226</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 549-50.

<sup>227</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 80.

<sup>228</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 700-2.

<sup>229</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) Cat. no. 551. Neve mentioned Temple 12 as the find place of this vessel in: P. Neve, *Hattuša Stadt der Götter und Tempel* (Mainz 1996) 28, fig. 69, 29.

<sup>230</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 703.

<sup>231</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1125-31.

<sup>232</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1132-40.

<sup>233</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1141.

<sup>234</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1142.

<sup>235</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 706.

<sup>236</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1149.

two spindle bottles from Temple 8,<sup>238</sup> one arm-shaped vessel from Temple 12<sup>239</sup> and one arm-shaped vessel from Temple 27.<sup>240</sup>

#### Uncertain Date (Plate 18-21)

From uncertain or undated contexts or in the destruction debris 18 arm-shaped vessels were found (Pl. 18:30-37, Pl. 19:38-40).<sup>241</sup> From the upper city, seven sherds of spindle bottles (Pl. 20:41-47),<sup>242</sup> and several sherds of two pilgrim flasks (Pl. 20:48,49)<sup>243</sup> and seven sherds of arm-shaped vessels (Pl. 21:50-56)<sup>244</sup> were found. One sherd of arm-shaped vessel was found on the surface.<sup>245</sup>

Besides Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware two other Cypriot wares were recorded from Bogazköy. Dikaios had identified Cypriot Monochrome Ware. Sjöqvist and Unger had recorded sherds of a Base Ring II bowl.<sup>246</sup>

#### **Maşat Höyük** (Plate 22)

From Maşat Höyük three fragments of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware are known. Two are fragments of arm-shaped vessels, which were found in a rubbish pit in a Level I house (Pl. 22:1,2).<sup>247</sup> This level dates to 1275-1200 B.C. From the same level, a spindle bottle (Pl. 22:3)<sup>248</sup> and a local imitation<sup>249</sup> were found.

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<sup>237</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1143.

<sup>238</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 432-33.

<sup>239</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1027.

<sup>240</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1028.

<sup>241</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1059, 1061, 1063-71, 1073, 1115, 1119-24.

<sup>242</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 552-53, 704-5, 707-9.

<sup>243</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 908-9.

<sup>244</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1144-48, 1150-51.

<sup>245</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1273.

<sup>246</sup> P. Åström, "Cyprus and Troy" *Op Ath* 13 (1980) 26.

<sup>247</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1029, 1163.

<sup>248</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 711.

<sup>249</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Appendix B Cat. no. 1.

From the Level I house, sherds from White Slip milk bowls were recorded.<sup>250</sup>

### **Alişar (Plate 23)**

Two arm-shaped vessels were found in Alişar (Pl. 23:1,2).<sup>251</sup> They come from a building in I30, Level 10T (Hittite Period).<sup>252</sup>

### **Alaca Höyük (Plate 24-26)**

Ten arm-shaped vessels were found in Level 2, which was dated to the 13th century B. C. (Pl. 24:1, Pl. 25:2-9).<sup>253</sup> In addition, a spindle bottle of uncertain origin might have been from this site (Pl. 26:10).<sup>254</sup>

### **Eskiyapar**

From the Hittite level fragments of arm-shaped vessels were recovered.<sup>255</sup>

### **Kültepe-Kaniş**

No arm-shaped vessels were found in this site but there are some spindle bottles from Karum level II.<sup>256</sup>

### **Porsuk (Plate 27)**

Porsuk is located on the Anatolian Plateau, 10 km east of Ulukışla and 50 km away from the Cilician Gates.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> T. Özgüç, *Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in its Vicinity* (Ankara 1978) 66.

<sup>251</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1055-56.

<sup>252</sup> H.H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930-32. Part II. OIP XXIX.* (Chicago 1937), 13, fig.95.

<sup>253</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1045-54.

<sup>254</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 156.

<sup>255</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 1153.

At Porsuk four fragments of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware were recorded. In Level V, one spindle bottle with a Cypro-Minoan pot-mark (Pl. 27:1),<sup>258</sup> two fragmentary spindle bottles<sup>259</sup> and one fragment of an arm-shaped vessel (Pl. 27:2)<sup>260</sup> were found. Level V was dated to 1400-1200 B.C.<sup>261</sup>

A White Slip II milkbowl was found in the region of Bulgarmaden. The find circumstances are unknown but according to Dupré it could have come from Porsuk.<sup>262</sup>

### **Korucutepe (Plate 28-32)**

Korucutepe is not a site in the Anatolian Plateau. It is located on the upper part of the Euphrates River, near Elaziğ. Today it is covered by the waters of Keban Dam. The excavator of the salvage excavations recorded that the site was inhabited in almost every period from the Chalcolithic until the arrival of the Seljuks. The salvage excavations were mainly concerned with the Hittite levels of the mound.<sup>263</sup>

From Korucutepe ten fragments of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware were found. One large jug (Pl. 28:1),<sup>264</sup> one tall spindle bottle (Pl. 28:2),<sup>265</sup> one (Pl. 29:3)<sup>266</sup> or two<sup>267</sup> arm-shaped vessel fragments were found in stratum 130, in Phase J, which

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<sup>256</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131, Cat. no. 710.

<sup>257</sup> S. Dupré, *Porsuk I. La céramique de l'âge du Bronze et de l'âge du Fer*. Éditions recherche sur les civilisations. Mémoire no. 20. (Paris 1983).

<sup>258</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 133, Cat. no. 157.

<sup>259</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 133, Cat. no. 555, 712.

<sup>260</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 133, Cat. no. 1165.

<sup>261</sup> Dupré (supra n. 257) 43.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid. 26.

<sup>263</sup> H. Ertem, *Korucutepe I, 1973-1975 kazı yıllarında ele geçen Erken Hitit-İmparatorluk Çağı arası buluntular* (Ankara 1988).

<sup>264</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 81.

<sup>265</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 554.

<sup>266</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 1154.

<sup>267</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 1157.

was dated to 1400-1200 B.C.<sup>268</sup> The two other fragments of arm-shaped vessels came from disturbed contexts (Pl. 29: 4,5).<sup>269</sup> Four arm-shaped vessels (Pl. 30:6, Pl. 31:7, Pl. 32:8, 9) were found in the salvage excavations, two of which came from the contexts of the New Hittite Period and the others from disturbed contexts.<sup>270</sup>

### **Tepecik**

Tepecik is a site in the same region as Korucutepe. Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware was found in this site but the shape of the vessel was not mentioned.<sup>271</sup>

## **4.2.ARCHITECTURE**

Architectural evidence for the relations between Cyprus and Anatolia is very slight. Besides, it is difficult to understand where influences came from. For instance, the occurrence of ashlar masonry in different kinds of constructions (fortifications, palaces, temples and tombs) in Cyprus, Ugarit, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, Anatolia, Greece and Crete shows the complexity of this subject. According to Hult, Cyprus was influenced from almost all regions, but mainly Syria, during the gradual increase in the use of ashlar masonry.<sup>272</sup> Similarly, religious elements, namely the horns of consecration, were distributed over a large area. The horns of consecration were found

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<sup>268</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132.

<sup>269</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 1155-56.

<sup>270</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 1158-61.

<sup>271</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 132, Cat. no. 1169.

<sup>272</sup> G. Hult *Bronze Age Ashlar Masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, Ugarit, and neighbouring regions.* (SIMA 66) (Göteborg 1983) 88-90, 104, table 4.

from the Early Bronze Age until the Late Bronze Age in Crete, Anatolia, Syria and Palestine.<sup>273</sup> Therefore, it is not possible to detect the direction of the influence.

Nonetheless, some influences from the Hittite architecture have been argued.<sup>274</sup> The use of small stones in the foundations and the stepped facade of a wall at Nitovikla (MC III-LC IIA) was compared with a wall in Boğazköy<sup>275</sup> (for chronology of Late Bronze Age Cyprus see table 7). Åström argued that the similarities in the construction might be due to the similar configuration of the terrain.<sup>276</sup>

The best evidence for Hittite influence on Cypriot architecture can be seen in the construction of fortification walls. The subterranean tunnels at Enkomi and Sinda were perhaps derived from the Hittites.<sup>277</sup> Parallels for the Late Cypriot II cyclopean walls of Enkomi were demonstrated in the Hittite world.<sup>278</sup> The casemates were the other elements in the construction of the fortification that were shared. This feature of Hittite fortifications was compared with that of Enkomi.<sup>279</sup>

To conclude, Hittite influence on Cypriot architecture is only evident in the construction of fortification walls. This influence must have come via Cilicia or northern Syria which were both in the Hittite territory.

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<sup>273</sup> S. Diamant and J. Rutter, "Horned Objects in Anatolia and the Near East and Possible Connexions with the Minoan "Horns of Consecration" *AnatSt* 19 (1969) 147-77.

<sup>274</sup> P. Åström et al. *The Late Cypriot Bronze Age, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV:1D* (Lund 1972) 706.

<sup>275</sup> E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1940) 146-47.

<sup>276</sup> Åström et al. (supra n. 274) 706.

<sup>277</sup> Åström et al. (supra n. 274) 706.

<sup>278</sup> Åström et al. (supra n. 274) 707. He showed parallels with Mycenaean cyclopean fortification walls. However, it seems unlikely that the Mycenaeans influenced the Cypriot architecture, since the Mycenaeans themselves were most likely inspired by Hittite architecture; see W.-D. Niemeier, "The Mycenaeans in Western Anatolia" in S. Gitin, A. Mazar, E. Stern eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition, Studies in Honour of Professor T. Dothan* (Jerusalem 1998) 43, with further references.

#### 4.3. FINDS (Plate 33-35)

Only two small finds recovered from Late Bronze Age contexts in Anatolia have been recognized as Late Cypriot origin. One is a gold funnel from Maşat Höyük (Pl. 33:1). It was found in the same context as the above mentioned Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: a rubbish pit from a Level I house. According to Eriksson, these funnels, whether gold or silver, are only known from Cyprus, very often associated with Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware.<sup>280</sup> Therefore, she argues for a Cypriot origin of the piece found at Maşat Höyük.<sup>281</sup>

The second small find is a piece of a copper ingot found at Boğazköy in the Upper City (Pl. 34:2).<sup>282</sup>

There are several small finds in Cyprus from Anatolia. These are seals, a seal impression and a figurine. Besides the imports, there is a locally produced item, a ring, which was inspired by the Hittites.

An interesting find is a figurine from Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios. It is a silver figurine of a Hittite god standing on a deer (Pl. 34:1). It is 6.2 cm high. It was found in Tomb 12, which was the grave of several infants and young children. Tomb 12 is one of the two tombs that were found below the street south of Building X. The associated pottery was LC IIC, but the other finds were not described. The other tomb, which is next to Tomb 12, was used in LC IIB and LC IIC periods.<sup>283</sup>

A seal from Hala Sultan Tekke was found in the campaign of 1980 (Pl. 35:1). It was found in Room 3. The ceramics from this room range from LCIII A:2, IIIB and

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<sup>279</sup> Åström et al. (supra n. 274) 707-8.

<sup>280</sup> Eriksson (supra n. 122) 131.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> P. Neve, "Die Ausgrabungen in Boğazköy-Hattusa 1979" *AA* 1980, 303, fig. 22.

<sup>283</sup> A. South, "Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios" *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 205 (1995) 41; E. Herscher, "Archaeology in Cyprus" *AJA* 99 (1995) 271-72, fig. 15.

also earlier pottery from LC IIIA:1. The neighboring Room 4 yielded some LCIIIA:1 pottery *in situ*, therefore Åström dated it to this period.<sup>284</sup>

The seal is biconvex in shape and there are two grooved lines on the side. Its diameter is between 12 and 14 mm and it is 6 mm high. On face A, there are two concentric circles with radiating lines in between. The central motif is the Luwian hieroglyphic sign for scribe (no. 326 after Laroche). To the right of the sign, there is an elongated triangle as filler-motif. On face B, a figure walking to the right is depicted in a circle. There are two triangles on each side of the figure, which functioned again as filler-motif.<sup>285</sup>

According to Masson, who described the seal, objects like these traveled commercially or served as amulets. On the other hand, she argues that the unelaborated production of the seal and the absence of a name indicate that this piece might be a local imitation. Nonetheless, it represents Anatolian influence.<sup>286</sup>

A golden seal from Tamassos was found in unknown circumstances (Pl. 35:2). It has been dated to the 14th or 13th century B.C. The seal has a hieroglyphic inscription. It is hemispherical, and apparently a very rare type. The attribution of the seal to the Hittite Empire by Kennedy was confirmed by Laroche.<sup>287</sup>

A silver stamp seal from the Pierides Collection was viewed as an Anatolian import (Pl. 35:3). The circular stamp has two curving lines that are connected by a short stroke. There are shallow drillings next to each line and triangular hatches underneath. According to Reyes, this motif belongs to the Anatolian glyptic tradition.

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<sup>284</sup> P. Åström, "Un cachet de Hala Sultan Tekké" *RDAC* 1981, 99-100, fig. 1.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>287</sup> O. Masson, "Kypriaka, I. Recherches sur les antiquités de Tamassos" *BCH* 88 (1964) 204-5, fig. 6a, 6b.

However, the findspot and the date of the seal are unknown. Reyes suggested an Early or Middle Bronze Age date without giving any reason.<sup>288</sup>

In Enkomi one seal and one seal impression were found. They have Hittite motifs. The find circumstances of the seal (Pl. 35:4) is unknown. An eagle with two bull heads on either side have been depicted on the steatite seal. The seal dates to the destruction level of the Sea People (LC IIIA:1).<sup>289</sup> Cook argued that the motifs are Hittite.<sup>290</sup> The impression of a cylinder seal on a lump of clay (Pl. 35:5) was found in Area I, Room 24 and was dated to 1220-1200 B.C. A bird headed figure with wings was represented in the center. To the right is a stag with head turned backward and legs folded under its body. A second bird-headed figure was depicted behind the stag. To the left of the central figure, there is a eight petalled rosette and a figure holding a symbol on a staff. Porada compared this impression with one of the sealings from Konya Karahöyük.<sup>291</sup>

A silver ring from Hala Sultan Tekke was found in a grave of LC IIIA:1 (Pl. 36:1).<sup>292</sup> It shows a festivity scene with an altar in the middle together with a disk and wings above. According to Porada, the disk and wings are similar to an ivory plaque of Hittite style found at Megiddo. She suggested that this ring was imported from Syria and bears some Hittite influence.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> A. T. Reyes, "The Stamp Seals in the Pierides Collection, Larnaca" *RDAC* 1991, 119-20, fig.8:2.

<sup>289</sup> C.F.A. Schaeffer, J.-C. Courtois, J. Lagarce, "Fouilles d'Enkomi-Alasia dans l'île Chypre, campagne de 1967" *Syria* 45 (1968) 264, fig. 1.

<sup>290</sup> V. Cook, "Bronze Age Ashlar Construction in Cyprus, Theoretical Consequences" *RDAC* 1991, 93-96.

<sup>291</sup> E. Porada, "Appendix I, seals" in P. Dikaios, *Excavations at Enkomi*, vol. II (Mainz 1971) 790-91, no. 4c.

<sup>292</sup> V. Karageorghis, *The End of the Late Bronze Age* (Nicosia 1990) 17.

#### 4.4. Conclusions

Here, in this chapter, archaeological evidence, namely pottery, architecture and small finds were reviewed. The conclusions were based on the analysis of the distribution of the ceramics and small finds. The Hittite architecture may have had some influences on Cypriot architecture. However, the ceramics do demonstrate direct relations between Anatolia and Cyprus.

White Slip II Ware was found in Mersin, Tarsus, Kabarsa, probably Sirkeli Höyük, Kinet Höyük, near Porsuk and Maşat Höyük (fig. 8). The ware was found in small amounts in each site. The ware was distributed to Cilicia (Hittite Kizzuwatna) and the Anatolian Plateau. Although it was found in little amounts, it was widely distributed. The small quantity of this ware was its characteristic and does not indicate loose contact between Anatolia and Cyprus.

Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery was also found in small quantities in the Aegean. Thus, although this ware appears to have been widely distributed, it is barely represented either in Anatolia or the Aegean. However, the Late Bronze Age Cypriot pottery on the Uluburun shipwreck is more than the sum of the wares found in the Aegean and Anatolia together (except for the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware). The cargo had double the amount of pottery than what has been found in the Aegean so far. Therefore, Pulak has put forward that Cypriot ceramics do not reflect accurately the nature of the relationship.<sup>294</sup> As a result, the small percentage of Cypriot pottery does not signify sporadic relations between Cyprus and the other lands.

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<sup>293</sup> E. Porada, "A Seal Ring and Two Cylinder Seals from Hala Sultan Tekke" in P. Åström, E. Åström, A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink eds., *Hala Sultan Tekke* 8 (Göteborg 1983) 219, fig. 510, 541.

<sup>294</sup> C. Pulak, "The Uluburun Shipwreck" in S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder, H. W. Swiny eds., *Res Maritimae, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity* (Atlanta, GA 1998) 242-43.

In contrast to White Slip II and other wares, Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware has different characteristics. Eriksson has demonstrated that this ware was produced on Cyprus and mainly distributed to Egypt in the 14th century B.C. and to Anatolia in the 13th century B.C. She explained this with the shifting of the power from Egypt to Anatolia in the Eastern Mediterranean. The distribution of the ware in Anatolia demonstrates very interesting results (fig. 8). The ware was found in large amounts in Boğazköy, compared to the other inland sites, which shows that it was directly exported to Boğazköy. The ware was transferred to the core of the Hittite Empire through the Göksu Valley. This is evident in the distribution of the ware in the coastal area. Symington, who worked on the pottery of Kilise Tepe agrees with Eriksson and comes to the same conclusion: the ware is very rare in Cilicia and North Syria, whereas a concentration is evident in the Göksu Valley.<sup>295</sup>

The distribution of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Cyprus began to occur during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I. From his reign until the reign of Muwatalli II the ware was rare. From the reign of Muwatalli II onwards until the collapse of the empire this ware was found in considerable amounts. This period coincides with the establishing of the second capital of the Hittite Empire in the land of Tarhuntassa. Also during the reign of Muwatalli II, the Hittites gained control over North Syria after the Battle of Qadesh. These events show the increase in the interest and power of the Hittites in the overseas activities. The increase in overseas interest is evident in the distribution of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware and in establishing the second capital closer to the coast. In this region the Göksu Valley must have been used for travelling inland. The Hittite port, Ura was according to some scholars located at the mouth of the Göksu River. During this period, Tarhuntassa played the major role in transferring

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<sup>295</sup> Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 182.

Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware from Alasia to Boğazköy. The presence of a port and the inland route in the hinterland show that the Göksu Valley was the route between Alasia and Boğazköy in the 13th century B. C.

The ware also yields information about the nature of the relationship between Alasia and Hatti. Mostly arm-shaped vessels were exported to the Hittite Empire. It is clear from peculiar shape that this form was not a vessel for daily use. It must have enjoyed a special function. The biggest group of this ware in Boğazköy was found in Upper City contexts, which indicates its associations.

In contrast to pottery, the small finds yield evidence for a different kind of relationship between Alasia and Hatti. The few Hittite small finds on Cyprus start to appear in the LC II Period but most of them came from LC IIIA:1 contexts. This period coincides with the Hittite conquest of Alasia under Šuppiluliuma II. The scarcity of Hittite finds in Cyprus may be due to the short reign of Šuppiluliuma II and the collapse of the Empire. In addition, these finds being mainly seals show political implications.

To sum up, the archaeological evidence supports the relations between Cyprus and Anatolia, which are otherwise documented by the written sources. These overseas relations could only be maintained by seafaring. Therefore the harbor sites are of special interest, to which I will turn in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 5: HARBORS

The location of the harbors is a very important concept in understanding the role of the navigation in the relationships of the island to southern Anatolia. The distribution of pottery, especially the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, has suggested a direct route between Cyprus and the Anatolian Plateau via Cilicia. Besides the archaeological evidence, the textual evidence yielded information about a Hittite port, named Ura in Cilicia.<sup>296</sup> The location of Ura is not universally accepted. Beal suggested Gilindere (classical Kelenderis), whereas Hawkins and others proposed Silifke, at the mouth of the Göksu River, for the location of Ura.<sup>297</sup> The mention of a port and the distribution of the Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware showed the need to study the coastline and the potential natural harbors.

