

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF WESTERN  
ANATOLIA DURING THE (L)BA

A Master's Thesis

by  
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BILKENT UNIVERSITY



To my grandpa

I wish the whole world could have been lucky enough to know him

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ANATOLIA DURING THE (L)BA

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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ANKARA

SEPTEMBER 2021

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Archaeology.

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## ABSTRACT

### THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF WESTERN ANATOLIA DURING THE (L)BA

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The socio-political structure of western Anatolia during the (Late) Bronze Age is the focus of this thesis. It is visible that the western Anatolian Bronze Age is relatively an understudied subject in comparison to Central Anatolia. One of the biggest problems of the Anatolian Bronze Age studies is that the relative works are either based on archaeological data or textual sources. This paper aims to use both archaeological data and textual sources to reach a broader understanding of the socio-political structure of the region during the (L)BA. To manage this, the text chapter studies different Hittite texts that provide insights about western Anatolia. Based on these texts, five different tables were

created, and they present terms related to socio-political structure. These are geographical/political terms, terms related to residents of foreign lands, terms related to military power, terms related to administrative offices. The archaeology chapter studies the socio-political structure of the western Anatolian Bronze Age from a general to specific approach by starting with the settlement types and patterns, geographical and (material) cultural zones in the region, and continue with the case studies from different parts of western Anatolia as Beycesultan, Kaymakçı, Troy, and Bademgediği Tepe. By combining both textual and archaeological data, it is hoped that this thesis will bring attention to the western Anatolian Bronze Age and present a more comprehensive perspective on its socio-political structure.

Keywords: Western Anatolia, Bronze Age, Hittite, Socio-political structure

## ÖZET

(GEÇ) TUNÇ ÇAĞINDA BATI ANADOLUNUN SOSYOPOLİTK YAPISI

Özbaş, Beril

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

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Batı Anadolu'nun (Geç) Tunç Çağı'ndaki sosyo-politik yapısı bu tezin odak noktasıdır. Batı Anadolu Tunç Çağı'nın Orta Anadolu'ya kıyasla nispeten daha az çalışılan bir konu olduğu görülmektedir. Anadolu Tunç Çağı çalışmalarının en büyük sorunlarından biri, ilgili çalışmaların ya arkeolojik verilere ya da metinsel kaynaklara dayanmasıdır. Bu makale, (L)BA döneminde bölgenin sosyo-politik yapısını daha kapsamlı bir şekilde anlamak için hem arkeolojik verileri hem de metinsel kaynakları kullanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu sağlamak amacıyla metin bölümü, Batı Anadolu hakkında bilgi sağlayan farklı Hitit metinlerini inceler. Bu metinlerden hareketle beş farklı tablo oluşturulmuş ve sosyo-politik yapıya ilişkin terimler sunulmuştur. Bunlar coğrafi/siyasi terimler,



yabancı topraklarda ikamet edenlerle ilgili terimler, askeri güçle ilgili terimler, idari makamlarla ilgili terimlerdir. Arkeoloji bölümü, Batı Anadolu Tunç Çağı'nın sosyo-politik yapısını, bölgedeki yerleşim türleri ve örüntüleri, coğrafi ve (maddi) kültürel bölgeleri ile başlayarak genelden özele doğru bir yaklaşımla inceler ve Batı Anadolu'nun farklı lokasyonlardan vaka çalışmaları (Beycesultan, Kaymakçı, Truva ve Bademgediği Tepe) ile devam eder. Bu tezin hem metinsel hem de arkeolojik verileri birleştirerek Batı Anadolu Tunç Çağı'na dikkat çekmesi ve sosyo-politik yapısı hakkında daha kapsamlı bir bakış açısı sunması umulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı Anadolu, Tunç Çağı, Hitit, Sosyopolitik yapı

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Western Anatolia was a homeland for many different groups of people during the Late Bronze Age (1650-1180 BC). Constructing a complete history of western Anatolian Late Bronze Age is not an easy task due to the scarcity of historical sources. Hittite texts provide our main historical information of western Anatolian Bronze Age. Besides Hittite texts, there are also limited Egyptian sources from el-Amarna that concern western Anatolia and possible mentions from Linear B tablets about western Anatolian sites.

According to our sources, the most prominent polities in western Anatolia during the LBA were Arzawa and Ahhiyawa. In my thesis, I am going to focus mostly on Arzawa, because it presents the most data about the socio-political structure of western Anatolian during the Bronze Age. In the Hittite texts, the name Arzawa is attested from the reign of Hattusili I to the reign of Mursili II (c. 1700–1600). In Hittite documents, it is used to refer to a geographical region as well as to a specific polity. According to the textual record, an important part of western Anatolia belonged to a polity called Arzawa. The name Arzawa appears many times in Hittite texts, often within a context of conflict between Hittites and Arzawa. Arzawa could also be used in a more general sense, as a geopolitical term. When used as a geopolitical term, it can refer to up to 5 states or kingdoms that together formed the Arzawa Lands such as Mira, Seha River Land, Wilusa, and Hapalla. (Bryce 2012, 365). Other polity names that were mentioned in Hittite texts for western Anatolia are Ahhiyawa, Milawanda, Lukka, Kuwaliya, Masa, Parha, and Karkisa. Yet, it is important to be aware that the political terminology of the Hittites is not clear: It is not certain whether any geographical name referred to a political, a social, or a geographical entity in a specific context. Ahhiyawa, another key polity in western Anatolia, is first attested in a text called the Indictment of Madduwatta, where it is



written as *Ahhiya*, and later mentioned as *Ahhiyawa* in *Tawagalawa letter* written to the king of Ahhiyawa dated back to the empire period. The texts suggest that Land of Ahhiyawa was located in western Anatolian coast and imply that Miletus was under its control. Ahhiyawa was associated with the *Achaean*s mentioned in Homer by Emil Forrer.