Locating harbors is not an easy matter. The changes in the coastline and the sea level must be taken into consideration first. In other words, geomorphological studies are absolutely necessary to understand the ancient coastline and the sea level. There have been very few studies done for the southern coast of Anatolia, apart from the geomorphological survey in the İskenderun Bay.<sup>298</sup>

Late Bronze Age harbors are of two types. One is the natural anchorage site and the other is the man-made harbor. The latter occurs at the very end of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. For the former kind, no material evidence can be found and the identification is based on physical features of the coastline. Therefore, the location remains a tentative one. What plays an important role in location, is the archaeological evidence in the hinterland. Although the harbor does not give any kind of information,

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<sup>296</sup> Beal (supra n. 80) 65-73.

<sup>297</sup> Hawkins (supra n. 81) 56-57.

the overseas relations of a site in its hinterland infers that a harbor existed. Sometimes, a harbor site was mentioned in written texts, but this is not always the case.

The second type of harbor can be detected by man-made remains and therefore more definitively identified. This kind of harbor is not the main concern here, since none has been yet found in southern Anatolia for the Late Bronze Age. Therefore, the focus will be on natural anchorage sites.

Blue, in her study of the second millennium coastline of Cilicia and Cyprus, and a few potential anchorage sites, has listed the types of anchorages mainly in two groups: anchorages on high energy, cliff-lined coasts (fig. 9a) and anchorages on low energy, low lying coasts (fig. 9b). According to her, the anchorages on high energy, cliff lined coasts are still in use today and can be identified. The other type was subject to the silting from the rivers and therefore today is under alluvial plains. According to this typology and the geomorphological studies she reconstructed the possible coastal paleography of Cilicia (fig 10). From Cilicia, she only studied the deltas of the Tarsus, Seyhan and the Ceyhan rivers (fig.11).<sup>299</sup> Relying on her typology and reconstruction of the second millennium Cilician coast, I will try to identify other possible anchorage sites. Her typology is as follows:

*"A. Anchorages on high energy, cliff-lined coasts*

*1) Natural bay; 2) Almost enclosed bay; 3) Bays on either side of an anvil shaped headland; 4) Lee of promontory; 5) Sheltered valley; 6) Offshore island or reef*

*B. Anchorages on low energy, low lying coasts*

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<sup>298</sup> S. Ozaner, "İskenderun Körfezi Çevresindeki Antik Yerleşim Alanlarının Jeomorfolojik Yönden Yorumu" *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 8 (1993) 337-55.

<sup>299</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 31-43.

1) Riverine (River mouth/upriver); 2) Inland lake upriver; 3) Natural embayment; 4) Deltaic; 5) Lagoonal“<sup>300</sup>

## 5.1. Southern Anatolia

The shoreline of southern Anatolia has a variety of features. There are steep shores with natural bays, beaches with dunes, marshes and lagoons and deltas at the mouth of the rivers.<sup>301</sup>

### From Dalaman to Antalya (fig. 12a)

From Dalaman to the Xanthos River, the western Taurus is perpendicular to the sea and the shore is consequently rugged and indented. The Fethiye Gulf was classified as an “almost enclosed bay“ by Blue. There are two capes on each side of the Fethiye Gulf: Cape Kurtuluş and Cape İblis. The Skopea Bay has rocky islets but is too deep for anchorage. Western side of the gulf is rugged whereas the eastern side is marshy because of the Kızıl River. Opposite the river there are a few islands. Between Cape İblis and Cape Yedi there is the Belçeğiz Gulf. East of Cape İblis there are two small bays. From the Cape Yedi to the Xanthos River the shore is rugged. There is a sandy beach at the mouth of the Xanthos River. From Cape Keleş to Cape Ada the shore is rugged and there are small islands close to the shore. Andifli (Kaş) has a small bay. From Cape Ulu until the Dümre River the shore is parallel to the mountains which are rising steeply. There is an island opposite of Kekova, which shelters several small bays. There is a sandy beach at the mouth of the Dümre River. From here until Finike there is a steep gravel beach, which is followed by a rugged shore because of the perpendicular third range of the Taurus Mountains. The sandy beach and the alluvial

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<sup>300</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 31-34.

plain are formed by the Yaşgöz and Alakır Rivers. It is mentioned that landing is possible on the beach. There is Karaöz Bay, sheltered by Cape Gelidonya from the east, where the fourth range of the Taurus is reaching the sea at right angles. From Cape Gelidonya to Antalya, the shores are steep and parallel to the fourth range of the Taurus. There are sandy beaches where the Boğa River flows into the sea, at the south of Tekirova, Ceneviz Bay, between Tekirova and Cape Aqua.<sup>302</sup>

This region can be classified mainly in the first group of Blue's typology. Each type of group A can be found in this region. However, this region, known as Lycia in classical times and as Lukka in the Late Bronze Age, did not reveal any Late Bronze Age sites and archaeological material. Although the name of the region was mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, no archaeological evidence has yet been found. The reason must have been economic, which discouraged people from settling in this region. Although the shore is suitable for anchorages, the lack of inland routes and the invisibility of Late Bronze Age sites might have prevented this region from becoming involved in the trade. On the other hand, since the natural harbors do not yield archaeological evidence, one cannot say that the Lycians were not involved in trade. The people could be seafarers. A new economic life style is proposed by Artzy.<sup>303</sup> This economic life style is practiced by the seafaring merchants. They could be hired by others to deliver goods and at the same time conduct their own small scale trade as entrepreneurs.<sup>304</sup> Nomadic life of the seafarers would leave no trace in the archaeological record. Therefore, negative evidence here can be misleading.

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<sup>301</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 91.

<sup>302</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 93-96.

<sup>303</sup> M. Artzy, "Nomads of the Sea" in S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder and H. W. Swiny eds., *Res Maritimae, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity* (CAARI Monograph Series 1) Atlanta, GA 1997, 1-16.

#### From Antalya to Anamur (fig. 12b)

The coastline here is straight and does not have natural bays. From Antalya to Cape Baba the shore is low and the plain continues until the foothills of the Taurus. Between Cape Baba and the Manavgat River there are several rivers which flow into the sea and form sandy beaches, as well as deep alluvial plains. From the Manavgat River to Cape Kara the coast is similarly sandy. At Cape Kara the foothills of the third range starts appearing. From there to Cape Anamur the coastline is parallel to the third range of the Taurus. Therefore, the coast is steep and high and it has only a few natural bays.<sup>305</sup>

In this region no Late Bronze Age sites have been discovered so far (fig. 13), although Parha (classical Perge) is mentioned in the bronze tablet treaty found in Boğazköy.<sup>306</sup> Recently, excavations have been going on around the citadel to investigate the Late Bronze levels in the city of Perge. However, the coastline of the Antalya Plain must have been much further inland during the Late Bronze Age. The coastline has changed due to the silting by the Aksu Çay, the Köprü River and the Manavgat Çayı. Therefore, the pre-classical sites are probably covered under alluvial sedimentation. This shows the necessity to do geomorphological research in the Antalya Plain to reconstruct the ancient coastline.

#### From Anamur to Cape Karataş (fig. 12c)

The region from Anamur to Taşucu is the first region that has evidence for Late Bronze Age harbors. The coastline again becomes rugged here because the Taurus again runs perpendicular to the sea. On the east of Cape Anamur there is a sandy beach

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<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 96-98.

formed by the Sultan and Tatlısu Rivers. Kelenderis has a natural bay.<sup>307</sup> Kelenderis was identified as the Hittite port, Ura, by Beal<sup>308</sup> but this could not be demonstrated in the archaeological excavation. No Late Bronze Age levels have been discovered in Kelenderis. The next bay is in Ovacık. Between Ovacık and Cape İncekum there is the Taşucu Bay. The western Taurus ends here and the last range, which is at right angles to the sea, forms a rugged shore. In the east of Taşucu Bay the Göksu River forms a delta plain (the Silifke Plain) which has several lagoons. The river forms a valley and a pass through the Taurus to the Anatolian Plateau.<sup>309</sup> From here eastwards Late Bronze Age sites have been discovered. The Göksu Valley itself was inhabited densely in the Late Bronze Age (fig. 9).<sup>310</sup> The Silifke Plain was also formed by alluvial sedimentation and, therefore, the coastline in the Late Bronze Age must have been different from today's. According to Blue's reconstruction of the second millennium coastline, the delta and the lagoons were not existing then.<sup>311</sup> Therefore, it must have been possible to navigate upstream; this would place the Göksu River among the riverine type of anchorages. After silting and the formation of the lagoons, it could have served as a lagoonal type of anchorage. Hawkins, Gurney and others, relying on textual and archaeological evidence, have suggested that the Hittite port of Ura was located at the mouth of the river.

From the Göksu River eastwards the anchorages on low energy, low-lying coasts are to be found. From Perşembe to Mersin the coast is parallel to the mountain and quite a few rivers flow into the sea from the Eastern Taurus Range.<sup>312</sup> Eight Late

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<sup>306</sup> Hawkins (supra n. 81) 52.

<sup>307</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 98.

<sup>308</sup> Beal (supra n. 80) 65-73.

<sup>309</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 98.

<sup>310</sup> Mellaart 1958 (supra n. 102) 312-346, J. N. Postgate et al. (supra n. 97) 138-42, fig. 1.

<sup>311</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 35, fig. 3.

<sup>312</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 99.

Bronze Age sites were discovered by Mellaart on this coast as far as Mersin and a little beyond.<sup>313</sup> From Elvanlı eastwards there are sandy beaches. Blue had demonstrated the layout of Tarsus as a harbor town. She reviewed the textual evidence, indicating that Cilicia and especially Tarsus, whose Hittite name was Tarsa, were involved in trade. Besides this, Tarsa had an ancient harbor and was on the route between the Cilician Plain and inland through the Cilician Gates. The harbor was located to the southwest of Tarsus. The ancient harbor is now under a marshy area, created by tectonic uplift as well as silting by the Tarsus, Seyhan and Ceyhan Rivers. In the second millennium the Cilician Delta was much further inland and therefore Tarsus was closer to the sea.<sup>314</sup> From Mersin to Cape Karataş the shores are low and sandy and there are some lagoons and swamps.<sup>315</sup> For instance, Domuztepe is located 12 km inland from Cape Karataş, where Ceyhan enters the sea. According to Blue, in the second millennium the site must have been situated at the mouth of the river and hence controlling the vessels entering the river, before the course of the river shifted east towards the Yumurtalık Bay.<sup>316</sup>

#### Gulf of İskenderun (fig. 12d)

Cape Karataş is the entrance point to the present İskenderun Gulf, which became narrower by silting and tectonic movements. Yumurtalık Bay is a sheltered bay, except when easterly winds blow. The southern and western shores of the Yumurtalık Bay are sandy and low, whereas the northern shores are rugged with several sandy beaches, behind which the Misis Mountains rise. The rugged shore ends

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<sup>313</sup> Mellaart 1958 (supra n. 102) 346. These are Silifke Castle Hill, Tekirköy, Lamas Castle Hill, Tömukkale, Soli, Yumuk Tepe, Kazanlı and Domuz Tepe. Tarsus should be added to his list.

<sup>314</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 38-41.

<sup>315</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 99.

<sup>316</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 40-41.

at Kastabol, where the coast is sandy. From Kastabol northwards the coast is cliffed with a few sandy bays. From Burnaz to Payas the coast is sandy or stony. The mouth of the Payas River is marshy and from here to the south end of the İskenderun Bay the foothills of the Gavur mountains are very close to the coast.<sup>317</sup> There are two ancient mounds in this area. One is Karahöyük, which is located more than 15 km in the northwest of Dört Yol and 3,5 km inland from the coast. The other is Kinet Höyük, which is 6 km west of Dört Yol. These mounds were inhabited in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>318</sup> The İskenderun Bay is protected from the winds except for the northerly winds. From İskenderun to Cape Hinzır there is a narrow plain with a sheltered bay at Arsuz. After Cape Hinzır comes the Antakya Bay, of which the shores are rocky because of the abrupt rise of the Gavur Range, except at the mouth of the Orontes (Asi) River. The Orontes River has formed a plain at its mouth and sandy beaches on the north and south sides, where it enters the sea.<sup>319</sup> There are several Late Bronze Age sites in the Orontes valley. Sabouni was the harbor town, before the coastline had shifted west. From there goods were traded inland to places like Tell Atchana and other sites in the Amuq Plain.<sup>320</sup>

## 5.2. Cyprus

The man-made harbors of Cyprus are well known. These date to the very end of the Late Bronze Age, namely after the destruction in the Late Cypriot IIIA:1.<sup>321</sup>

Enkomi, Kition, Paphos, Hala Sultan Tekke and Maa Palaekastro are the major sites,

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<sup>317</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 100.

<sup>318</sup> Ozaner (supra n. 298) 340-42.

<sup>319</sup> Turkey (supra n. 15) 100-102.

<sup>320</sup> C. L. Woolley, "The Excavations at Al Mina, Suedia" *JHS* 58 (1938) 1-30.

<sup>321</sup> Karageorghis (supra n. 292).

which relied on man-made harbors.<sup>322</sup> It is evident that these sites played a very important role in the Late Bronze Age trade and perhaps before as well.

Geomorphological studies have been conducted for the southern and the eastern coastline.<sup>323</sup> The counter-clockwise trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean demonstrated the important location of these sites. It was argued that physical and climatic conditions are the reasons why these sites were located at the south and southeastern coasts. On the other hand, the north coast has more advantages, but ancient navigation techniques were playing a more important role than those.<sup>324</sup> The advantages and disadvantages of the north coast were well demonstrated by Georgiou:

*“...One might expect major ports to be located on the north coast of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age coinciding with the increase of the Mycenaean trade goods on the island. Yet this does not appear to be the case. The north coast may well have better access to mineral sources and it might be closer to Rhodes and Crete, but it is not safe due to the prevailing wind direction and geomorphology. Chrysochou Bay offers no shelter in bad weather and Morphou Bay is a dangerous anchorage in north winds...”<sup>325</sup>*

### 5.3. Discussion

The northern coast of the Cyprus is the main concern here, since this side of the island is facing southern Anatolia and closest to it. It was demonstrated that a vessel departing from the south coast or southeastern coast should have gone east first, then north and west taking the wind and the currents behind at its back. This is the route

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> C. Giangrande, G. Richards, D. Kennet, J. Adams, “Cyprus Underwater Survey, 1983-1984. A Preliminary Report” *RDAC* 1987, 185-197; J. A. Gifford, “Paleogeography of Ancient Harbour Sites of Larnaca Lowlands, Southeastern Cyprus” in A. Raban ed., *Cities on the Sea, Past and Present* (BAR Int. Ser. 404, 1998) 45-48.

<sup>324</sup> H. Georgiou, “Seafaring, Trade Routes, and the Emergence of the Bronze Age Urban Centers in the Eastern Mediterranean” in S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder and H. W. Swiny eds., *Res Maritimae, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory to Late Antiquity* (CAARI Monograph Series 1) Atlanta, GA 1997. 117-24.

from Cyprus to the Aegean.<sup>326</sup> It is also known that ships departing from Cypriot ports traveled to the Levant.<sup>327</sup> The ancient sailors always preferred to sail close to the shore to follow the shoreline.<sup>328</sup> However, at some places, for example in travelling to the Levant, the open sea had to be crossed. In other words, the ship had to sail towards the east or northeast. If it sails to the east it has to cut at a right angle both the current and the wind, which are running and blowing in a northerly direction. McCaslin and Raban show a direct route between the Levant and the east coast of Cyprus. Since such a route, the cutting of the current and the wind at right angle, are demonstrated to be possible for west to east navigation, it would follow that such a crossing in a north-south direction would also be possible. The northern coast of Cyprus and the southern coast of Anatolia have the same kind of climatic conditions. The currents and the wind had to be cut at right angle to cross from north to south or opposite. If Raban and McCaslin show the possibility of such a crossing, it should be much easier to sail from the north coast of Cyprus to north or in the opposite direction than the journey between the east coast of Cyprus and the Levant. The north coast and southern Anatolia are closer to each other than any other mainland.

It was shown in the second chapter that although the northerly winds are dominant along the southern coast of Anatolia, south winds become dominant from April until July, which would allow such a crossing. The ships always followed the coastline so as not to lose direction. However, since one could see the Anatolian mainland from the northern coast on a clear day, the sight of the land could not be lost at any point of the journey. At night, stars were directing the sailors. In conclusion, it

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<sup>325</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 324) 121.

<sup>326</sup> McCaslin (supra n. 27) 102-107, fig. 36.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid; A. Raban, "The Heritage of Ancient Harbour Engineering in Cyprus and the Levant" in V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides eds., *Cyprus and the Sea* (Nicosia 1985) 140.

<sup>328</sup> Georgiou (supra n. 324) 117-18.

must have been possible to sail from the north coast of Cyprus to southern Anatolia under adequate conditions. Under such conditions this trip would be shorter than the route from the southern or southeastern coast of Cyprus to Anatolia.

Returning to the harbors, it was shown above that the southern coast of Anatolia has quite a fair number of natural anchorage sites, as well as sandy beaches that are suitable for landing. Each type of natural anchorages in Blue's typology is to be found on this coastline. The Cilician Plain fits mainly to type B. The İskenderun Gulf has anchorage sites from both classes. Rough Cilicia and Lycia have mostly type A anchorage sites. This variety in the anchorage sites is due to the diversity in the physical features of the coast. It has mountains perpendicular and parallel to the sea; rivers forming deltas, lagoons, and marshy areas; plains and sandy beaches between these features.

As for the harbors of Cyprus, no harbor and anchorage sites are indeed known from the north coast, the Chrysochou Bay and Morphou Bay. However, the explanation is perhaps not as self-evident as Georgiou's. First of all, no geomorphological research has been carried out here, nor was there an attempt to look for anchorage sites. The proximity of the two bays and the western part of the north coast to mineral sources (see fig. 2) was mentioned by Georgiou and we see many Late Bronze Age sites in this area (see map 3). A hinterland with copper mines and the presence of many Late Bronze Age sites on the coast and close to the coast<sup>329</sup> raises the question whether there could be anchorage and harbor sites in this region. Since there is not a detailed study about the coastline, it is not possible here to show the possible natural harbors and anchorage sites. However, my personal observation shows that Georgiou's claim is not completely true, since there is at least one bay (Çıkarma

Plaji) protected from the northerly winds by an islet in the north of the bay. There is a similar bay in the west end of the Morphou Bay at Yeşilirmak. A study of the coastline may increase the number of such potential natural harbors. The change in the coastline of the Morphou Bay was demonstrated by Blue.<sup>330</sup> The silting from the rivers changed the coastline. Therefore, it is necessary to do geomorphological study in this area to learn about the ancient coastline and the silting process as well as possible natural harbor sites.

#### 5.4. Conclusion

I attempted to show that it is not possible to make conclusions about the anchorage sites of the north coast of Cyprus without a multidisciplinary approach to this question. The results that have been put forward by scholars, that it is not possible to sail in the north-south direction and that there are no harbors in the northern and northwestern coast due to their inadequate position, are tentative. The lack of studies in that area leads scholars to make general conclusions based on general concepts. This shows the urgent need of a geomorphological, sedimentological, geological and archaeological studies and surveys in this area to investigate more specifically the potential of natural harbors.

The coastline of Morphou Bay was most probably much further inland in the Late Bronze Age, since the present alluvial plain was formed by the silting of the Ovgos River. The ancient bay might have been more protected and therefore much more suitable for a harbor site. The close proximity to the copper mines makes the existence of a Late Bronze Age major harbor site highly probable in this region.

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<sup>329</sup> Catling (supra n. 9) 129-169.

<sup>330</sup> Blue (supra n. 132) 35, fig. 3.

Similarly, there should have been more Late Bronze Age sites in the Antalya Plain, than the one mentioned in the Hittite bronze tablet. Here, the coastline must have changed as well due to the silting by the several rivers, which at the same time give access through the Taurus Mountains to the Lake District. The favorable setting of the Antalya Plain deserves further attention.

With future investigations in these two plains more Late Bronze Age sites and harbors could be discovered. At the same time they might add new evidence for relations between Cyprus and southern Anatolia.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The point of departure for this thesis was the neglected issue of Cypriot and Anatolian relations within the reconstruction of Eastern Mediterranean trade in the Late Bronze Age. The connections have been reviewed here from a number of aspects. The subject can now be considered as throwing important light on this question.

In this thesis the correlation between the history and archaeological record is demonstrated. In addition, physical features, climatic conditions and ancient navigational methods were taken into consideration. In this way the picture is completed. The synthesis was overlooked by the scholars.

The history of relations starts around 1400 B.C. and comes to an end after the collapse of the Hittite Empire. In this time span, friendly relations between Alasia and Hatti are attested in the written sources. The Madduwattas text has demonstrated that earlier, less formal treaty agreements already existed between these lands. The cordial relations are also indicated indirectly in the many texts about banishments. Later, towards the end of the Hittite Empire a formal treaty existed, showing friendly relations. Alasia kept the prisoners and in return received a favorable policy from the Hittites.

During this period, and even before, the geographical distribution of White Slip and Base Ring wares shows that Cypriot relations existed mainly with Cilicia, where they continued for two centuries (1500-1300 B.C.).

In 13th century B.C. some political changes took place in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the Levant, the Hittite and Egyptian frontier was conclusively drawn after the clash between the Hittite and Egyptian forces at the Battle of Qadesh. As a result, the Hittite power in the Northeastern Mediterranean was affirmed. In this

century Ugaritic sources showed that a friendly relationship and political collaboration existed between Ugarit (being under Hittite political control) and Cyprus. The nature of relationship between these lands was similar to the connections between Cyprus and the Hittite world. In the same century, in Anatolia, the Hittite capital shifted for a while to the land of Tarhuntassa.

This period coincides with new ceramic distribution patterns. Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware began to be exported from Cyprus to Boğazköy. The largest concentrations of the ware appear in Boğazköy during and after the reign of Muwatalli, who had moved the capital to Tarhuntassa. According to Hawkins, the Göksu Valley was the core of Tarhuntassa. According to Eriksson, Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware was transported to Boğazköy along the Göksu Valley. It would follow that the Hittite port of Ura must have been located at the mouth of the Göksu River.

These ceramic distribution patterns suggest that Hittite interest in overseas activities increased with the 13th century B.C. and changed in character. Localized informal Cilician commercial contacts were expanded by a long-distance enterprise showing direct supply between Cyprus and the Hittite capital along a new route.

Although so far attested only in the written documents, the presence of a Hittite port in southern Anatolia raises the question whether it was possible to sail from Cyprus to Anatolia directly. This thesis suggest that sail to north from Cyprus to Cilicia should be considered a real option. If so, there must have existed anchorage sites both in southern Anatolia and the north coast of Cyprus, especially in the Morphou Bay. This can only be confirmed with geomorphological research in these areas.

Returning to the historical events, at the end of 13th century B.C. the friendly relations between Alasia and the Hittite Empire came to an end. Alasia came under direct control of the Hittite Empire during the reign of Tudhaliya IV, although this did not last long because of the empire's imminent collapse. Hittite control corresponds in Cypriot chronology to LC IIIA:1. Almost all of the Hittite small finds in Cyprus date to this period. This suggests that the Hittite finds in Cyprus came there as a result of a military intervention. The scarcity of the finds must be due to the Hittite's short period of rule over the island. The finds, being mostly seals, indicate bureaucratic connections.

However, in order to reconstruct these relations into a more detailed picture, more intensive research needs to be done. First of all, the archaeological evidence from Cilicia and Tarhuntassa should be reanalyzed. Geomorphological studies should be conducted in southern Anatolia, especially in the Gulf of Antalya and in the north coast of Cyprus, especially in the Morphou Bay. Such investigations should broaden the framework of the existing and evolving LB II Cypriot-Anatolian relations that I have touched upon in this preliminary study.

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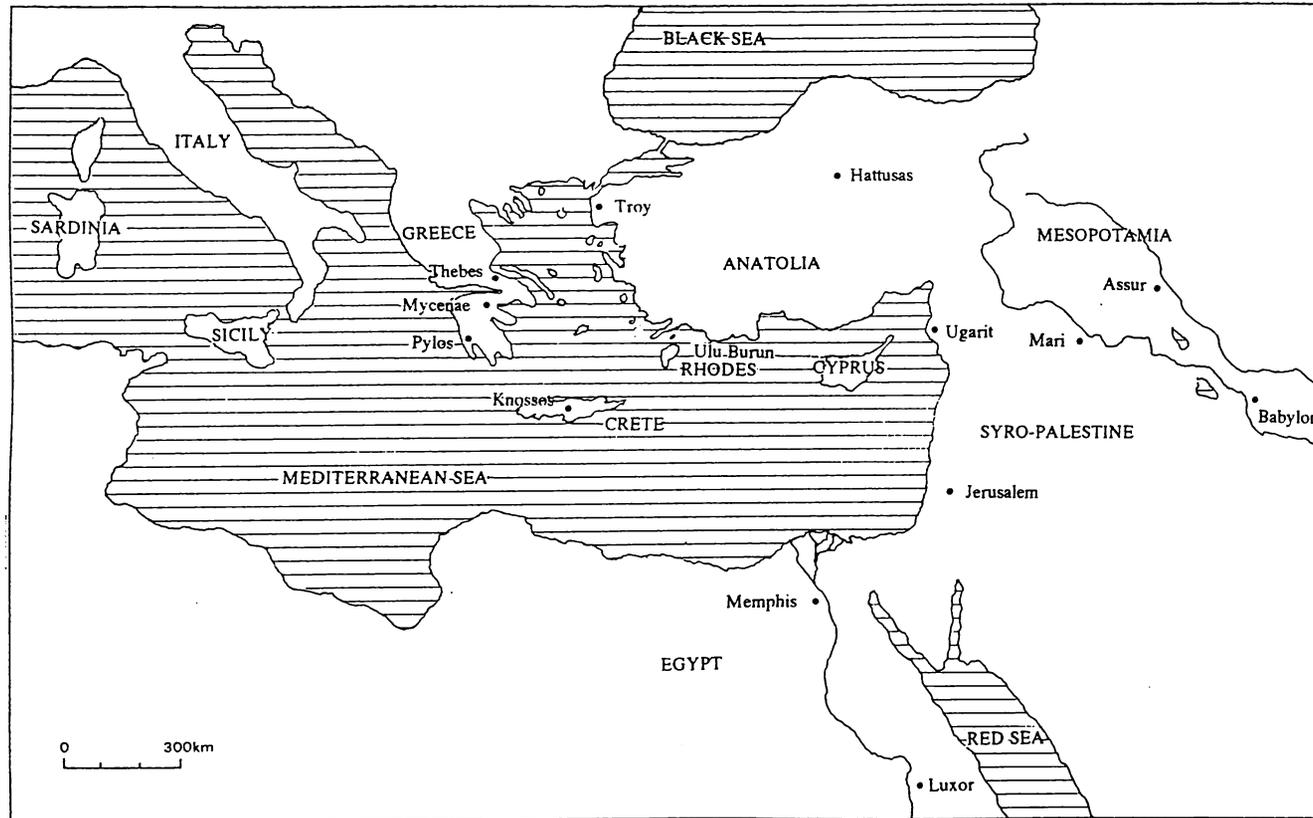
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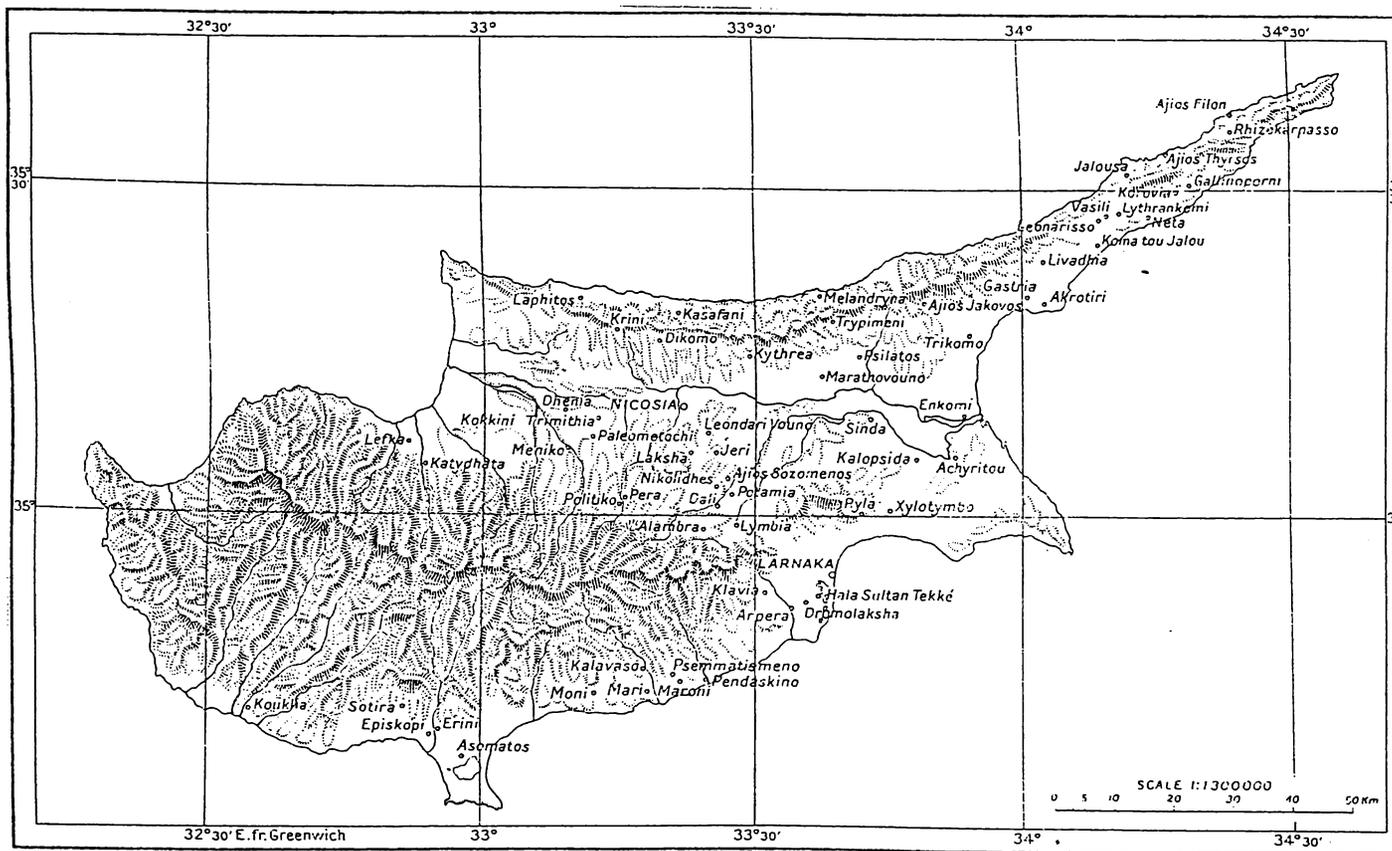
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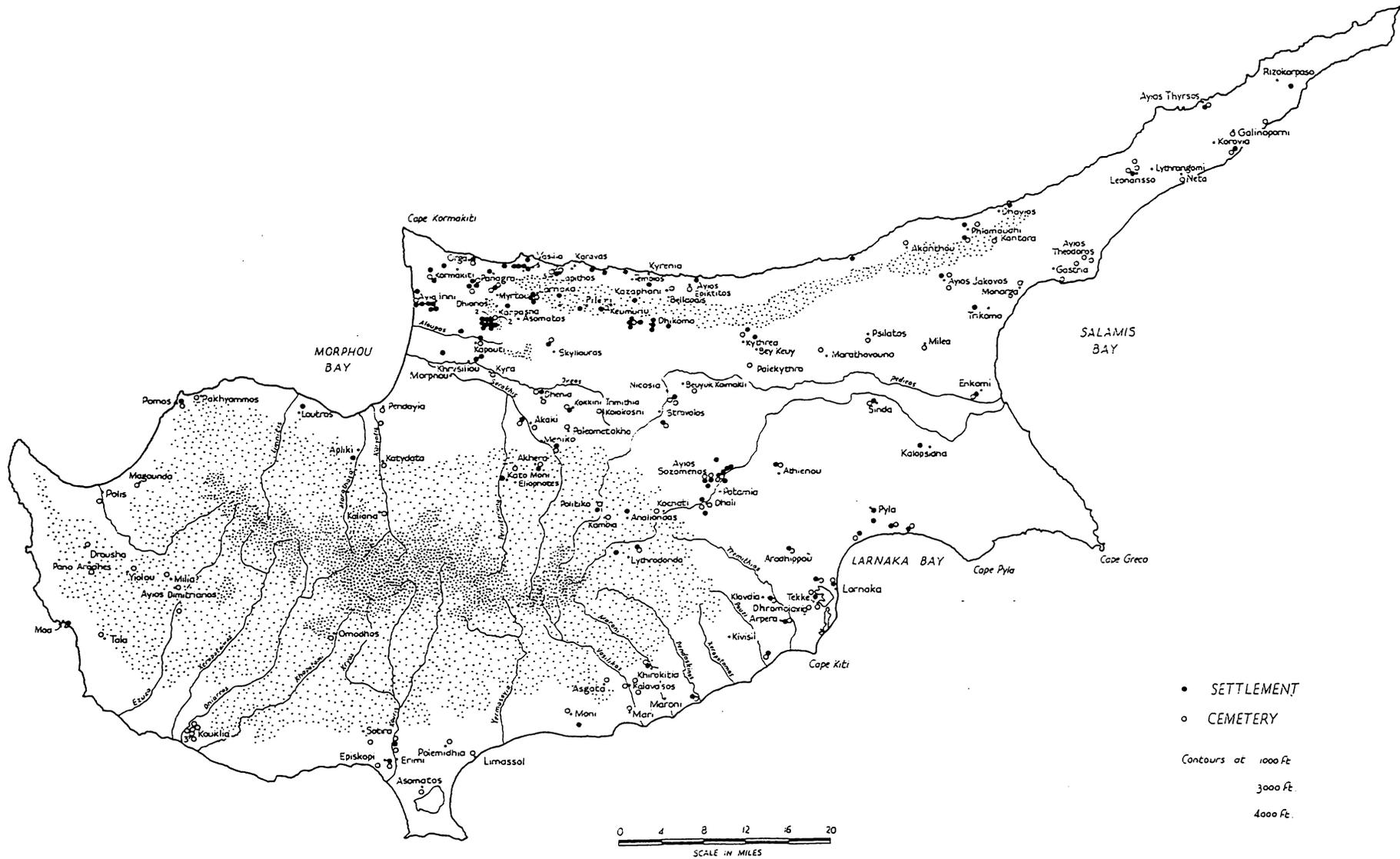
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Map 1: The Mediterranean Region  
(Cline, 1994: map 1)



Map 2: Physical features of Cyprus  
(Gjerstad 1926: 2)



Map 3: Late Bronze Age settlements of Cyprus  
(Catling 1963: fig. 3)

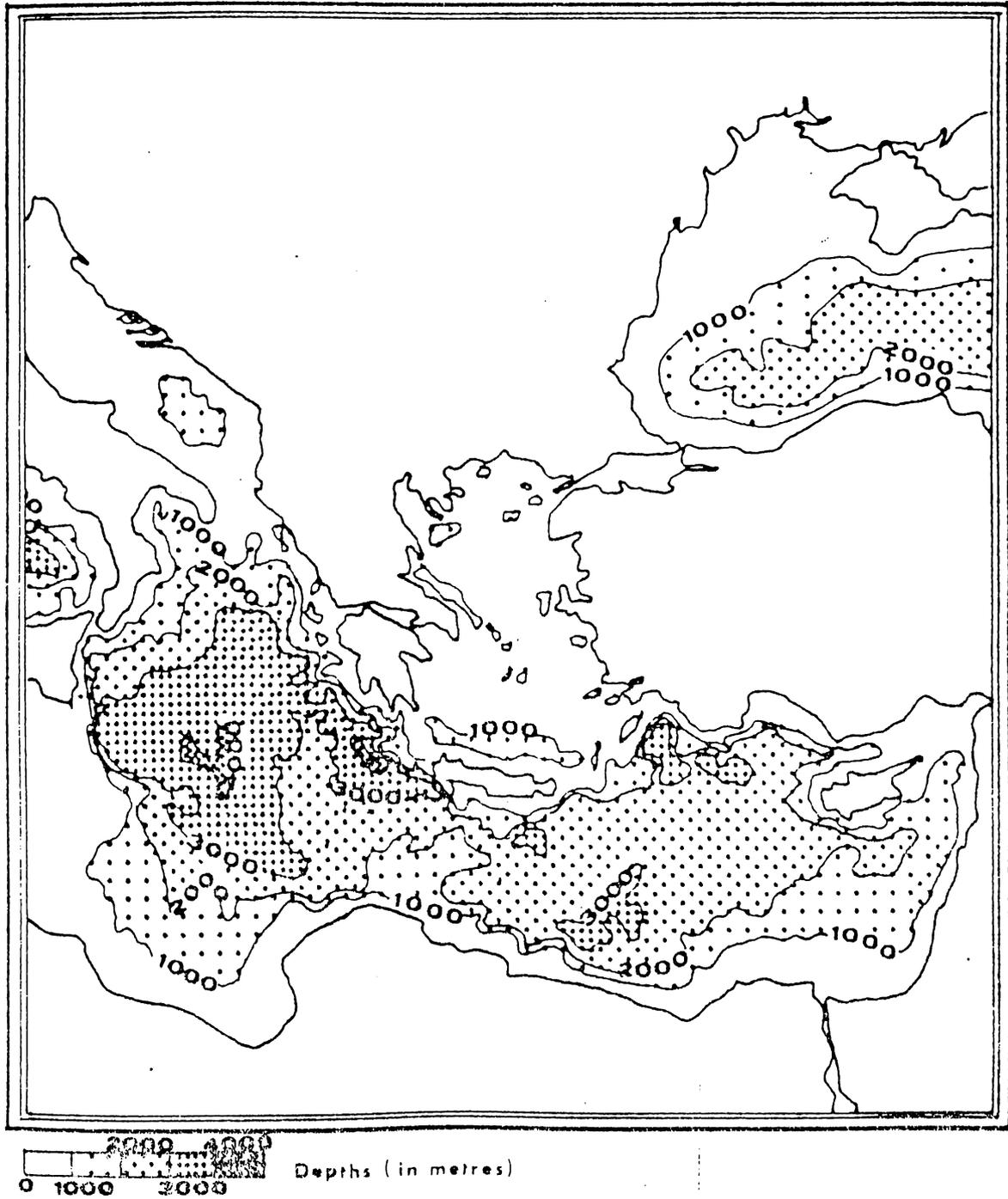


Fig. 1: Sea level in the Mediterranean  
(Luciani 1984: 5, fig.1.1)



Fig. 2: Copper Sources in Cyprus  
(After Peltenburg 1996: 31, fig. 4)



# SOUTHERN COASTLANDS

(EASTERN HALF)