After completing a term project on identity of western Anatolia focusing on *Ahhiyawa*, I have noticed several gaps in the study of western Anatolian Bronze Age, especially questions like “who were the locals; what were their relations with their neighbors; how were they governed; whom did they believe in; what did they celebrate?”. However, for western Anatolian Bronze Age, these questions are not always possible to answer since the main problem is that there is almost no written evidence from the region and all we have is archaeological evidence from the excavations. When considering all these fundamental problems I decided to focus on the socio-political aspects of the western Anatolia during the LBA since I can get help from the Hittite textual evidence. Even though they do not present any local insights, they are still very important for reflecting western Anatolian’s socio-politics during their time.

## **1.1 Aim and research questions**

The aim of this thesis is to combine textual and archaeological evidence to reach a more complete understanding of the socio-political structure of western Anatolia, particularly the entity known as Arzawa. To do that, the thesis will question the validity of western Anatolia as an analytical concept and examine its socio-political aspects by raising the following questions.

- What do textual and archaeological data tell us about the socio-political structure of western Anatolia?
- What was the geopolitical entity called Arzawa throughout the history of its documentation?

## **1.2 Methods**

To understand western Anatolia during the BA, particularly, the geopolitical entity called Arzawa, I will combine textual and archaeological data and try to present a comprehensive picture. To manage that, this thesis is based on two main chapters for data analysis: texts and archaeology. First, I will focus on the written evidence mostly

produced by the Hittite state and most importantly, letters from Amarna as *Arzawan* sources in the archaeology chapter. In this part of the thesis, I will first describe western Anatolian LBA history based on the Hittite treaties, annals, and the letters. Then I will present the data collected from the textual sources concerning western Anatolia. The text selection is based on the Hittite tablets that mention western Anatolian kings, rulers, lands, and other socio-political indicators. In this point, the most relevant sources are the treaties between the Kings of Hatti and the Rulers/Kings of other western Anatolian polities. Then from these text I collecting regarding terms and created the tables include these terms that can help to understand the socio-political structure of western Anatolia. These terms are collected under different titles such as “geographical/political terms,” “terms related to residents of foreign lands,” “terms related to military power,” terms related to administrative offices that are relevant to socio-political aspects of a polity so that a general overview of western Anatolian political units can be understood within a better perspective.

After a comprehensive examination of the selected texts and terms that tell us about the socio-political structure of western Anatolia, in the

archaeology chapter, I will first introduce the main sites and survey projects, geographical and cultural zones of the area, and settlement patterns. Although the main data set of the thesis does not come from pottery analyses, it is still ultimately crucial to deal with ceramics in order to understand the cultural zones recognizable through the distribution of the material culture, since this is almost all we have for the region. After introducing the geographical and material cultural zones, I will continue with the case studies selected from the different parts of western Anatolia including north, center, coast, and the area that lays between the coast and the central part. These sites are of different size: three are larger settlements and one is a smaller settlement. The chosen case studies are Beycesultan, Troy, Kaymakçı and Bademgediği Tepe.

### **1.3 Theoretical Framework and Previous Scholarship on Western Anatolian Bronze Age**

First of all, one should start with definition of the term “socio-political” in order to understand what socio-political structure stands for in this thesis. According to the Collins dictionary, *socio-political* involves “a combination of social and political factors.” In this thesis focusing on the

socio-political structure of western Antolia, I will investigate the political, geopolitical, social, and cultural groups and entities recognizable in the textual and archaeological record of western Anatolia, as well as their internal frameworks, organization, and interrelations.

Other important definitions are “city” and “state” to understand the socio-political structure better. There are plenty of definitions proposed by different scholars. Wirth (1938) describes cities as permanent settlements with three main criteria: large population size, dense population nucleation, and high heterogeneity in the social roles of inhabitants. Trigger (1972, 577), as an archaeologist, proposes that “it is generally agreed that whatever else a city maybe it is a unit of settlement which performs specialized functions in relationship to a broad hinterland.” Scheidel (2013, 7) points out that different definitions of the state include some standard key features such as “centralized institutions that impose rules, and back them up by force, over a territorially circumscribed population; a distinction between the rulers and the ruled; and an element of autonomy, stability, and differentiation.” Furthermore, these features separate the state from less stable organizations. However,

it is not always easy to determine these features in ancient states through archaeological data.

Finer (1997) marks the importance of recognizing other similarly constituted states in terms of "stateness." Again, in ancient states, it is not easy to see others' recognition through archaeology since early states did not necessarily have equal neighbors. In the context of western Anatolia, thanks to surviving Hittite texts, it is known that the Hittites recognized the formed states. Lastly, Yoffee (2005, 17) briefly defines a state as "a central authority, whose leaders have privileged access to wealth and to the gods," which is a starting point that can be traceable through archaeology.