MAIN TAURUS, ANTI-TAURUS,  
GAVUR AND KURT DAĞLARI,  
AND SEYHAN LOWLAND

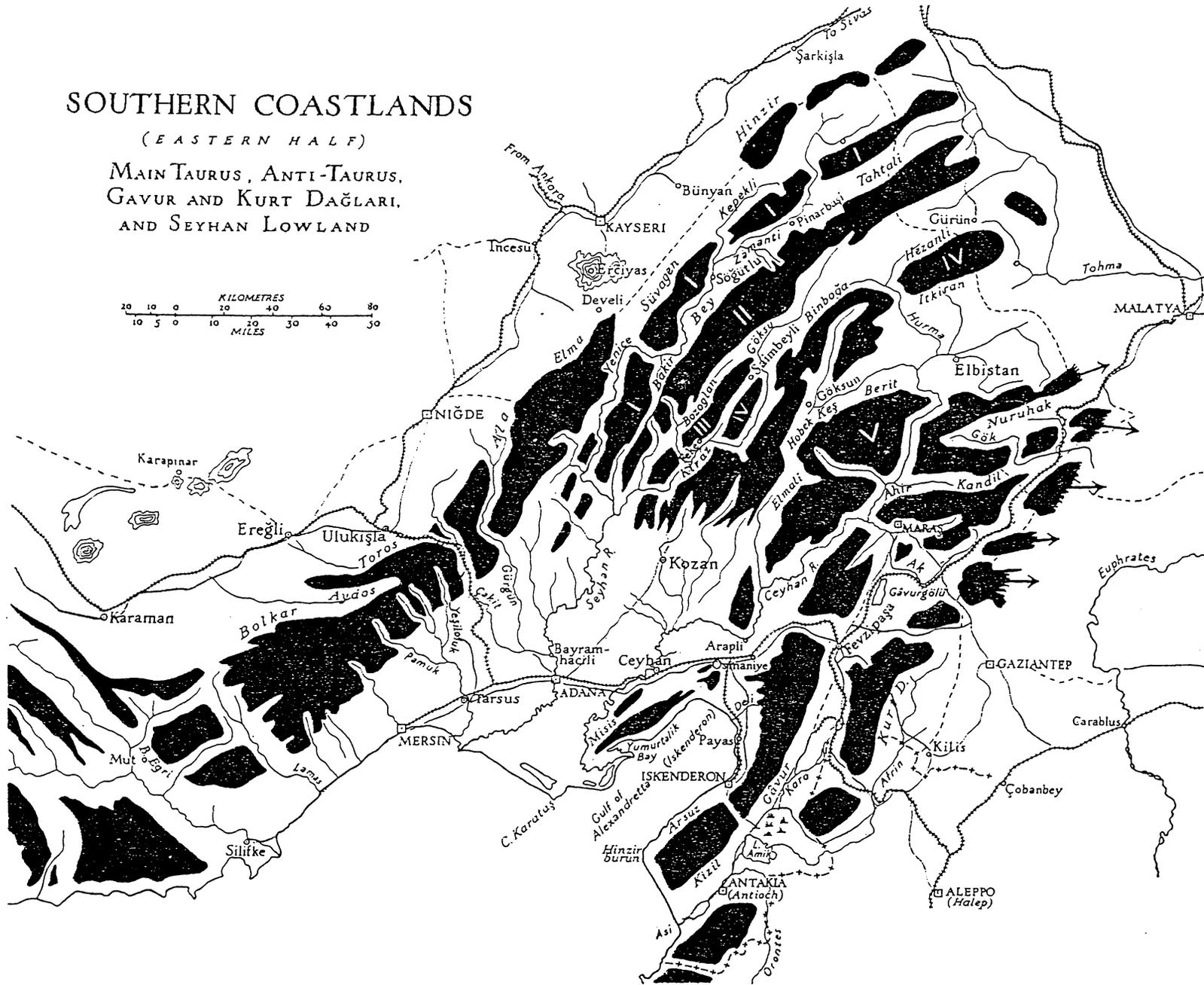
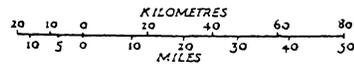


Fig. 3b: Main Taurus, Anti-Taurus and Seyhan Lowland  
(Turkey Vol.1: fig. 34)

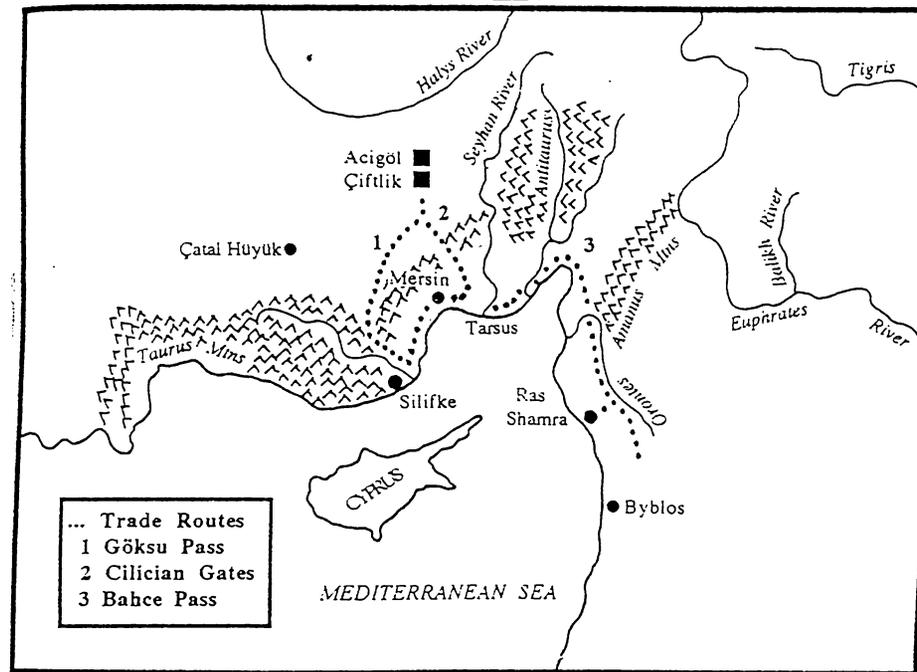


Fig. 4. The passes through the Taurus Mountains  
(Steadman 1996: 134)

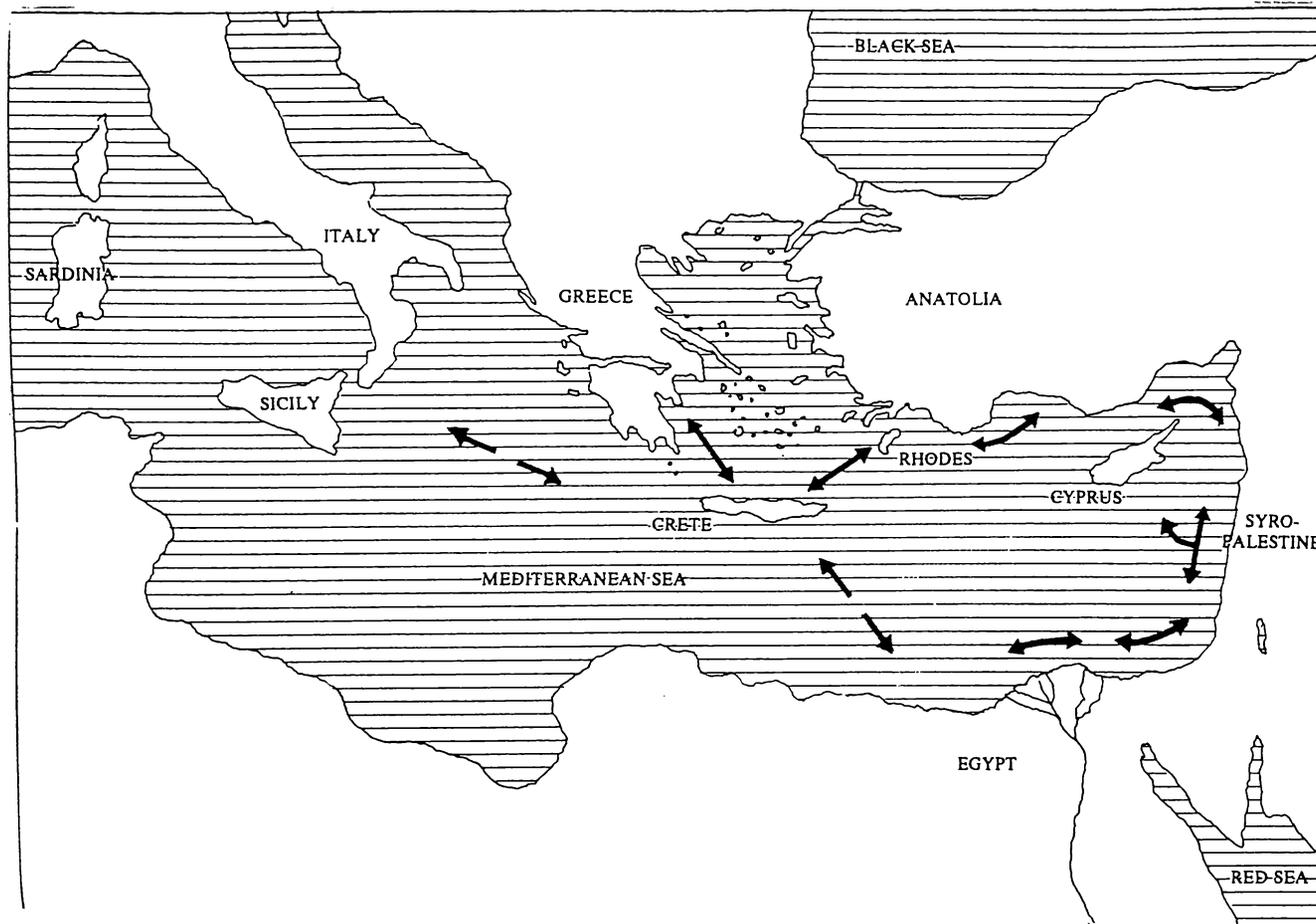
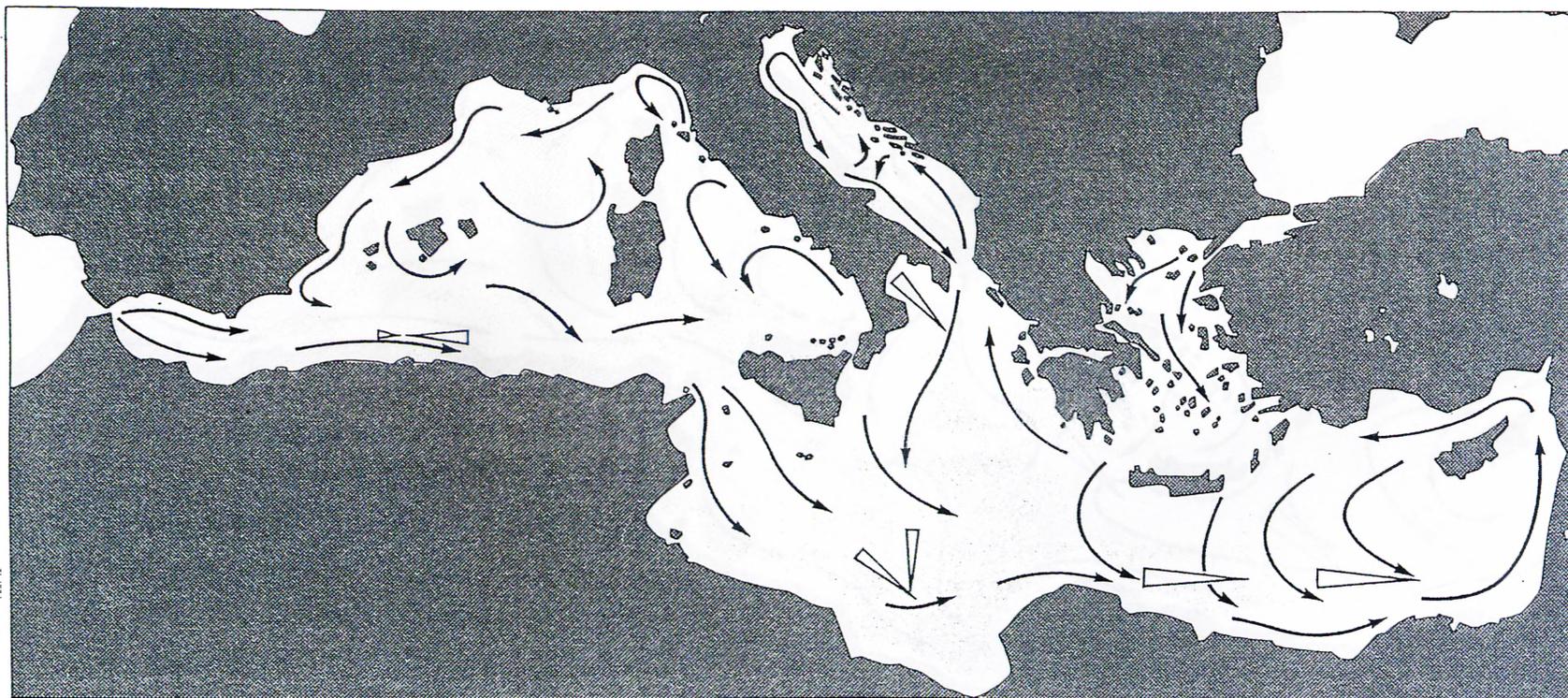
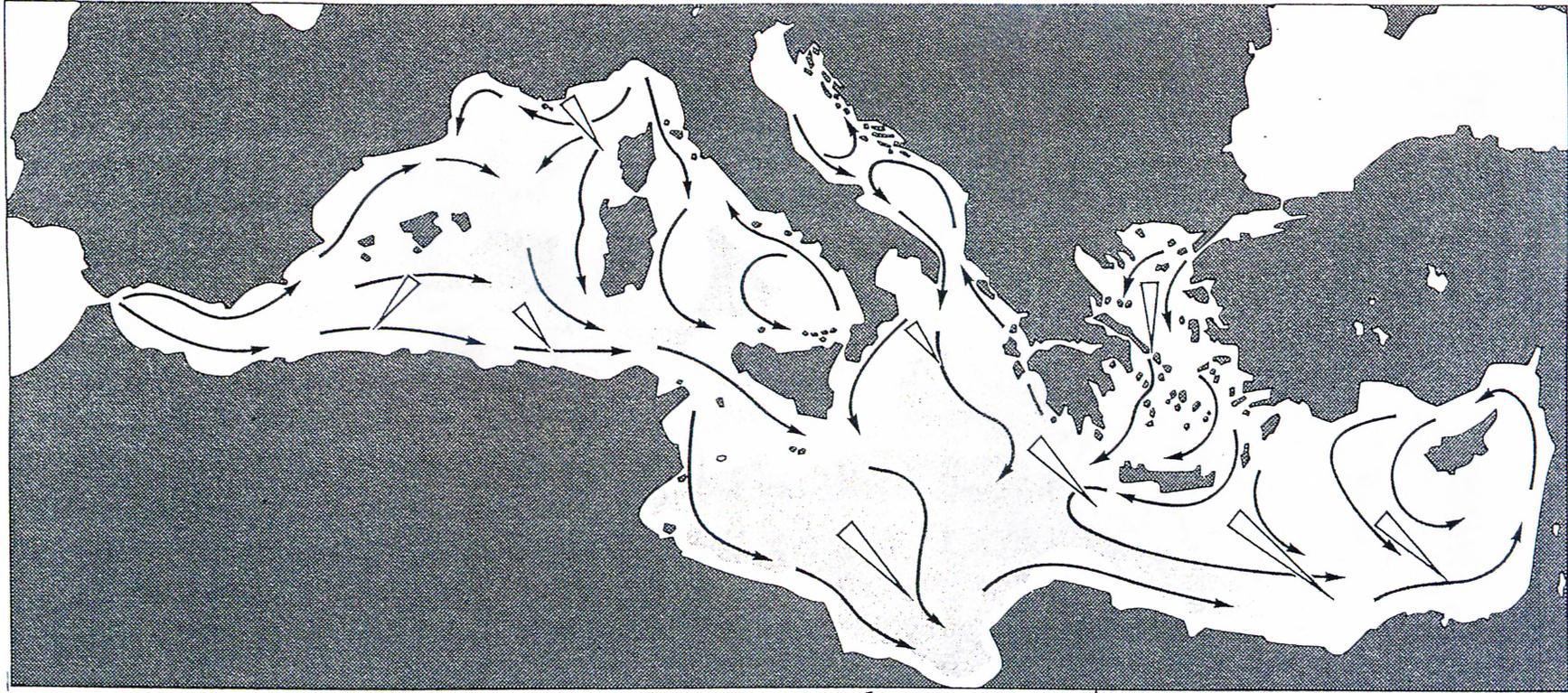


Fig. 5: Possible sea routes around the Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age  
(Cline 1994: map 4)



→ Currents  
▽ Winds

Fig. 6a: Winds and currents in the Mediterranean Sea in July  
(Höckman 1987: 62, fig. 9a)



→ Currents  
▾ Winds

Fig. 6b: Winds and currents in the Mediterranean Sea in September  
(Höckman 1987: 63, fig. 9b)

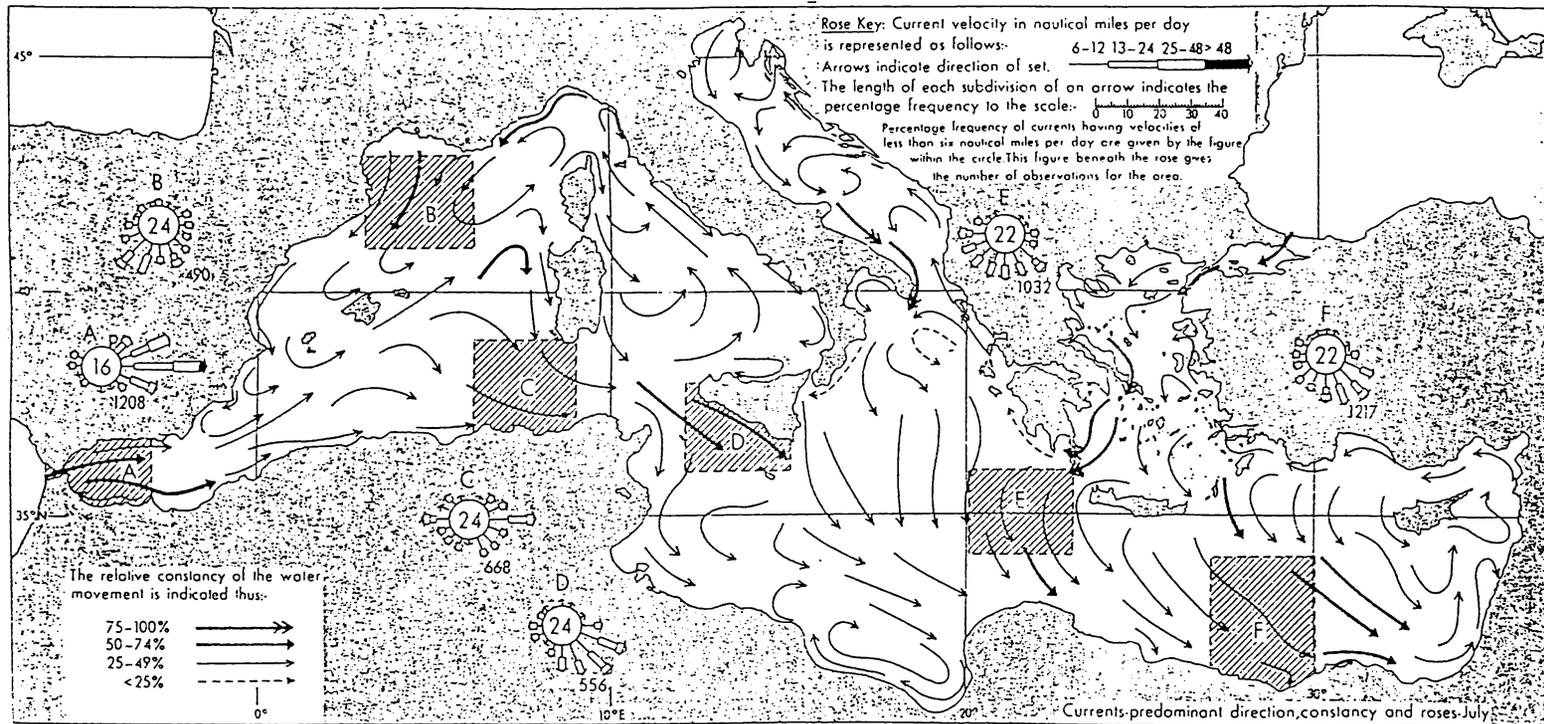
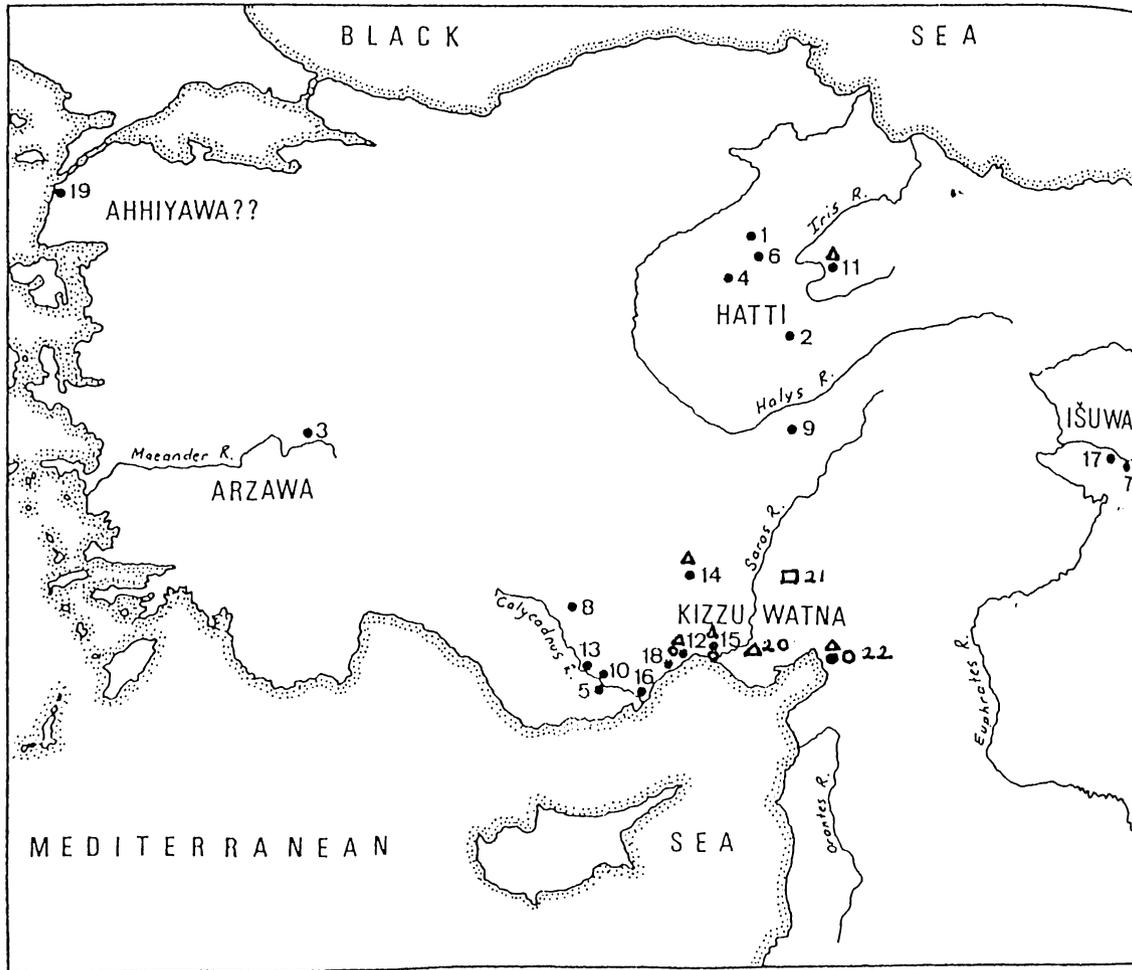