Smith (2016, 155-168), describes specific approaches to study and to recognize ancient states such as city definitions, urban typologies, and archaeological urban attributes (Table 1.). He defines the archaeological urban attributes as a more flexible approach that doesn't based on any fixed definitions or typologies for a site. He argues that there is not only one criterion that must be applied or exist in all cases of the ancient urban sites.

The table below includes twenty-two different attributes within four main categories, and these are explained as follows. *The settlement size* is the measurement of a site's territory. *Social impact* is the characteristics that address the urban functions or social impact of a settlement on its hinterland. The royal burials indicate the political domination while large temples indicate the religious impact beyond the centers of the settlement, and these are some of the most widespread indicators of the urban settlements. Mapping and surface archaeology can provide the data for the *built environment*, and these measurable attributes can be found in urban settlements very commonly. *Social and economic features* can be provided by the spatial data and excavations, and it can help to identify evidence of ethnic, religious, or occupational variation among urban residents, which are not easy to attest in archaeology (Smith, 2016, 160).

Attributes	Type of	Inclusion in Other
<b>Settlement Size</b>		
population	M	
area	M	
density	M	
<b>Social Impact (urban)</b>		
royal palace	P/A	Renfrew; Flannery
royal or high aristocratic	P/A	Renfrew; Flannery
large (high-order) temples	P/A	Renfrew; Flannery
civic architecture	S	
craft production	S	Renfrew
market or shops	S	Webber
<b>Built Environment</b>		
fortifications	P/A	Renfrew; Flannery
gates	P/A	
connective infrastructure	P/A	
intermediate-order temples	P/A	
residences, lower elite	P/A	
formal public space	P/A	Renfrew
planning of epicenter	P/A	Renfrew
<b>Social &amp; Economic Features</b>		
burials, lower elite	P/A	
social diversity	P/A	
neighborhoods	P/A	Renfrew
agriculture within settlement	P/A	
imports	S	

Table 1. Smith's archaeological urban attributes (2016).

#### 1.4 Western Anatolian Bronze Age: Sources and Issues

Western Anatolia (WA), due to its geographic location, is a place that has been described as an interface (Mountjoy 1998, 33). It is located in between two well-known regions; Central Anatolia and the Aegean. Western Anatolia has been occupied densely for thousands of years. However, most investigations of the archaeology and history of western Anatolia have focused on the classical periods and most of the archaeological evidence comes from the Classical and Roman periods,



which include many ancient cities such as Ephesos, Miletus, Aphrodisias, and Sagalassos. In contrast, pre-classical archaeological research is still rather limited. Nevertheless, in the last decade, the number of Bronze Age excavations and surveys in western Anatolia has increased thanks to projects such as CLAS, Urla Survey Project and Karaburun Survey Project. Although western Anatolia is a vast area, most of the excavated sites are the ones located in the coastal region. The inner part of western Anatolia is mostly known from the survey projects, with the important exception of Beycesultan (Pavuk 2015, 83). Some of the well-known excavated sites are Troy, Beycesultan, Çeşme-Bağlarası, Panaz-tepe, Çine-tepecik, Kaymakçı, Miletus, and Ayasuluk.

### **1.5 Previous Scholarship on Western Anatolian Bronze Age**

Western Anatolian Bronze Age sources, as mentioned above, are limited in terms of both archaeology and texts. The text-based studies on Western-Anatolian Bronze Age have naturally focused on the Hittite sources, and have centered on the following key issues: the history and historical geography of western Anatolia (focusing on Arzawa, Ahhiyawa, and to a lesser extent on Lukka), and the Luwians in western

Anatolia. Additionally, archaeological research in the area has been predominantly site based, that is, focusing on a single site and its immediate environment. Thus, the socio-political structure of western Anatolian as a complete picture can be considered as an understudied topic. In the following section the previous scholarship on western Anatolia will be discussed.

The term “Arzawa” was first encountered in two tablets known as “Arzawa Letters” in 1902, written in a different language than the rest of El-Amarna archive which were written in Akkadian. J.A. Knudtzon, a Norwegian linguist, was the first scholar to suggest that the language of the Arzawa letters was Indo-European (Beckman et al., 2011, 3). Later, the Boğazköy archives were discovered in 1906, and the Hittite language was deciphered in 1915. These improvements helped the letters’ context to be understood from a better perspective. We now know that the great king of Egypt wrote those letters to the Arzawan king. The letters mention a dynastic marriage between those *kingdoms* (Beckman et al. 2011, 1).

Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer published her monograph “*Arzawa*” in 1977, where she presented all the textual information and a comprehensive review of the texts mentioning Arzawa (Hawkins 2009, 74). Later, many Hittitologists and historians such as Trevor Bryce, Billie Jean Collins, Itamar Singer and David Hawkins reviewed those texts in their works. Most recently, Max Gander (2017) and Metin Alparslan (2016) re-examined and analyzed the texts referred to Arzawa and western Anatolia in general and have updated the historical geography and history of the region, respectively.

The history of scholarship on Ahhiyawa has recently been summarized by Beckman et al. (2011). According to Beckman et al., Emile Forrer first suggested in 1921 that Homeric Greeks, known as ‘*Achaean*s’, and several other related personal and geographical names, like Miletus being Millawanda, were attested in Hittite texts from Boğazköy. However, at first, this thought had been rejected by some scholars such as Sommer (1932), who argued that Ahhiyawa did not refer to *Achaea*, but a local Anatolian Kingdom. Later, Schachermeyer (1935) claimed that despite the lack of real proof, the assumption that Ahhiyawa referred to Greeks was highly probable. Huxley (1960) advocated this idea, too. Güterbock

(1983) studied the texts and made detailed philological analyses.

Recently, Cline argued that if the Myceneans were the Ahhiyawans, then the Hittites and Mycenae interacted with each other during the Late Bronze Age as indicated by the texts. However, if Ahhiyawans weren't Myceneans, then one wonders whether Myceneans were mentioned in Hittite texts, since Mycenaean material culture is abundant in western Anatolia (Cline, et al. 2011, 1-8 ).

In addition to western Anatolia, there are other suggestions for the possible location of Mycenae such as Rhodes, Thrace, Cilicia, Northwest and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. There was not always a unified Mycenae during the Late Bronze Age; it makes it more challenging to decide which Mycenae was mentioned in the Hittite texts. Hawkins' suggestion is that there was no room for Ahhiyawa in Anatolia; Ahhiyawa must have been located across the sea and/or reached via islands. Another important scholar Niemeier, in 1998, eliminated all the other suggestions, but the mainland Greece. Most recently, Kelder, in 2010, argued that Ahhiyawa was much larger than it has ever been thought. It was a great kingdom which was ruled from Mycenae including all the regions that were suggested as Ahhiyawa. Mycenae was

the capital of the kingdom. Niemeier himself had argued in his earlier articles that the idea of a larger Mycenaean state which was ruled by a single *wanax* is not supported by any Linear B texts (Beckman et al. 2011, 4).

Another key issue in western Anatolian Bronze age studies has to do with the Luwian language, Luwian speakers, and the geographic name Luwiya. The Luwian language is attested in the Hittite archives, as single words indicated by gloss marks or entire passages in Hittite documents; there are also texts including titles of songs in Luwian (Yakubovich 2010, 68-73). An important aspect of the Luwian language is the hieroglyphic script known as Anatolian hieroglyphs which had been used from the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. The geographic name *Luwiya* and the name of the language, *-Luwili*, are attested in Hittite texts. Luwian speakers are accepted as the dominant population group within the western Anatolian BA population. Luwiya, as a country name, is mentioned in the Hittite laws several times, and those references do not give any geographical indication of the country itself. The name Luwiya, so far, has only appeared in the Hittite context and hasn't been found in any outside source (Collins 2007, 32). The term Luwiya only

appears in Law texts (§§5, 19–21 and 23), which are dated back to the Old Hittite Period. It is important to note that the term “Luwiya” changed to “Arzawa” in a later version of a text (Gander 2017, 263). Due to this replacement of the place name, scholars such as Hoffner suggest that Luwiya was the former name of Arzawa (Gander 2017, 262). Collins suggests that most probably the common language was Luwian in the region in 14<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Yet, Tarhundaradu, the king of Arzawa, wrote to Amenhotep III. in Hittite since Hittite is the common court language by both parties rather than Luwian, Egyptian or Akkadian (Collins 2007, 32). However, this can be also interpreted as the lack of scribes trained in Akkadian in the western part of Anatolia.

As is visible from the previous scholarship and its focus, western Anatolian Bronze Age studies amount to a patchwork, which does not allow us to see the entire picture. A further problem is that most studies rely on either the archaeological or textual data, but not together. A general discussion of the socio-political layout of the Bronze Age western Anatolia and Arzawa is missing. In this section, the main issues of western Anatolian Bronze Age studies will be examined thoroughly.

Studying the socio-political structure of western Anatolia during the Bronze Age studies is challenging because there are several major problems and questions. These problems are directly interrelated with each other and can be classified within three main groups: definition problems, problems of bias, and the problem of available evidence. “Western Anatolia” itself as an analytical concept or unit is unclear. The term “western Anatolia” is a modern concept. Most of the time it is unclear if it refers to a geographical or geopolitical unit, or a cultural unit. Most modern studies concerning western Anatolia do not define how the term is used. It must be defined clearly, because “western Anatolia,” as it is commonly used, refers to a vast area with diverse cultures. The term “Arzawa” has similarly been used ambiguously. It is known that Arzawa was located in western Anatolia, but what Arzawa refers to in Hittite documents is unclear. So far, it is known that the term Arzawa in Hittite sources could refer to a geographic region or a polity.

Another issue related to the study of Arzawa and western Anatolia is that most studies approach them from a Hittite dominant perspective, which has to do with the fact that most of our textual information comes from the Hittite archives. Of course, this doesn't have to mean that western

Anatolians or “Luwians” – if they were the inhabitants of this area- did not use writing or have archives. The archaeologists hadn’t discovered any archives, but that does not mean there wasn’t any. On the contrary, scholars such as Yakubovic suggest there are indicators of use of wooden boards covered with wax (2015, 4). However, there is no archaeological proof which could be directly related to the material of the boards since organic materials cannot be preserved without the right conditions and environment.

The questions and foci of research on western Anatolian Bronze Age have been influenced by Classical history. It can best be seen in the Troy and Ahhiyawa cases. Troy is one of the best-excavated sites in northern part of western Anatolia, since Schliemann’s most driving motivation was to find the Homeric city. Similarly, Ahhiyawa problem was an important focus for philologists and Hittitologists due to its correlation with “Achaean,” that is, Mycenaeans, also referred to in Homeric poems.