Fig. 7: The constancy of the currents in the Mediterranean Sea in July  
(Lambrou-Phillipson 1991: 20)



1. Alaca Höyük
2. Alişar
3. Beycesultan
4. Boğazköy
5. Çingantepe-Mut
6. Eskişar
7. Korucutepe
8. Kozlubucak
9. Kültepe-Kaniş
10. Maltepe-Mut
11. Maşat Höyük
12. Mersin
13. Örentepe-Mut
14. Porsuk
15. Tarsus
16. Tekirköy
17. Tepecik
18. Tömükkale
19. Troy
20. Kabarsa
21. Tarmil
22. Kinet Höyük

- △ White Slip II Ware
- Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware
- Base Ring Ware
- Black Slip Ware

Fig. 8. Distribution map of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware, White Slip II Ware and Base Ring Ware  
(After Eriksson 1993:130, fig. 37)

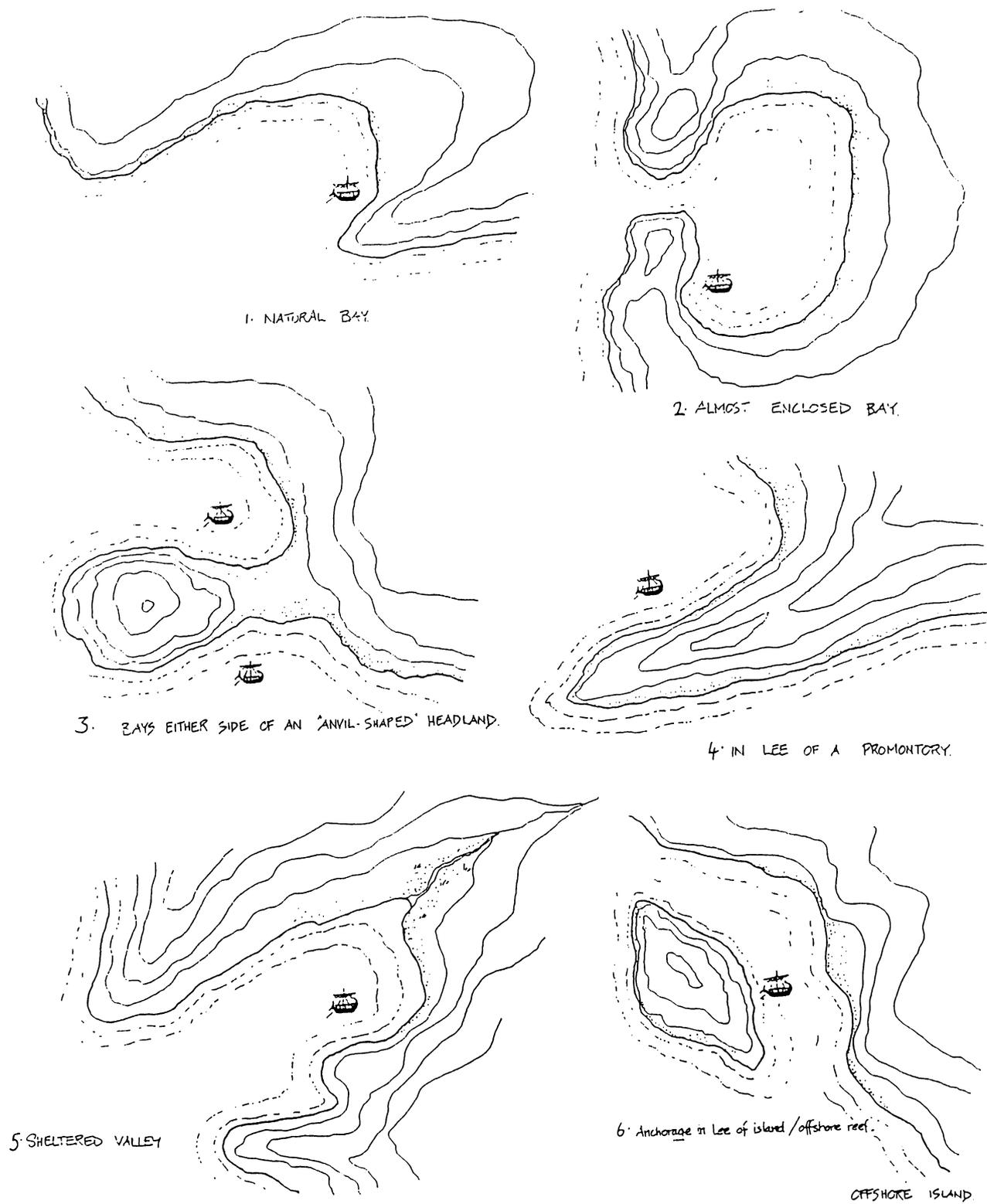


Fig. 9a. Anchorages on high energy, cliff-lined coasts  
 (Blue 1997: 33, fig. 1)

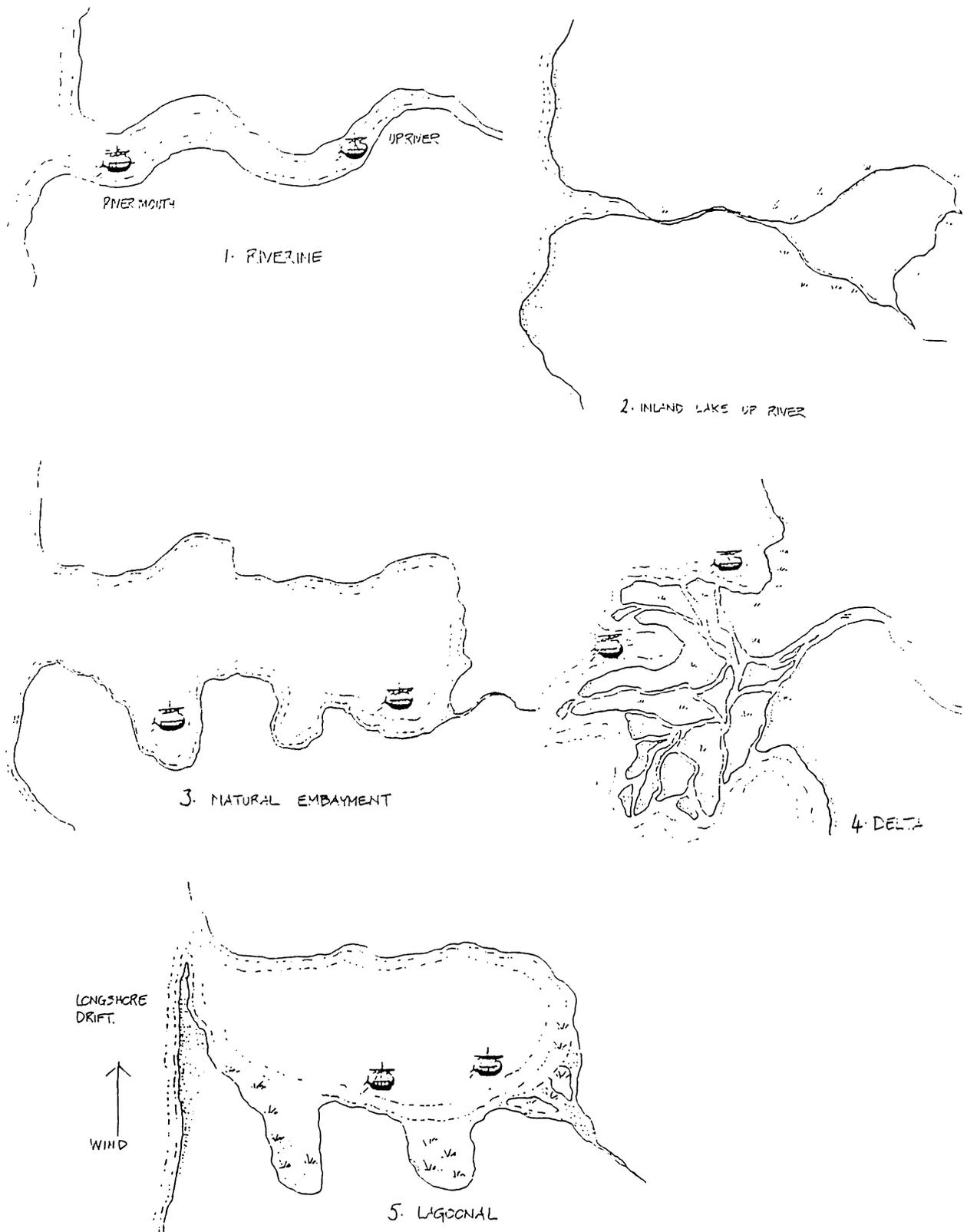


Fig. 9b. Anchorages on low energy, low-lying coasts  
 (Blue 1997: 34, fig. 2)



Fig. 10. Possible coastal palaeogeography of the Eastern Mediterranean in the second millenium B.C.  
(Blue 1997: 35, fig. 3)

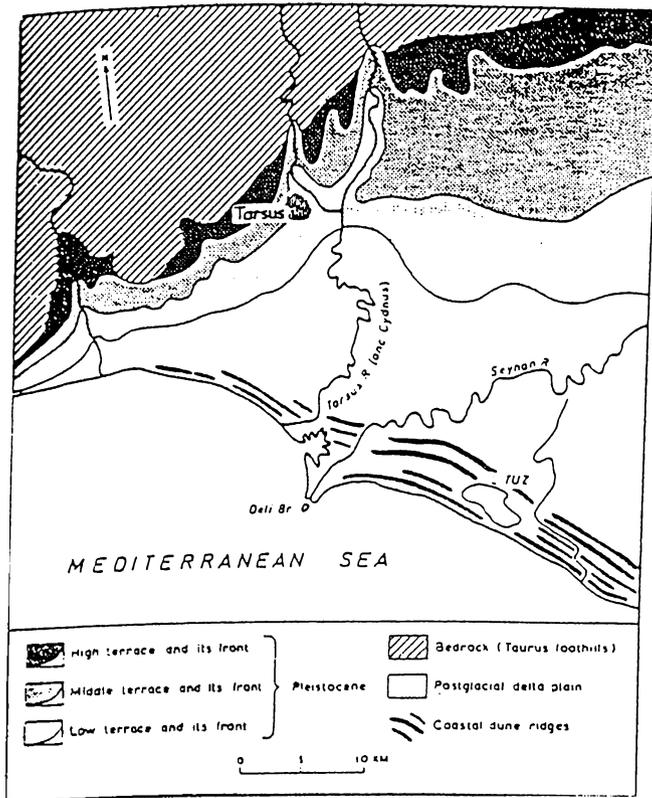


Fig. 11. The deltaic plain of Çukurova (Cilicia)  
(Blue 1997: 39, fig. 7)

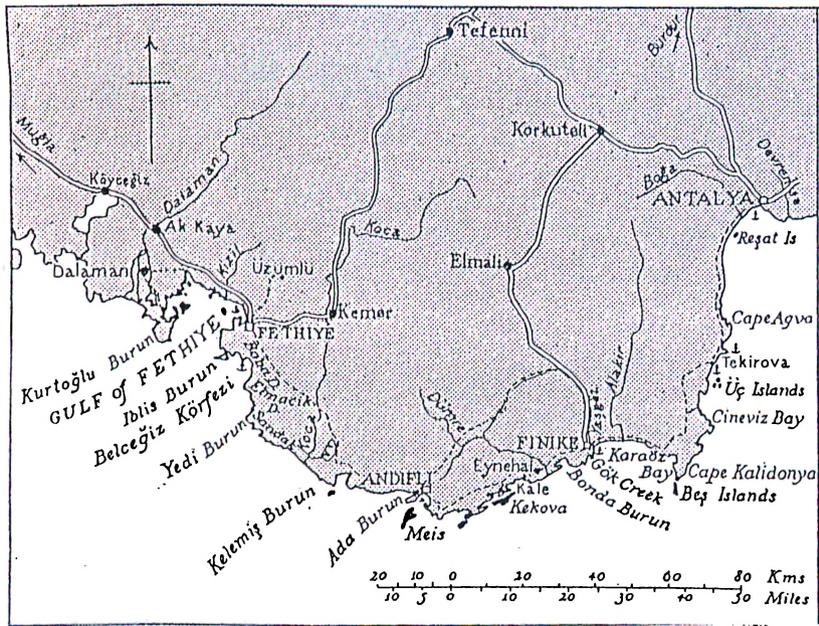


Fig. 12a. From Dalaman to Antalya  
(Turkey Vol. 1: fig. 22)

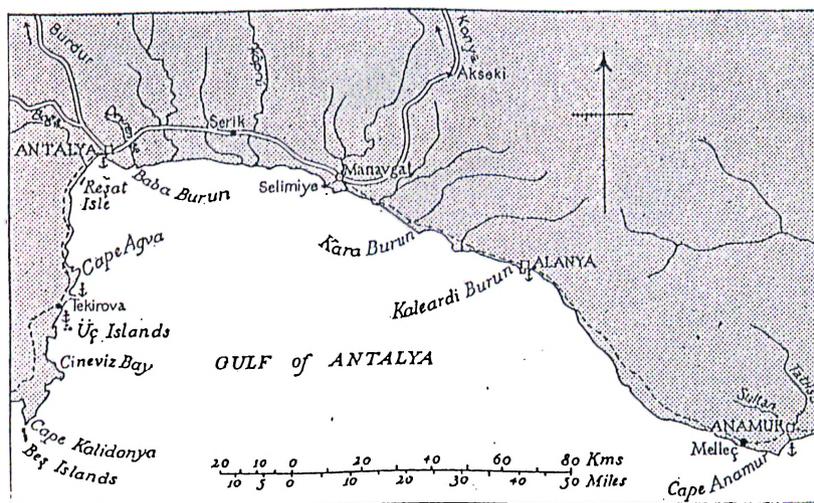


Fig. 12b. The Gulf of Antalya  
(Turkey Vol. 1: fig. 23)

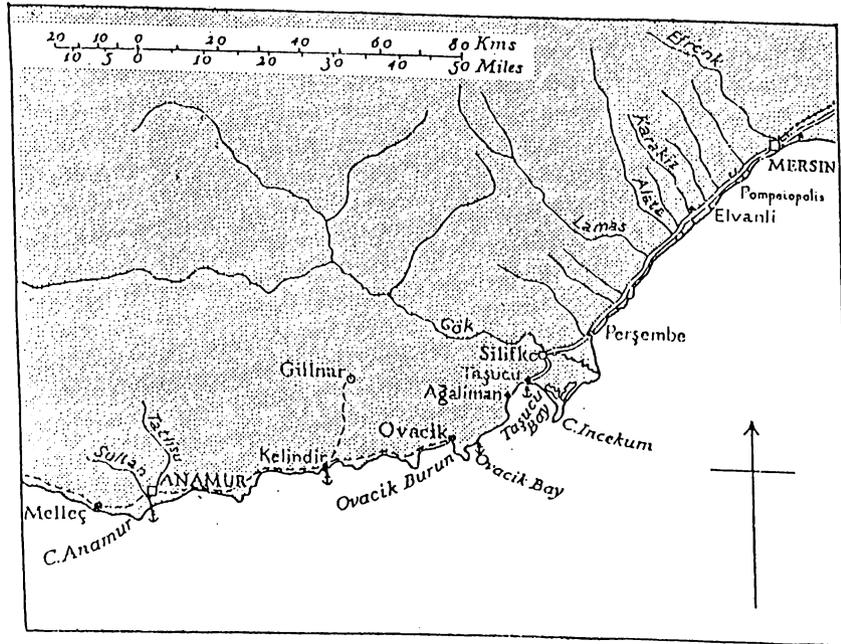


Fig. 12c. From Anamur to Mersin  
(Turkey Vol. 1: fig. 24)

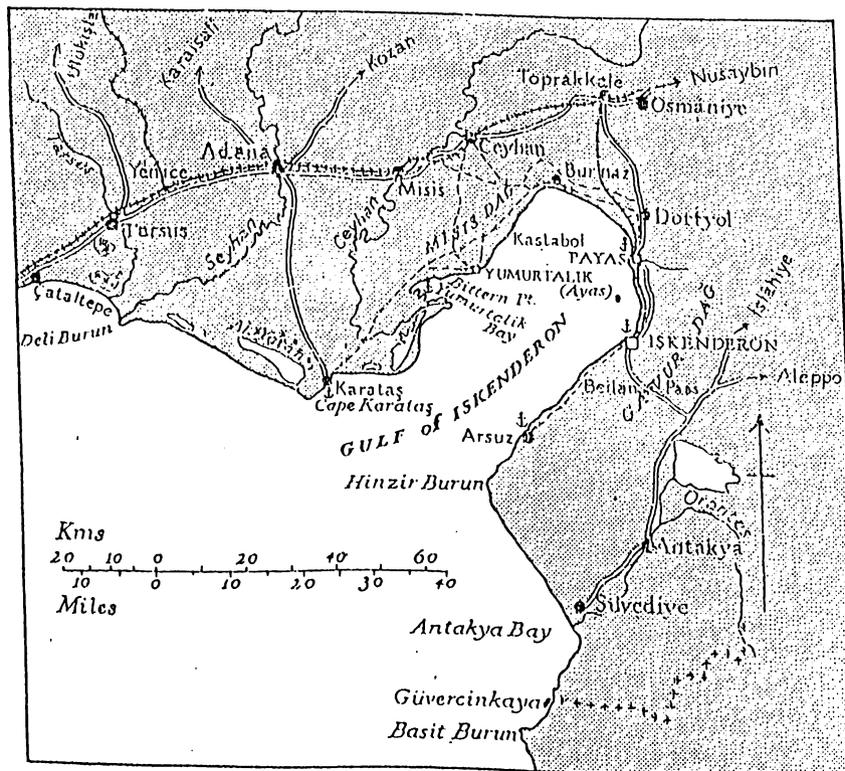
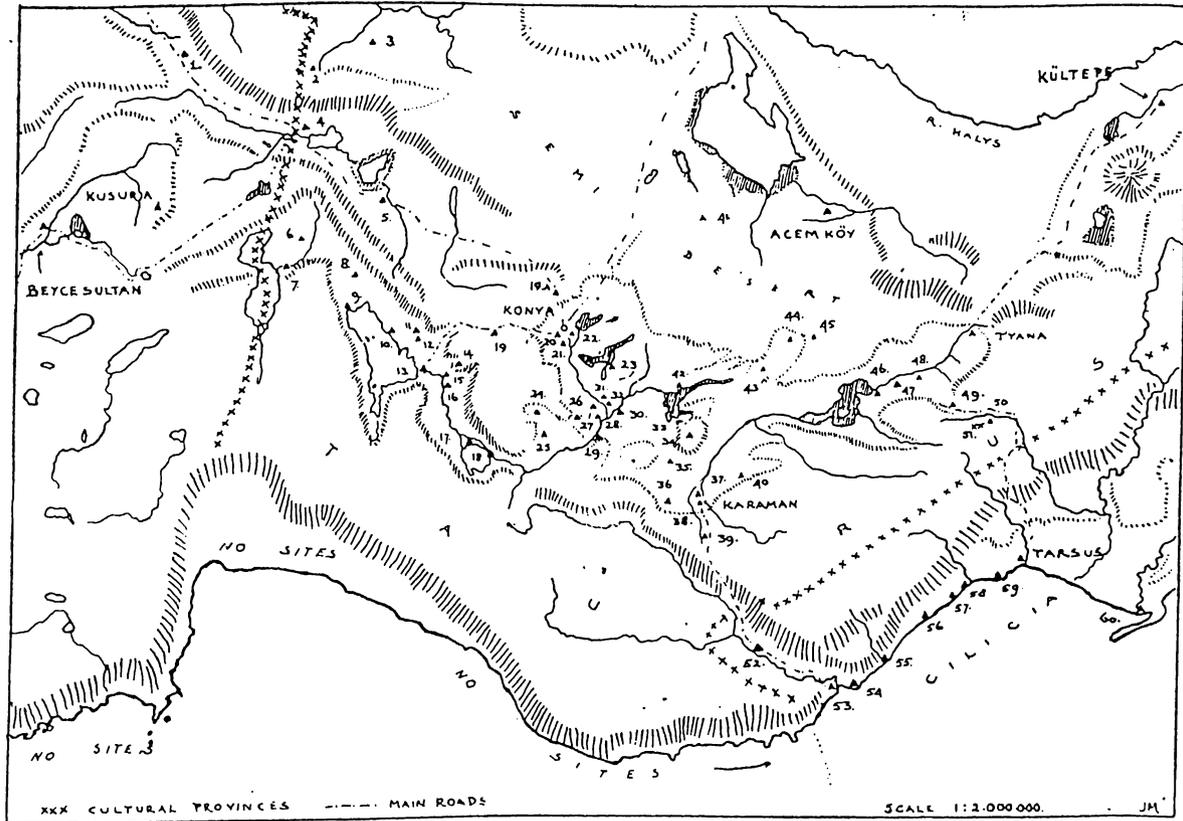


Fig. 12d. The Gulf of İskenderun  
(Turkey Vol. 1: fig. 25)



KEY TO THE NUMBERED SITES.