A similar research bias can be observed in relation to the Hittites. A lot of research on LBA western Anatolia, focuses on the Hittites and their relationship with western Anatolia. A lot of research on LBA western Anatolia, focuses on the Hittites and their relationship with western



Anatolia. Hittites were one of their closest neighbors and a very strong one. There is already an etic perspective on western Anatolia during Bronze Age since almost all of the information comes from Hittite textual evidence, moreover, it can also be seen in archaeological studies. There are some examples which link very common general Bronze Age features to Hittite influence.

Another related issue is the chronology of western Anatolian Bronze Age. The chronology is either based on central Anatolian chronology or the Greek chronology. However, as Pávuk mentions in his article, the chronology of the area should include not only the coastal part but also inner parts and should be evaluated by its own periodization, based on its own material culture (2015, 83) (Figure.1).

Pavuk (2015, 83), who focuses on the second mil. BC of western Anatolia addresses periodization as the one of the biggest problems of western Anatolian Bronze Age studies. Only Troy and Beycesultan provide stratified sequences, and these do not necessarily represent all the western Anatolian cultures. There is no solid periodization that can be applied for all western Anatolia. Rather than having its own chronology,

western Anatolia is mostly studied based on the central Anatolian chronology (Pavuk 2015, 83). Pavuk argues that the absolute dates of High, Middle, and Low chronology are relatively acceptable. However, the real problem of the periodization is determining the MBA and LBA and their subdivisions. EBA III in Troy used to correspond to Troy level V; however, new evidence changed the earlier periodization, and Troy V is now dated the second mil. BC (Pavuk 2015, 84). As for Beycesultan, MBA is dated to Beycesultan VII-VI and corresponds to early second mil. BC (Pavuk 2015, 84). Pavuk suggests that the new periodization of Troy should also be applied to Beycesultan levels VII and VI, although the links between the two sites are still complicated, and there are some missing parts (Pavuk 2015, 85).

Another important chronological issue is dating the transition to LBA, which is correlated to the presence of LHIIIA style decorated Mycenaean pottery at the sites on the coast, which is not the case in the inner parts of western Anatolia. With all these issues, Pavuk proposed that western Anatolia needs its own periodization, depending on neither the Aegean nor the Central Anatolia. He created a new chronological table to

illustrate the new correspondences between the sites in the light of new evidence (Pavuk 2015, 86).

## CHAPTER 2

### TEXTS

#### 2.1. History

Building a complete history of western Anatolian Bronze Age with the data we possess is not easy. Nearly all the textual data comes from a biased and etic perspective. The important Hittite sources arranged chronologically are CTH 4, CTH 61, CTH 67, CTH 68, CTH 69, CTH 76 (more in Table 7.). There are also non-Hittite sources, EA 31 and EA 32 (Amonhotep and Tarhunaradu), EA 31 and EA 32 should be underlined because their contexts are not Hittite, but Arzawan which presents an emic perspective coming from Egyptian sources. Most of the texts that mention Arzawa are treaties or annals, with a few rituals.

The name Arzawa, also known as Arzawiya, occurs already in the Old Hittite texts dated to the reign of Hattušili and probably Muršili I. The earliest attestation of Arzawa is found in the Annals of Hattušili I, which mentions a short statement of an attack on Arzawa after a detailed report on the eastern Anatolian and Syrian campaign (Collins 2007, 37).

Hattušili was the first king who focused his attention to the west.

Hattusili's annals report that, while he was on campaign, Hattušili marched to Syria. After he secured the control of the north, he headed towards the southeast to reach the outlets of the Mediterranean Sea.

However, Hattušili's campaign was interrupted because the conflicts along the border with the Arzawa lands became a threat to the Hittites in the western part of the peninsula. Hattusili, in his annals, declared that:

'I marched against Arzawa, and I took from it its cattle and sheep.' (CTH 4, ed. Imparati and Saporetti 1965). There is not any description of what 'Arzawa' refers to in this passage, that is, whether it is simply a

geographical region or a geo-political entity such as a polity. Although

Hattušili managed to eliminate this problem, a Hurrian threat arose from

the east. Later, during the final periods of his reign, Hattušili attempted

to campaign against Halpa. Nevertheless, he could not manage to

conquer its capital (Collins 2007, 39).

Some scholars have suggested that Arzawa was a subject of the Hittites during Hattusili's reign, based on another text known as the "Palace Chronicles" (Kbo III 34, CTH 8A). The reason is that the texts refer to a man called Nunnu of Hurma in Arzawa and it suggests a possibility of Arzawa being a province of the Hittite empire at that time, however Gander suggests a counter argument that one should compare the Old Assyrian merchants since they had also pay their tributes to the different cities (Gander 2017, 263). An additional text (CTH 13, probably dating to Muršili I's reign), mentions the Hurrians' stay in Arzawiya during the winter and refers to the toponyms mainly in western Anatolia. It suggests that Hittite texts of the Old Kingdom refer to the western borders of Hittite territory as Arzawa (Gander 2017, 263). One might also interpret this as an indication that Arzawa extended to the south of Hatti, to a certain extent.

It seems that Arzawa was used in these early stages of the Old Kingdom period as a term for a geographical area that covered the areas to the west, and possibly south of Hatti. In the documents dating to Hattusili I, Arzawa does not appear to be a political agent, but a broad geographic area.