- |                          |                        |                                |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Akviran H.            | 21. Konya East H.      | 42. Kara H.                    |
| 2. Tez H.                | 22. Evderesi H.        | 43. Karapınar H.               |
| 3. Hisar H.              | 23. Domuzboğanlayan H. | 44. Tilkili H.                 |
| 4. Bolvadin H.           | 24. Hatunsaray H.      | 45. Emirgazi H.                |
| 5. Akşehir H.            | 25. Kara H. II.        | 46. Çiller H.                  |
| 6. Ören H.               | 26. Alibey H.          | 47. Kara H. (Ereğli)           |
| 7. Gelendost H.          | 27. Sircali H.         | 48. Zencirli H.                |
| 8. Karaçayır. H.         | 28. Batum H.           | 49. Hantepe.                   |
| 9. Hozat H.              | 29. Tuzmas H.          | 50. Seive Tepe.                |
| 10. Kesilmiş H.          | 30. Seydi Han H.       | 51. Bulgarmaden (silver mines) |
| 11. Eflatun Pınar        | 31. Ilmek H.           | 52. Maltepe.                   |
| 12. Beyşehir Huyuk C.    | 32. Çumra H. C.        | 53. Silifke Castle Hill.       |
| 13. Beyşehir H.          | 33. Kizıladağ,         | 54. Tekirköy H.                |
| 14. Fassiler.            | 34. Karadağ.           | 55. Lamas Castle Hill.         |
| 15. Karahisar H.         | 35. Mandasun. H.       | 56. Tömükkale (Elvanlı).       |
| 16. Evreği H.            | 36. Illisre H.         | 57. Soli                       |
| 17. Büyük Tepe           | 37. Karaman H.         | 58. Yümüktepe (Mersin)         |
| 18. Ortakaraviran H. II. | 38. Hüyükdeğirmendere  | 59. Kazanlı H.                 |
| 19. Kizilviran H.        | 39. Kozlubucak H.      | 60. Domuz H.                   |
| 19a. Sızma H.            | 40. Büyük Günü H.      |                                |
| 20. Kara H. (Konya)      | 41. Tosun H.           |                                |

Fig. 13. Second millennium sites in the Konya Plain and the Neighborhood (Mellaart 1958)

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	49	39	43	33	25	23	31	23	24	24	42	47
NE	9	4	3	2	2	3	2	1	4	6	5	9
E	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	0	0	1	1
SE	6	6	2	7	10	9	5	5	6	5	2	1
S	9	13	21	18	18	16	17	14	13	11	7	6
SW	7	8	9	7	7	9	9	10	11	13	9	7
W	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	1	0	1	1	1
NW	9	12	5	5	4	6	5	3	4	4	4	5
Calm	14	18	18	25	30	32	28	42	38	36	30	23

Table 1a. The wind patterns in Antalya in % (Turkey Vol. 1, *Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division 1942, p.402*).

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	563	495	508	361	280	145	165	294	543	656	639	612
NNE	459	365	324	254	210	161	136	152	223	274	379	455
NE	560	427	419	352	331	286	249	209	194	223	316	527
ENE	210	174	136	119	156	157	149	55	54	76	145	229
E	234	174	117	112	203	247	164	77	34	66	121	224
ESE	178	120	70	55	84	123	103	33	14	45	104	157
SE	172	146	118	86	93	116	112	57	24	73	160	136
SSE	87	118	131	101	119	167	207	157	82	98	114	105
S	119	178	231	201	221	274	319	309	223	239	196	95
SSW	73	104	243	327	452	486	588	568	453	307	149	86
SW	70	137	286	444	581	703	788	692	524	375	195	67
WSW	30	24	82	135	150	180	141	167	96	53	29	20
W	26	32	80	107	168	140	124	149	127	47	26	15
WNW	53	38	57	92	85	44	40	76	77	46	22	27
NW	233	285	298	255	149	83	108	157	214	269	260	229
NNW	453	391	419	337	185	125	129	259	336	491	448	532

Table 1b: Wind patterns in Mersin according to the occurrences per month within 42 years (General Courtesy of Meteorological Department in Ankara)

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	818	640	564	461	331	199	106	182	341	531	629	716
NNE	811	567	433	287	238	136	73	91	212	383	518	692
NE	514	448	367	249	173	125	49	66	156	230	377	540
ENE	253	198	220	134	114	88	40	42	58	110	192	244
E	161	128	126	118	91	73	57	72	100	145	169	188
ESE	101	98	118	133	114	89	109	122	113	141	153	107
SE	74	79	151	177	204	254	273	264	168	159	115	86
SSE	72	87	180	213	311	350	441	356	255	194	122	62
S	34	126	245	335	458	533	616	499	422	291	142	80
SSW	55	119	200	280	388	488	562	508	373	201	104	65
SW	79	101	184	244	331	359	450	409	288	178	78	63
WSW	61	59	92	102	108	147	148	140	113	67	48	56
W	54	64	69	78	78	88	84	88	82	92	56	63
WNW	25	42	51	66	45	56	67	58	65	59	47	50
NW	64	67	91	66	70	69	33	39	40	70	77	73
NNW	219	211	188	164	130	100	48	67	122	192	202	237

Table 1c: Wind patterns in Adana according to the occurrences per month within 41 years (General Courtesy of Meteorological Department in Ankara)

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	204	264	247	243	270	315	293	171	155	229	262	202
NNE	119	124	138	167	198	199	167	107	72	97	143	127
NE	108	127	151	153	161	138	163	135	74	101	112	104
ENE	69	77	98	100	105	91	72	62	52	69	53	83
E	65	83	90	82	55	44	26	49	47	59	66	65
ESE	160	146	145	114	57	35	37	48	99	144	173	157
SE	533	522	486	294	163	99	81	140	273	472	570	698
SSE	526	417	305	213	121	65	44	92	231	421	543	578
S	681	416	325	223	159	91	65	135	299	464	523	708
SSW	243	190	185	168	140	114	97	128	202	217	184	205
SW	146	134	192	177	184	170	228	212	208	126	96	117
WSW	74	71	150	215	339	391	507	435	281	111	61	62
W	109	120	216	307	428	539	717	754	413	187	100	82
WNW	82	112	154	222	340	359	392	374	290	176	85	60
NW	168	178	292	308	388	448	417	426	375	321	185	135
NNW	132	157	186	174	249	183	164	120	125	190	149	121

Table 1d: Wind patterns in Iskenderun according to the occurrences per month within 42 years (General Courtesy of Meteorological Department in Ankara)

Date	Kings	Queens
after 1600	1. Hattušili I.	
1531 Conquest of Babylon	2. Muršili I. (son of 1.)	
	3. Hantili I. (brother in law of 2.)	
	4. Zidanta I. (son in law of 3.)	
	5. Amunna (son of 4.)	
	6. Huzzija I.	
after 1500 Throne-edict	7. Telipinu (son of 5., Brother in law of 6.)	
	8. Alluwamma (son in law of 7.)	Harapšili
	9. Hantili II.	
	10. Zidanta II.	
	11. Huzzija II.	
	12. Muwatalli I.	
	13. Tarhuwaili ?	
	14. Hattušili II. ?	
	15. Tuthalija II. (= I. ?)	Nikalmati
	16. Arnuwanda I. (son in law of 15.)	Ašmunikal
ca. 1345-1320	17. Tuthalija III. (son of 16.)	
	18. Šuppiluliuma I. (son of 17.)	Daduhepa Hinti Malnigal
	19. Arnuwanda II. (son of 18.)	
	20. Muršili II. (son of 18.)	Malnigal Gaššulawija
ca. 1275 Battle at Qadeš	21. Muwatalli II.	Danuhepa
	22. Muršili III./Urhitesup (son of 21.)	Danuhepa
ca. 1265-1235	23. Hattušili III. son of 20.)	Puduhepa
ca. 1259 Treaty with Egypt		
	24. Tuthalija IV. (son of 23.)	
	25. Kurunta ? (son of 21.)	
	26. Arnuwanda III. (son of 24.)	
around 1200	27. Šuppiluliuma II. (son of 24.)	

Table 2. List of the Hittite Great Kings (according to short chronology; after Neve 1996: fig. 238).

STRATIGRAPHIC TABLE: YÜMÜK TEPE, MERSIN

Metres	Levels	Period or Age	Relations	Special features
25	I	<i>Historic</i> A.D. 1100-1500	Islamic	Buildings: Persian and Mamluk pottery
24	II	A.D. 700-900	Byzantine	Kufic inscription: coins: glazed pottery
23	III	1200-500 B.C.	Aegean area and Cyprus	Buildings and East Greek pottery
22	V	c. 1500-1200 B.C.	Hittite area and Cyprus	Fortifications on Hittite model
21	VI			
20	VIII			
	VII	A Pre-Hittite Level		Foundations of fortifications
	IX	c. 1800-1500 B.C.	Syrian and early Hittite	Painted pottery, mostly Syrian
	X			
19	XIa, b	c. 1950-1800 B.C.	Kültepe, Tarsus, and Syria: Troy V	Pedestalled goblets: 'eye' jugs: 'red-cross' bowl
18	XIz			
		<i>Prehistoric</i> Late COPPER AGE c. 2500-1950 B.C.	Troy II-IV	Levels mostly denuded
17	XIIa	Early COPPER AGE c. 2900-2500	Anatolian (Troy I)	White-on-black pottery
16	XIIb	Late CHALCOLITHIC (Before 2900 B.C.)	Uruk and Uqair: Ubaidian influence dominant	Uruk grey and scratched pottery, above typical N. Ubaidian styles
15	XIII			
	XIV			
	XV			
13	XVI	CHALCOLITHIC CLIMAX	Transitional	Elaborate fortification
12	XVII	Middle CHALCOLITHIC	Halafian	Copper tools and weapons: Halafian pottery
	XIX			
11	XX to	Early CHALCOLITHIC	Hassuna and earliest Ninevah	Decline of lithic industry: painted and incised chevrons
10	XXIII			
9	XXIV	Proto-CHALCOLITHIC	Hassuna	Silos, spinning: painted pottery
8	XXV	Upper NEOLITHIC	Local culture	Stone-walled rooms: sheepfolds
	XXVI			
7	XXVII	Lower NEOLITHIC remains		Finest weapons of obsidian from the Anatolian plateau
6	Approx.	Lower NEOLITHIC remains		Numerous floors of occupation and burnt strata: low stone walls: red and black burnished pottery: obsidian and flint industry
5	XXVIII			
4	to			
3	XXXII			
2	XXXIII			
1	Approx. XXXIII			
0		Water-table: deposits continuing beneath: bottom not reached		

Table 3. Stratigraphy of Mersin Yumuk Tepe  
(Garstang 1953: 2)

Section A

<u>Goldman 1956</u>	<u>New System 1987</u>
	Level
The ca. 7.50 m. Level The Earlier Terrace Rooms to the South	A. I: The *7.50 Unit The Room 40 Unit
The ca. 7.00-6.50 m. Level Rooms 20 and 23 (from The 6.50-5.50 Level)	A. II: The *7.00-6.50 Unit The Cellar Unit
The ca. 6.00 m. Level	A. III: The Pithos Room** The Lower Drift Slope
The 6.50-5.50 m. Level	A. IV: The Room L Unit The Room 12 Unit The *7.55 Pavement
The 6.50-5.50 m. Level	A. V: The *5.00-5.70 Unit The Sand Kerpiç Covered Unit The Upper Drift Slope
The 5.00 m. Phase The Later Terrace	A. VI: The Pottery Storage Room Unit The Terrace House Unit The Sand Kerpiç Covered Unit
	A. VII-VIII: The Intermediate Levels 1 and 2
The "Hittite" Temple	A. IX: The "Hittite" Temple
Late Bronze I Ib	A. X: Houses 1-5

\*\*Goldman's Bronze Age House is not included here as it could not be definitely associated with any other architectural remains. The pottery from that structure is included in Appendix 1.

Section B

<u>Goldman 1956</u>	<u>New System 1987</u>
The East, West and South Houses	R. IX.1: The East, West and South Houses B. IX.2: The Destruction Debris
Units L and R	B. X: Units L and R

Table 4. Stratigraphy of the Middle and Late Bronze Age levels at Tarsus Gözlu Kule (Slane 1987: 11-12)

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Phase	Period/s	Date
I	1 <sup>41</sup>	Medieval (?10th-13th c. A.D.)
II	3 A - 2	Hellenistic (ca. 330 - ca. 50 B.C.)
III:1	7 - 3 B	Late Iron Age (7th-4th c. B.C.)
III:2	11 - 8	Middle Iron Age (9th-8th c. B.C.)
III:3	12	Early Iron Age (?12th-10th c. B.C.)
IV:1	14-13	Late Bronze II (13th c. B.C.)
V	—	Middle Bronze Age (2000-1500 B.C.)
VI	—	Early Bronze Age (third millennium B.C.)

- ? [earlier occupations not assigned phases as of close of 1997 season]

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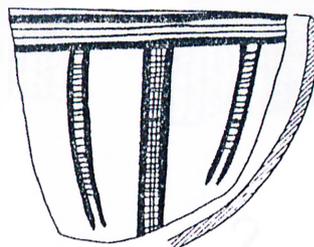
Table 5. Stratigraphy of Kinet Höyük  
(Gates forthcoming)

Time	Historical Period	Büyükkale Plateau	Büyükkale NW-Hang	Lower City	Upper City
20./19. cent. B.C.	Pre-Hittite	Vg - Vc	9	5	-
19./18. cent. B.C.	Assyrian Colonies	Vb/a, IVd	8	4	-
ca. 17.-15. cent B.C.	Old-Hittite	IVc	7	3	-
15./14. cent B.C.	Old Empire	IVb/a	6	2	-
13. cent. B.C.	New Empire	IIIb	5	1b	O.St. 4
		IIIa		1a	O.St. 3
					O.St. 2
mid 8.-mid 7. cent B.C.	Old-Phrygian	IIb/a	4/3	(graves)	-
7./6. cent. B.C.	New-Phrygian	Ib/a	2	(graves)	O.St. 1
3. cent B.C. - 3. cent. AD	Hellenistic and Roman Period	few relicts	1	(graves)	-

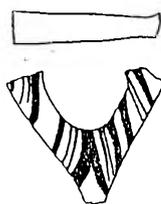
Table 6. Stratigrafic sequence of Boğazköy (after Neve 1996: fig. 239)

Cypriot Periods	Absolute dates (B.C.)
MC III	1700-1600
Short gap	1600-1575
LC IA	1575-1525
LC IB	1525-1425
LC IIA	1425/1400-1375
LC IIB	1375-1300
LC IIC	1300-1230
LC IIIA:1	1220/10-1190
LC IIIA: 2	1190-1150
LC IIIB: 1	1150-1125/1100
LC IIIB: 2	1125-1100/1075

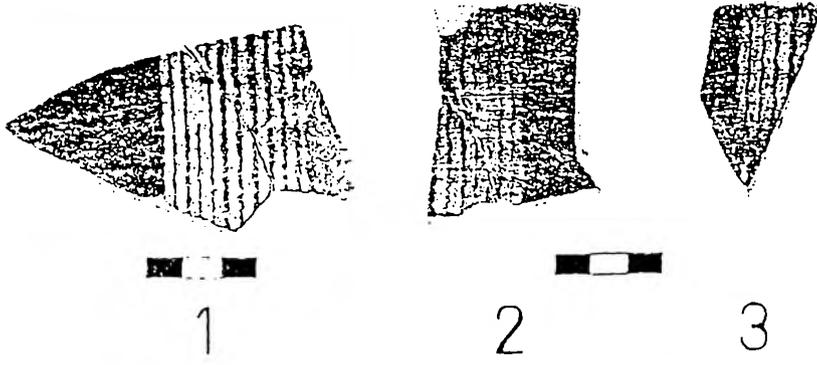
Table7. Late Bronze Age Chronology of Cyprus  
(After Dikaio 1971: 496)

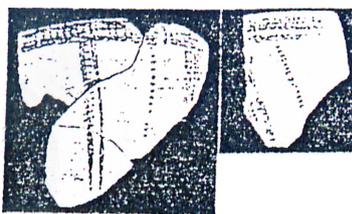


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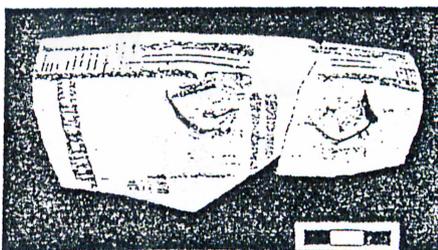
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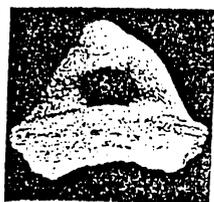
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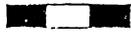
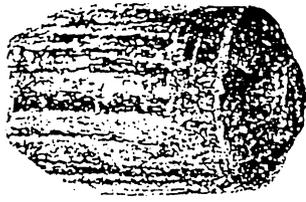