Another Hittite king who approached western Anatolia was Tudhaliya I/II, two centuries after Hattusili. His first military expeditions, according to his annals, were to western Anatolia, since the threat of the western lands also restricted Hittite interests in the region. In the Annals of Tudhaliya, Tudhaliya I/II declares that he brought ten thousand infantry and six hundred chariotry from the region in order to eliminate any further threat from the region (Collins 2007, 43). Despite his success against Arzawa, the coalition also known as “Assuwan confederacy” (KUB 23.11 and KUB 23.12) including 22 different countries ([...]ukka, Kispuwa, Unaliya, Dura, Halluwa, Huwallusiya, [K]arakis[a], [Pal? ]unta, Adadura, Parista, [x-x-x]wa, Warsiya, Kuruppiya, Lu! Sa, Alatra, Mt Pahurina, Wilusiya and Taruisa) was formed (Gander 2017, 264). Tudhaliya I/II defeated the confederacy. His spoils from the campaign include a bronze sword of western Anatolian manufacture which was inscribed in Akkadian: a dedication to the Storm-God to commemorate his victory over Assuwa (Ünal et al. 1990, 47). Although he managed to defeat Assuwan confederacy, just as Hattusili, Tudhaliya I/II stayed far from Hattusa too long, he left the kingdom in a vulnerable position from the north and the east. The kingdom had to deal with Kaška and Mitanni

(Collins 2007, 43). Unfortunately, we do not know any further action involving western Anatolia during Tudhaliya's reign.

Starting with sources from the reign of Arnuwanda, we gain more information on the socio-political structure of western Anatolia. The annals of Arnuwanda mention a man called Kupanta Kurunta, the Man of Arzawa, who is probably the chief of the confederacy. The texts include topics such as Hittites' acts against him, his defeat, and his escape (Bryce 2003, 129). The expression "Man of GN (Geographic Name)" commonly indicates the ruler of that town or land (Hoffner 2009 255-256). It suggests that Kupanta-Kurunta was a ruler in Arzawa, if he was not "the" ruler of Arzawa. This is also supported by the document known as "the Indictment of Madduwatta".

While the Hittite kingdom had been dealing with its northern and eastern enemies, the text known as "The Indictment of Madduwatta" provides several insights into the socio-political structure of western Anatolia. The text mentions a man named Madduwatta, his enemy Attarsiya, the man of Ahhiyawa, and his misbehaviors against the Hittite king. Madduwatta fled to Hattuša and demanded protection from



Tudhaliya I/II's court after he was expelled from being his vassal. The considerable number of people who fled with Madduwatta shows that he was an important man. Tudhaliya I/II assigned him as a minor king in Zippasla, which was a mountain country. He clashed with Attarisiya and Kupanta-Kurunta in Zippasla. Besides, he managed to separate Talawa from Hatti. This information is critical in terms of historical geography. If Talawa is accepted as Tlos, the mount Zippasla could be a place in the mountains of Psidia (Gander 2017, 266). Furthermore, due to his political and military maneuvering during the reign of Tudhaliya I/II and then of Arnuwanda, Madduwatta succeeded to obtain most of the southwest of Anatolia, including Arzawa and Alasiya, for himself. However, in Arnuwanda's indictment against Madduwatta, we see that the king did not or could not punish him. This might be because the real enemy of the Hittites came from another direction in this period. Moreover, Madduwatta's unstabilizing impact on western Anatolia accidentally helped Hittite's interests at first. He was not a direct threat to Hatti itself; thus, Hittite kings did not involve in his acts. Nevertheless, the situation perhaps did not go well: a later text in the reign of Tudhaliya II/III recalls a series of events about how the territories of Hatti were destroyed by a series of enemy lands. This event is known today as the "concentric invasion", and describes, among other events, how

Arzawa came from the Lower Land and destroyed Hittite territories and made the cities Tuwanua and Uda its border (Kbo 6.28 and KUB 26.48; Collins 2007, 45).

Another important text group which covers roughly the same period comprises EA31 and 32. These texts are about the correspondence of Amenhotep III, Egyptian Pharaoh with Tarhundaradu, the king of Arzawa. In these letters, Pharaoh called for an Arzawan princess which indicates the international prestige of Arzawa as a kingdom. The Egyptian pharaoh did not address the king of Arzawa as “my brother”. It is known that referring to a king as “brother” shows the equal rank among the kings. In this context, the pharaoh considered the king of Arzawa as his subordinate. Still, Amenhotep considered Arzawa as an important power since he wanted to build a family relationship with this interdynastic marriage. Another crucial fact is the letters were written in Hittite, rather than Akkadian which was the lingua franca of the period. It probably can also be the indicator of the lack of scribes trained in Akkadian in Arzawa (Hoffner 2009, 274). The documents from the reign of Arnuwanda I and the Amarna letters clearly show the existence of a polity called Arzawa in western Anatolia. We know of at least two kings

from this period, and we know that they had an army, and scribes trained to carry out international diplomatic correspondence including a marriage between the kingdoms.

Despite the new rising power in Anatolia, the Hittite king and his court managed to survive, Tudhaliya II/III and his son Šuppiluliuma attempted to rebuild the kingdom. After attacking the Kaška and Azzi-Hayasa in the northeast and regaining these lands, Tudhaliya II/III sent his son Šuppiluliuma to battle with Arzawa. However, Arzawa withstood and struggled to regain control of the west, remaining for another twenty years (Collins 2007, 46). During the reign of Muršili, western Anatolia, again, came with a new threat of a collaboration of two kings: Uhhaziti, the king of Arzawa, and king of Ahhiyawa with the city of Millawanda. The collaboration can be deduced by the following two passages:

§1' (A I 23–26) “When spring arrived, [because Uhha-ziti had supported the King of Ahhiyawa] and [ ... ] the land of Millawanda to the King of Ahhiyawa, [I, My Majesty, ... ] and [dispatched] Gulla and Mala-ziti, infantry [and chari otry, and they] attacked [the land of Millawanda]. They captured it, together with civilian captives, cattle, and sheep, [and brought them to Hattusa]” (AHT 1B) (Beckman et al. 2011, 29).

§25' (A iii 1±12) [ ... was] in [the midst of the sea ... But Piyama-Kurunta], son of Uhha-ziti, [ ... ] he [came out] from the sea, [and he entered (into exile)] with the King of Ahhiyawa [ ... And I, My Majesty], sent [a messenger to him] by ship, [ ... ] and he was brought out. [The captives who] were brought out [with him, together with the captives of the cities of ... ] and Lipa, [altogether] were [ ... ] in number. I dispatched [them to Hattusa], and they were led away (Beckman et al. 2011, 23).

Gander suggests that Millawanda had a close connection with Arzawa and Ahhiyawa. A letter called the Tawagalawa letter, which is composed of three preserved tablets, tell us about the activities of a man called Piyamaradu against the Hittites, and mainly his request of coming back to the land of Hatti with an assurance of being safe (Hoffner 2009, 301-2). This letter indicates that Millawanda was under the control of the king of Ahhiyawa (Gander 2017, 268). Muršili, with the help of his brother Šarri-Kušuh, defeated Arzawa, and he transferred its population to another place, probably to the heartland. Arzawan king Uhhaziti fled away to the islands where he died in exile. After the defeat of Arzawa, the lands Hapalla, Mira, and the Seha River Land, quickly accepted Hatti as their overlord. After the defeat, Muršili gave Mira Kuwaliya to

Mashuiluwa, the Seha River Land, Appawiya to Manapa-Tarhunda, and Hapalla to Targasnalli. Hittites finally became dominant in the west until the second half of Muršili II's reign, till the west, again, became a problem due to the rulers of Mira and Masa (Collins 2007, 50).

Gander argues that although the west was a problem again, the reigns of Muršili and Muwatalli were the times when the most significant western lands became subjects to the Hittites (Gander 2017, 266). Muršili's most important enemy arose from Egypt. His son Muwatalli II continued his father's battle with Seti. Before the epic battle, Muwatalli II had to deal with the western part of his kingdom, because Piyamaradu, one of his vassals, had taken the control of Wilusa. Muwatalli expelled Piyamaradu with the help of Mira and Seha River Land where he had his other vassals. Then placed Alaksandu as the leader of Wilusa. After the conflict, Muwatalli exiled the current king of the Seha River Land and replaced him with a man, probably his son, Masturi (Collins 2007, 53). Later, Muwatalli's son and successor, Urhi-Teshup was in a conflict with his uncle Hattušili who was supported by Masturi. In this situation, other western leaders, including Kupanta-Kurunta continued to be loyal to Urhi-Teshup (CTH 590; Bryce 2012, 227).

After an extended period, mostly continued with the Hittite-Egyptian conflicts and relations, Hattušili III mentions his annals that he went on a campaign to Lukka lands in southwestern Anatolia. There was a rebellion that spread over southern Anatolia. Hattušili managed to expel rebels with Tawagalawa, who was the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. In the so-called Tawagalawa letter, Hattušili III wrote about his concern of Piyamaradu, who was a rebellious one of the western allies since the early reign of Muwatalli (Collins 2007, 63 ). Hattušili's son Tudhaliya succeeded to suppress a rebellion in the Seha River Land following the death of its king Masturi, and Tarhunaradu took Masturi's place because he had no heir (Bryce 2005, 252 ). In addition, Tudhaliya assigned royal vassal Walmu to the throne of Wilusa. However, Walmu had been forcibly removed from the throne and had taken refuge with Tarkasnawa king of Mira. Subsequently, Mira gained a privileged status and obtained a partial lordship over Wilusa (Collins 2007, 66).

As it seen from what Hittites present about the western Anatolia and Arzawa, during the reign of Hattusili I and the Old Kingdom Arzawa was referred to a broad region rather than a political entity. Later, during the

Middle Kingdom and Early Empire Arzawa and also Ahhiyawa were reflected as a polity that had diplomatic relations with other political units. Although texts indicate that Arzawa became the overlord of the other smaller political units or city states, it could be either temporal or partial. During the reign of Mursili, Hittites took control of Arzawa. The so-called Arzawan state divided into smaller city-states and became Hittite vassals. After Mursili II and his defeat of Arzawa, another mention of Arzawan lands comes from the treaty between Muwattali II and Alaksandu of Wilusa which marked an alliance between Hittite Empire and the land of Wilusa. Although Mursili II suppressed Arzawa and took control of it, treaty suggests that the “men of the land of Arzawa” continued to make trouble both for Hittites and Wilusa. Within the treaty text, lands of Arzawa were still reflected as different city-state like polities

## **2.2. Textual Data**

This section presents the attestation of terms relating to the soci-political structure of western Anatolia in Hittite texts: related terminology of geographical/political terms, terms related to residents of foreign lands, terms related to military power, terms related to administrative offices.