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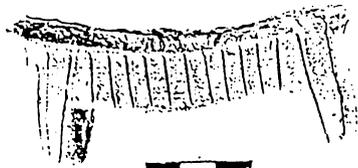
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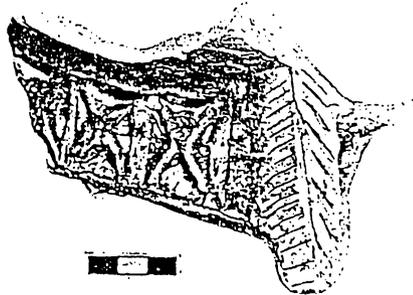
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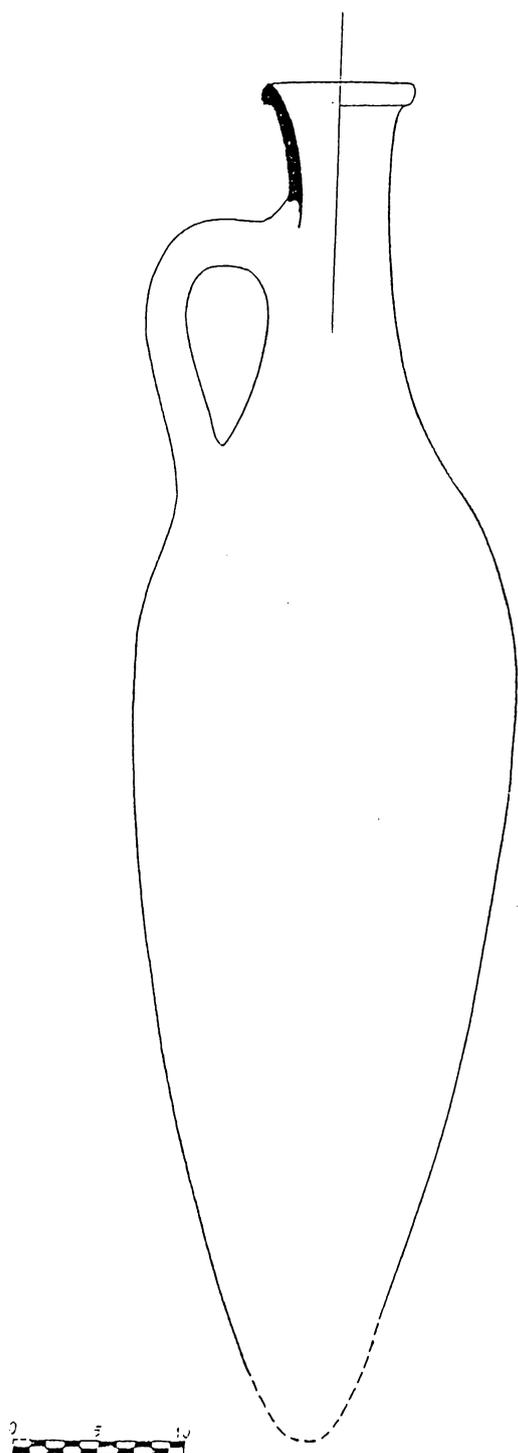


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Tarsus



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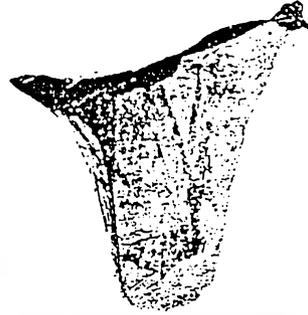
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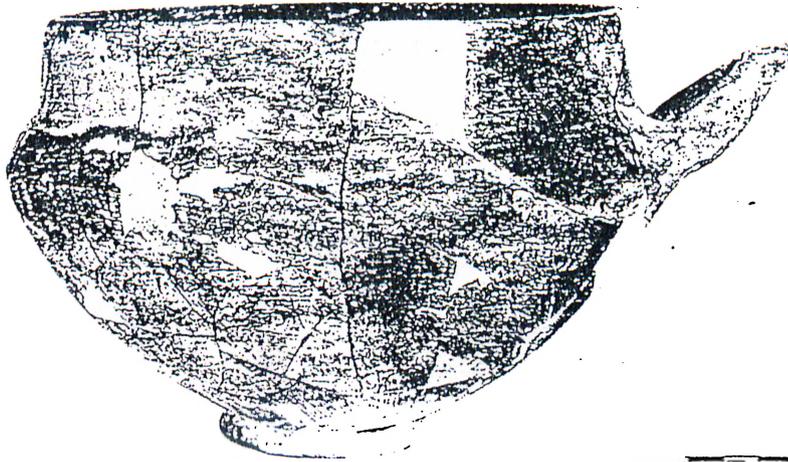
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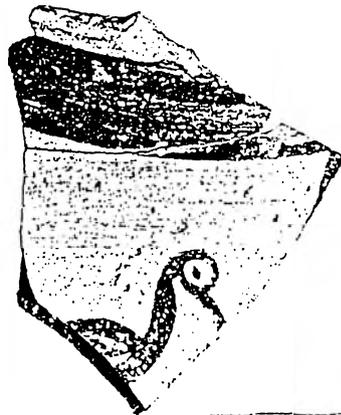
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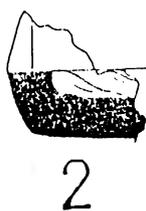
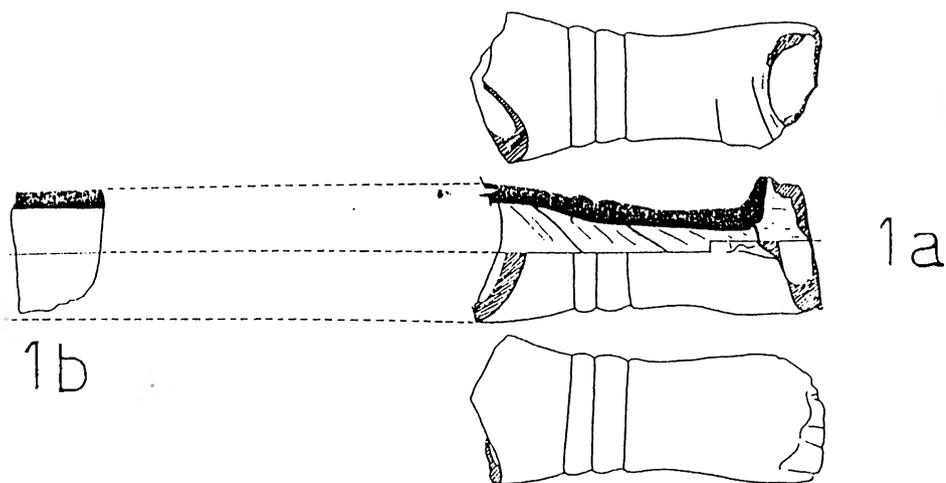


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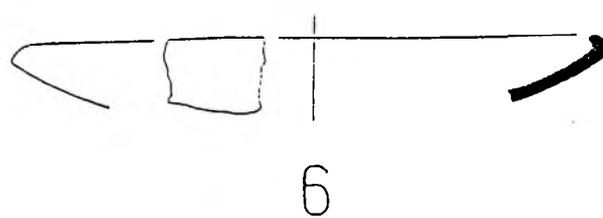
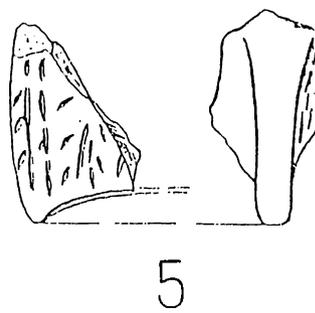
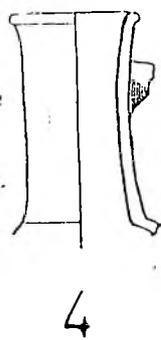


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Tarsus



Scale 1:2.5.





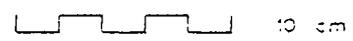
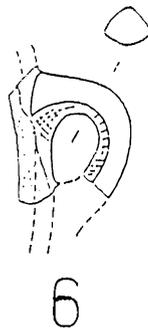
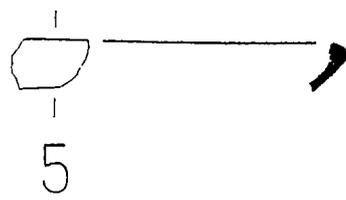
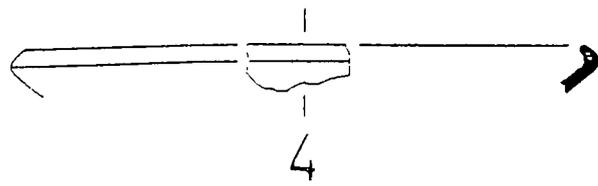
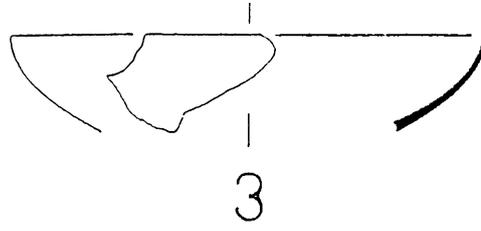
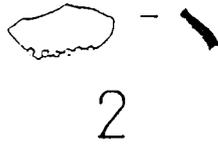
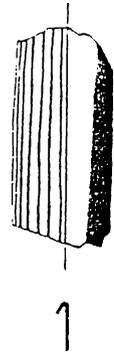
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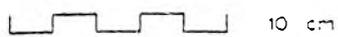


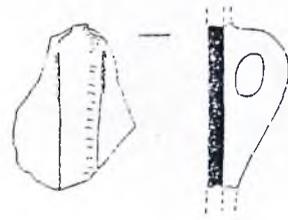
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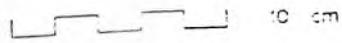


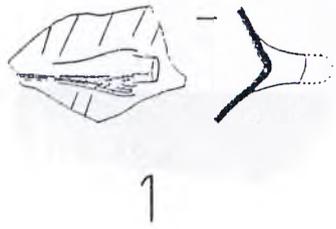
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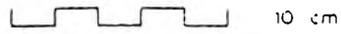


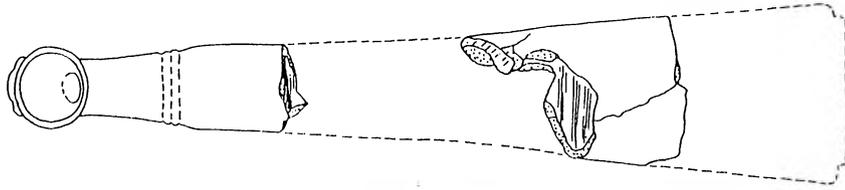
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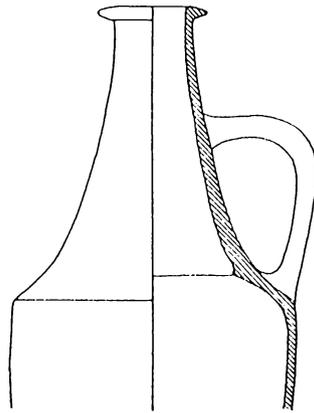
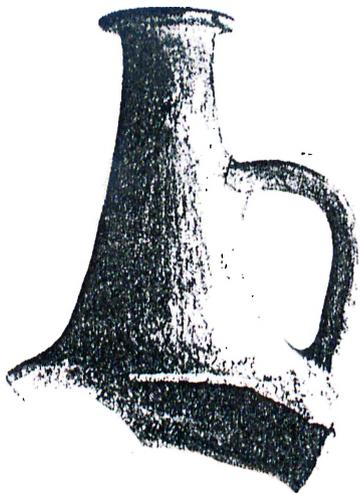
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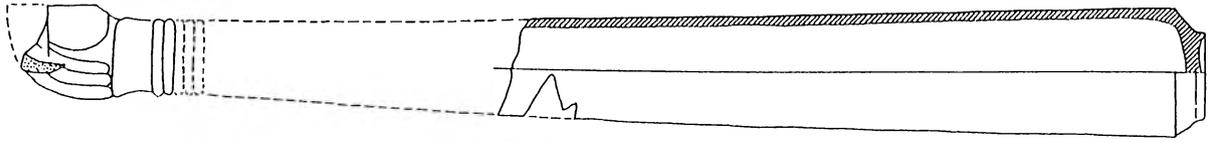
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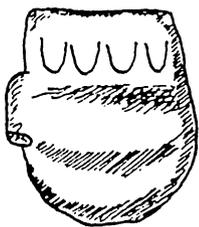
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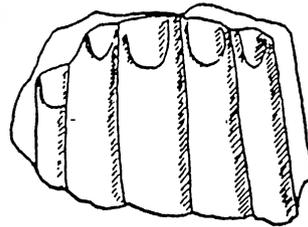
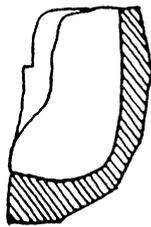
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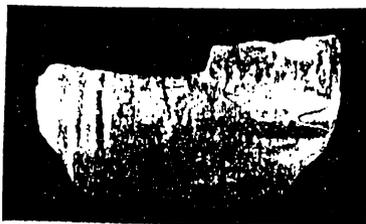
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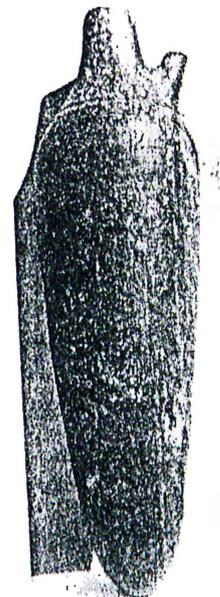
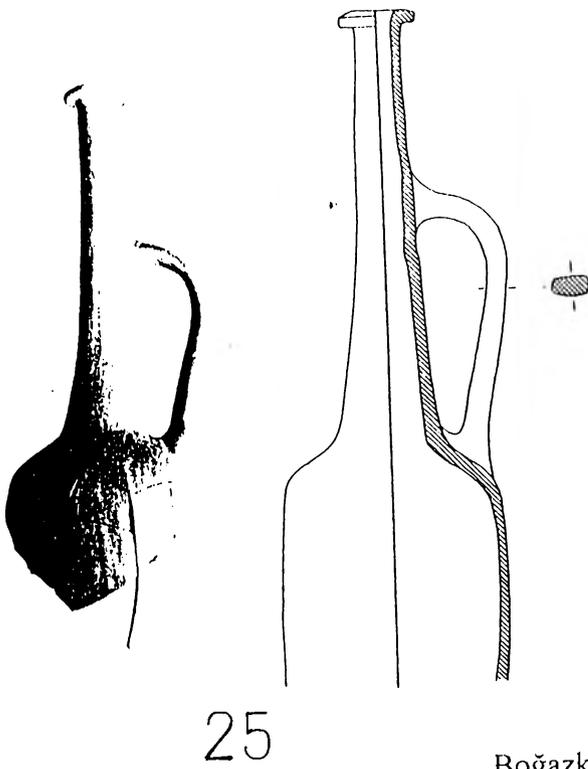
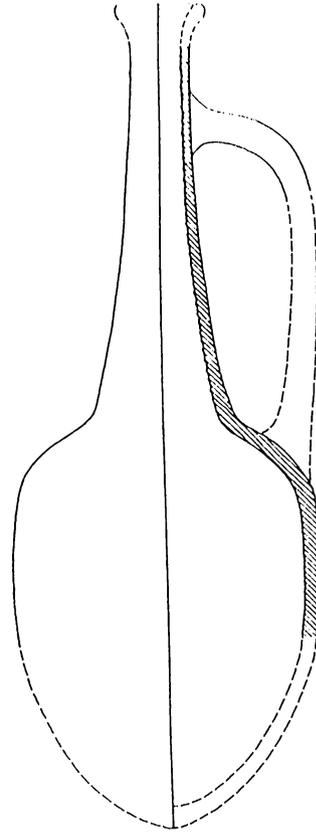
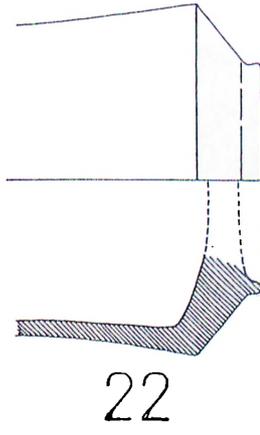
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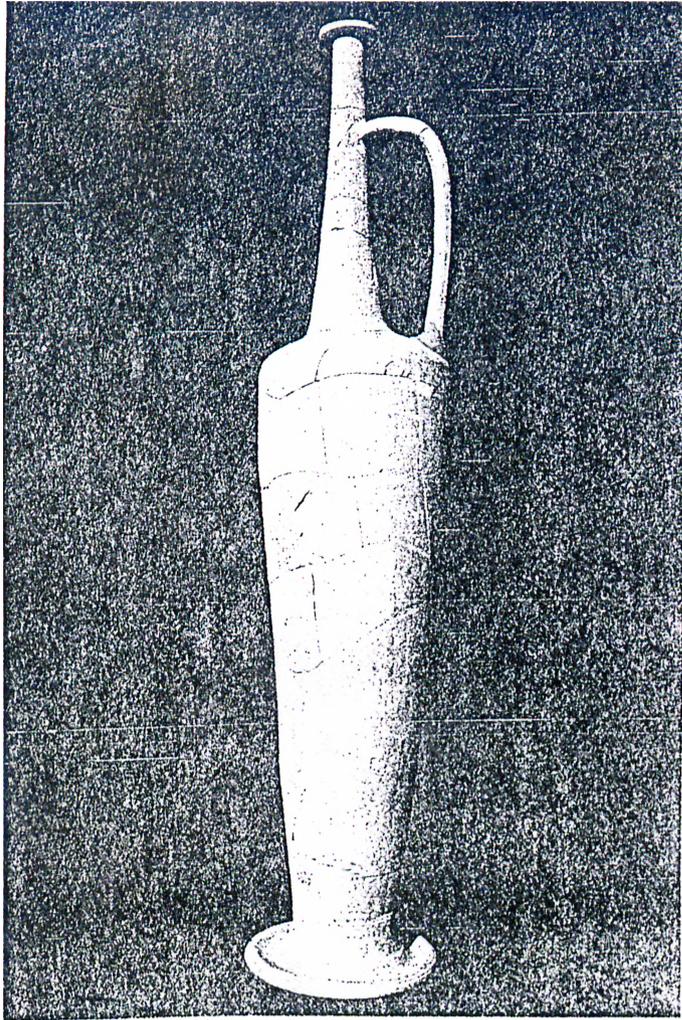


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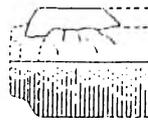




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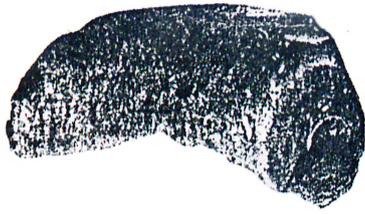


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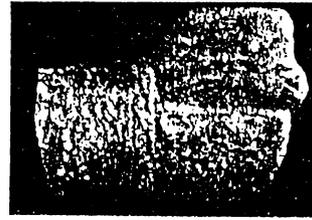


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Boğazköy  
Upper City



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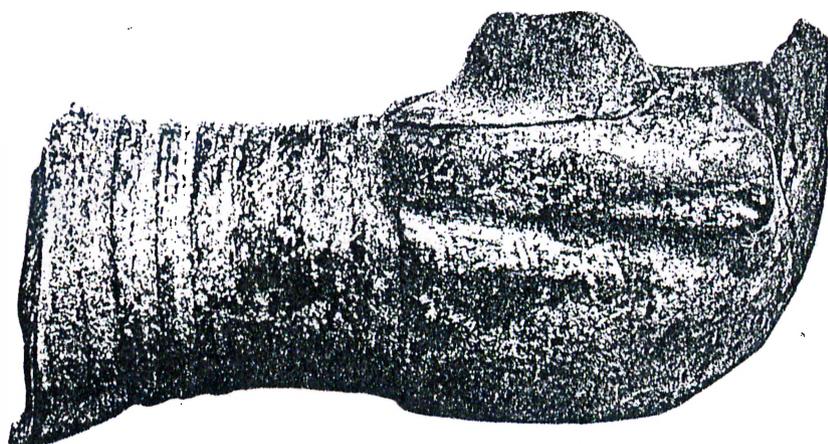
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Boğazköy

Uncertain date and context



41



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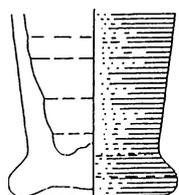
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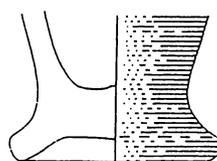
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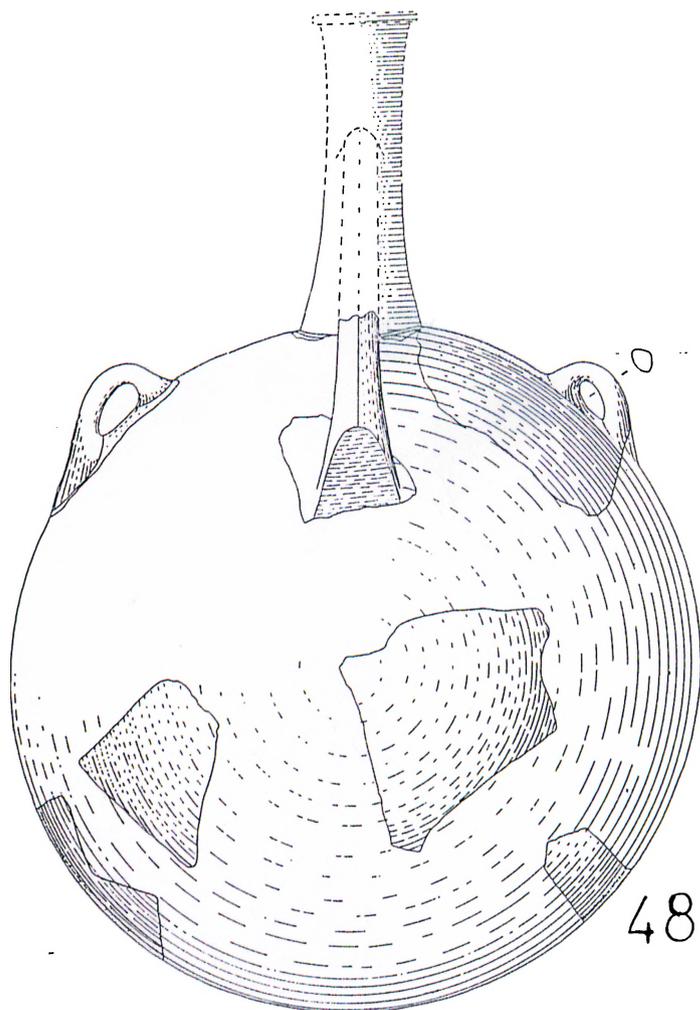
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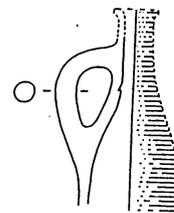
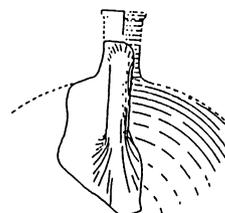
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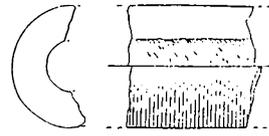
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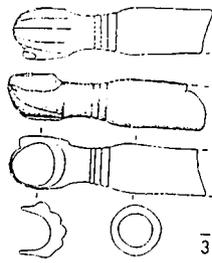
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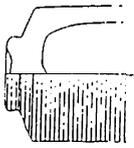
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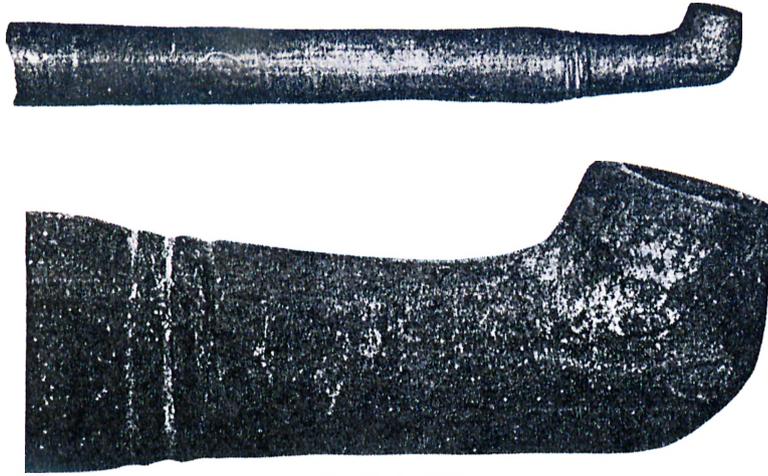
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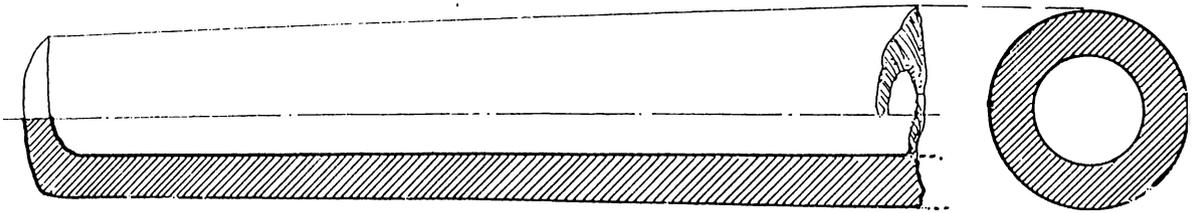
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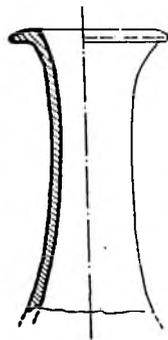
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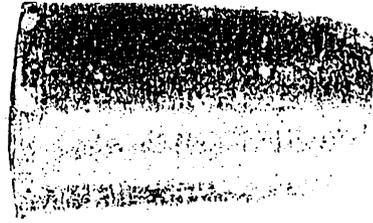
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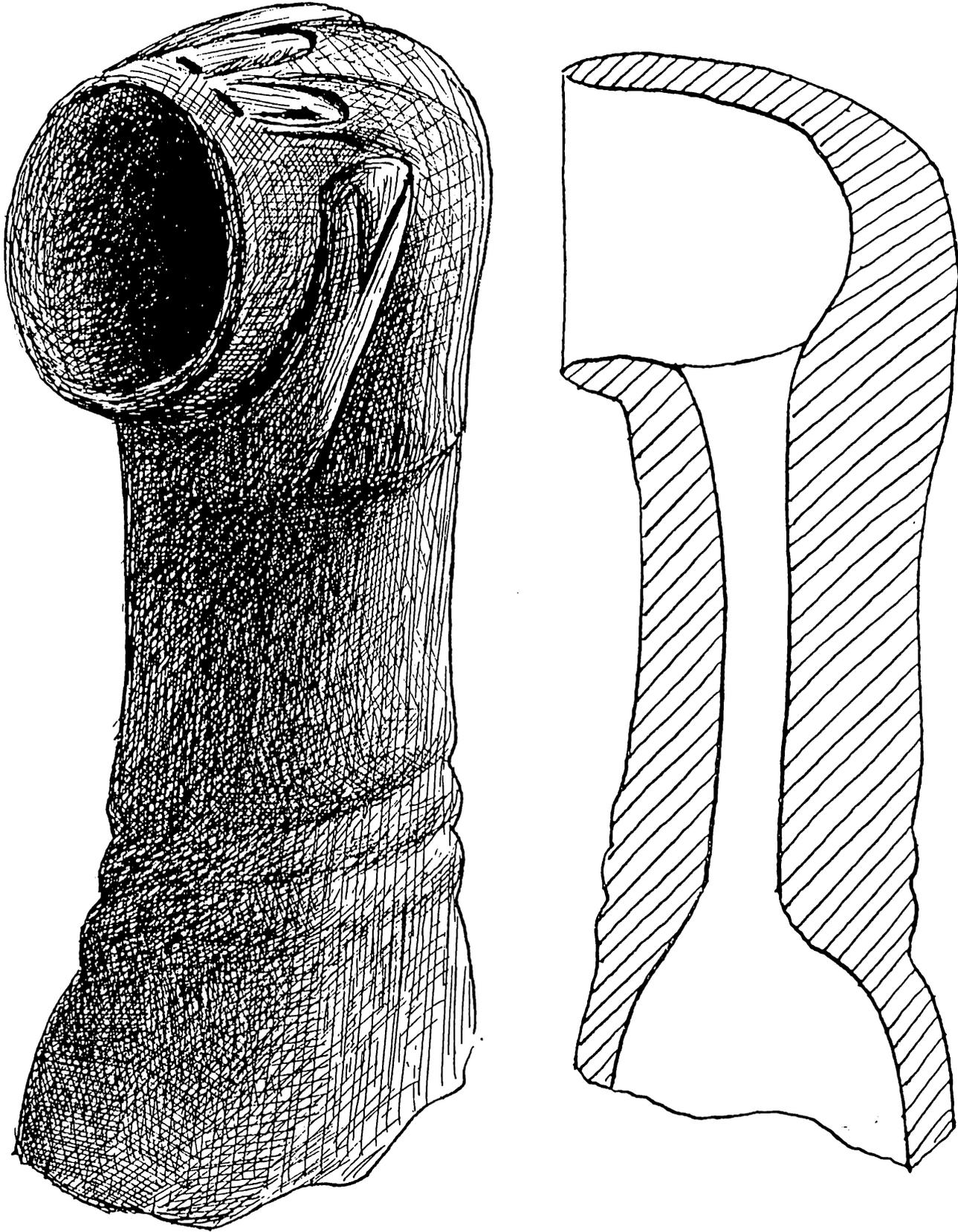
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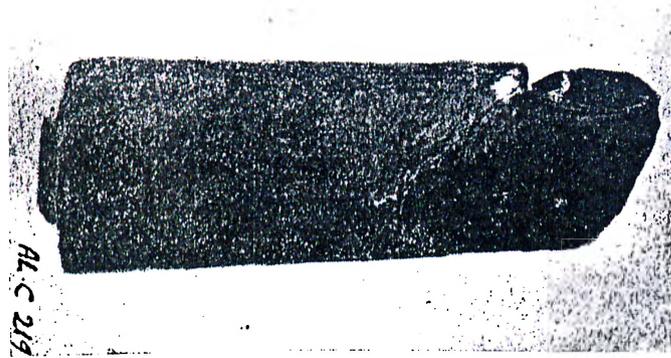
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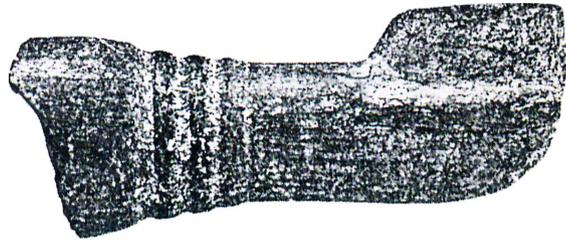
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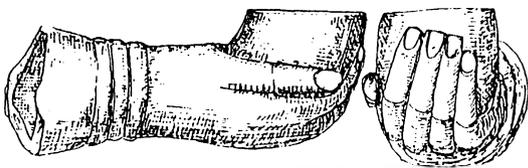
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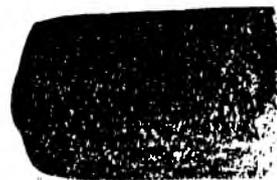
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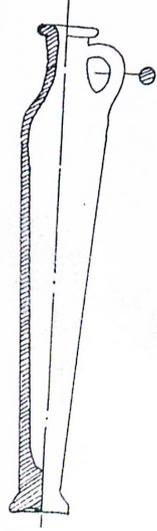
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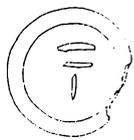
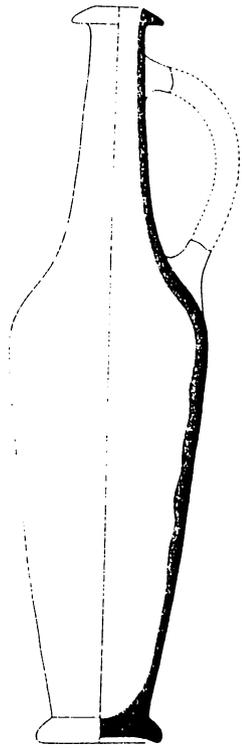
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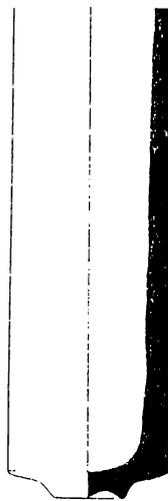
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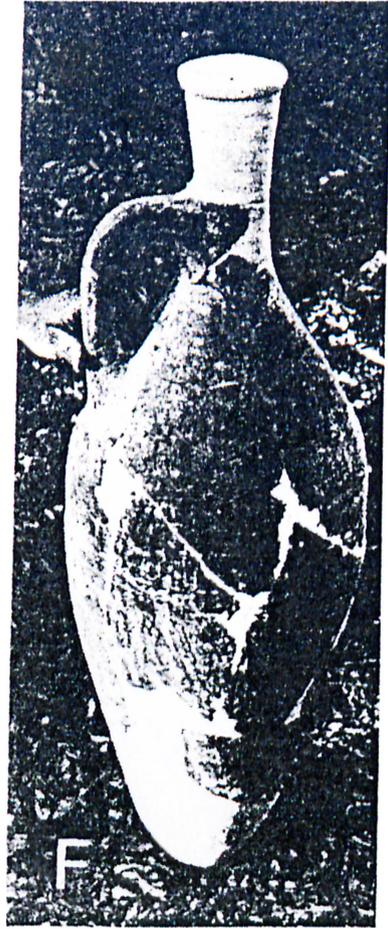
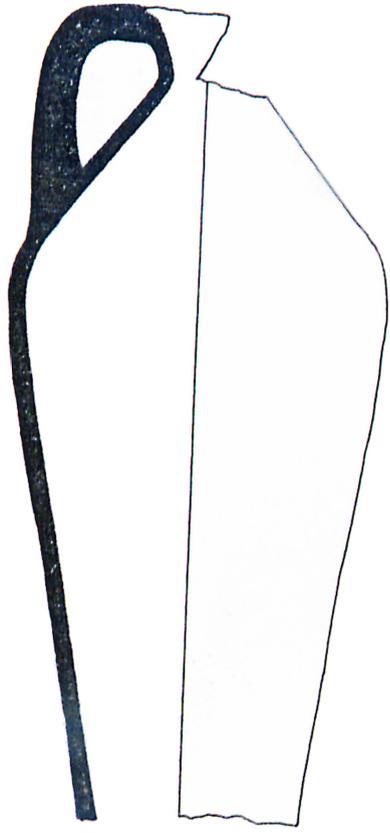


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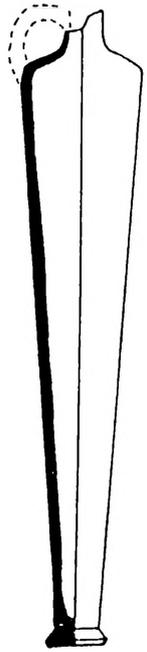


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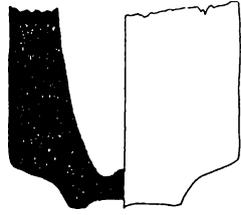
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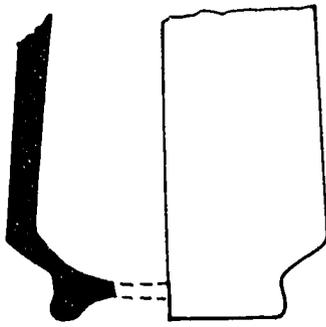
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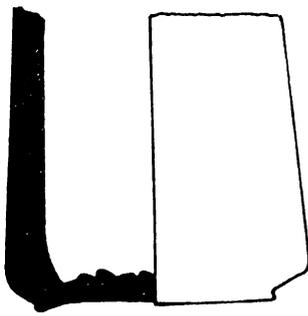
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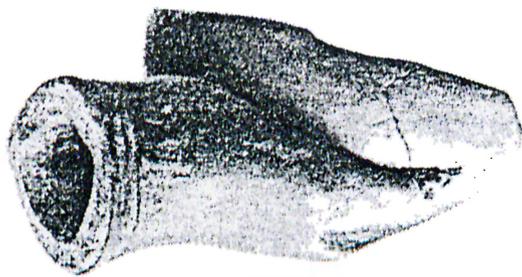
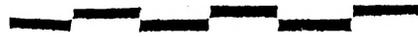
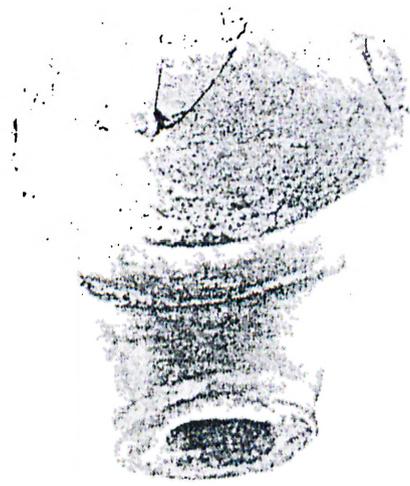
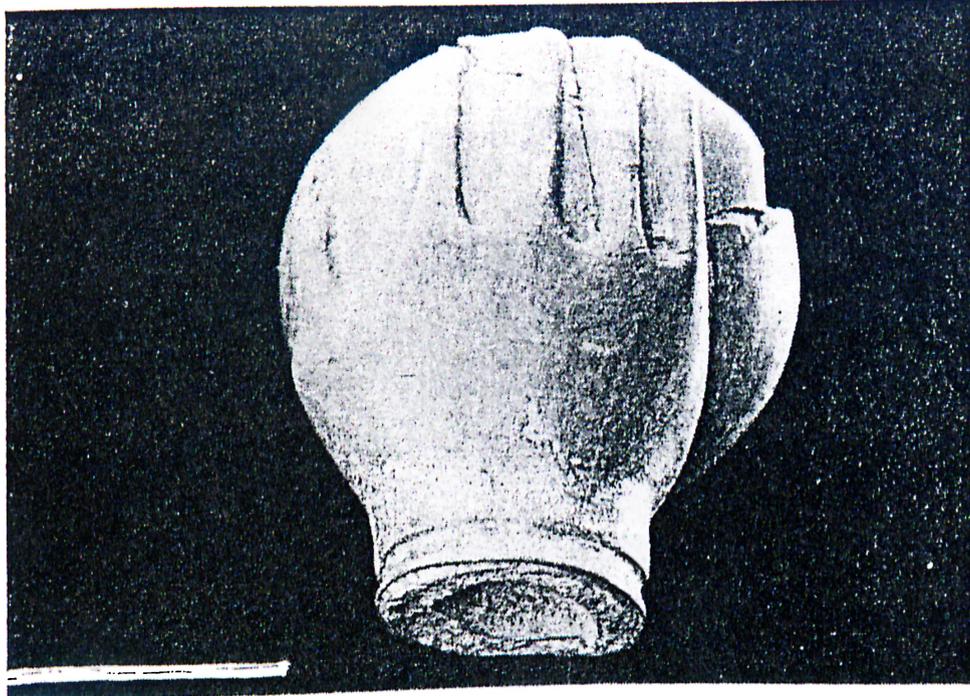
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5



Korucutepe

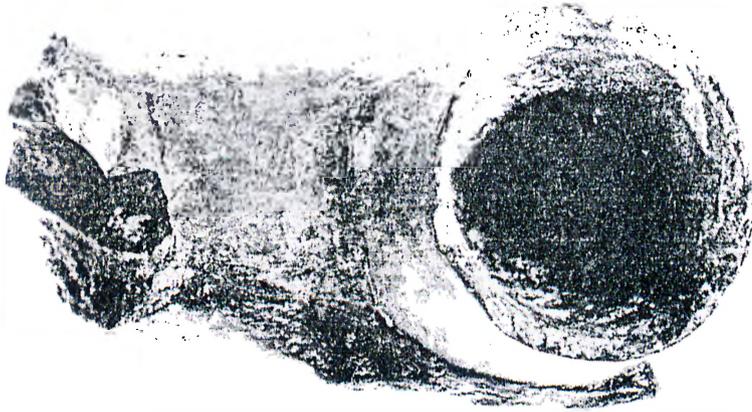


6

Korucutepe



a



b



c

7



8



9



1



2



1



A



B

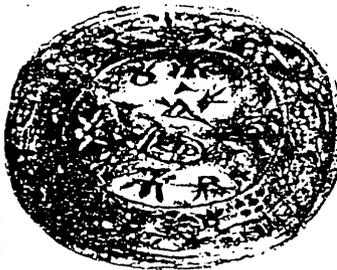
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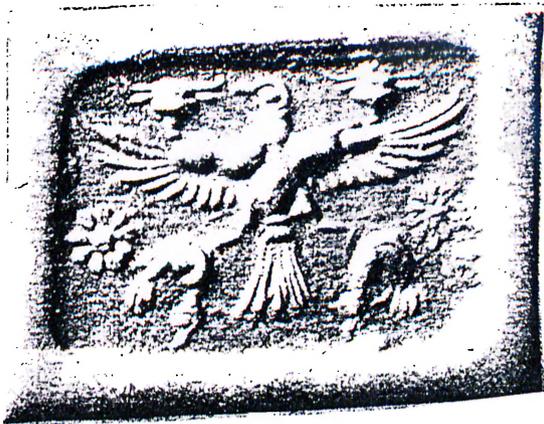
C



2



3



4



5



1