In the first table (Table 2.), I will introduce the key words that I have been searching and collecting in the Hittite cuneiform texts. These keywords suggest some important observations of the western Anatolian socio-politics during the Late Bronze Age. After the introduction of the main data, I will demonstrate the mentioned land (territory/polity) names, and city/town names (Table 3.1 and 3.2). Then I will combine three different tables as Table 4. Terms related to administrative offices, Table 5. Terms related to military power, and Table 6. Terms related to residents of foreign lands in addition to the tables of keywords (Table 1.) and geographical/political terms (Table 3.1 and 3.2).

While the data is gathered under four main categories from general to specific, the aim is to make logical deductions about western Anatolian socio-political structure. Before going into more detail, it should be noted that the textual data sets and tables are based on thirty-four different texts (Table 7.) and these are not all the texts that mention western Anatolia, but the most significant and informative. The Table 3.1. and 3.2. show seventy-five different geographical or political names coming from thirty-four different texts. It can be deducted from the tables that the Hittite sources give us a lot of geographical information about



western Anatolia although we are still not sure whether all of the names mentioned in Table 3.1. refer to geographical regions or political entities? However, texts such as treaties between the Hittite kings and rulers of Hapalla, Mira-Kuwaliya, Seha River Land, and Wilusa suggest that there were polities during the Hittite period. In addition, in Table 3.2., the mentioned city/town names indicate that western Anatolia include different local socio-political units, however the relationship among these cities/towns, and mentioned land (geographical/political) are still not certain. We do not know matters such as whether they were governed by the same authority or were completely independent local political units, but we know that at least twenty-two of the city/town names coming from a text that mentions a coalition referred as “Assuwan confederacy” in the literature, and it tells that they could become allies against Hittite threat.

Other groups of important socio-political indicators are the military powers (Table 5.) and the residents of foreign lands (Table 6.).

Considering only these tables, one can conclude that Arzawa and Ahhiyawa were the two main powers at the region. They both had rulers/kings, military powers, were recognized by other states and could

establish diplomatic relations with them, and Hittites took captives/hostages from them. Especially when it comes to military power, almost all the entries coming from Arzawa and Ahhiyawa. The Table 6. suggests that Ahhiyawa had other cities/towns under its control since there is a mention of “troops of the towns of Attarimma”.

Finally, when it comes to Arzawa, the main focus of this thesis, it is still difficult to make decisive conclusions. It is understood that Arzawa could be used in more than one sense. The tables present Arzawa in all the categories from general to specific. In the tables, Arzawa, first appear as a land name and the area that Arzawa covers is unknown, but it is known that there are *countries* such Seha River Land, Hapalla, and Mira-Kuwaliya were also considered as Arzawa lands. These lands and more, like Wilusa, had their own rulers/kings and these rulers/kings were also referred as Arzawan kings although there is also one mention as “king of the land of Arzawa” in singular.

Similarly, there are mentions as both “the people of Mira”, one of the Arzawa lands, but also “people of Arzawa”. It is still difficult to define what Arzawa politically is. From Hittite perspective, it is very

ambiguous, but, again, if we only use the data from the tables, one can suggest that Arzawa was a big geographical region including different bigger and smaller political units that had different populations, rulers and authorities and had military power.

KUR	Land
URU	City, town
NAM.RA	Captive, hostage, people
<sup>LÚ</sup> .LI	Hostage
ANSE.KUR.RA	Chariotry
ÉRIN.MES	Army, troops
LÚ	Captive, man, ruler, people
LUGAL	King
<sup>LÚ</sup> <i>halugatallaš</i>	Messenger
<i>tapariyalles</i>	Local ruler (?)
<i>BELU</i>	Noble
GAL.GESTIN	General (?)
<sup>LÚ</sup> .MES <sup>Š</sup> <i>TE-ME</i>	Messenger
<sup>LÚ</sup> .MES <sup>Š</sup> SU.GI <sup>TIM</sup>	Elders

Table 2. The keywords of socio-political analyses.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>“Land”</b></p> <p><b>Territory/Polity</b></p>	Arzawa	Millawanda	Arinna
	Seha River	Ahhiyawa	Wallarima
	Mira	Karkiya	Unalia
	Hapalla	Lukka	Addura
	Kuwaliya	Huwalisiya	Halluwa
	Mira-Kuwaliya	Ardukka	Dunta
	Appawiya	Assaratta	Parista
	Wilusa	Kurupi	Adadura
	Mt. Zippasla	Issuwa	Kuruppiya
	Mt. Hariyati	Assuwa	Alatra
	Iyalanti	Uliwanda	Pahurina
	Zumarri	Sariyanda	Pasuhalta
	Wallarimma	Parsuhalda	Wilusiya
	Iyalanda	Pariana	Tarwisa

Table 3.1. Geographical/political terms

City/Town	Karkisa	Impa	Sinuwanda river
	Apasa	Hapanuwa	Hiyawa
	Dalauwa	Palhuissa	Zannahara
	Hinduwa	Huwarsanassa	Agapursiya
	Sallawassi	Suruda	Zullita
	Hallawa	Attarimma	Hassu
	Kussurriya	Talwisuwanta(?)	Huwalasa
	Urikina	Arsani	Puranda
	Zannara	Sarawa	Salapa
	Adana	Mashuiluwa	Waliwanda
	Iyalanda	Atriya	Aba

Table 3.2. Geographical/political term

<b>Kings</b>	of the land of Arzawa /Arzawa lands
	of Ahhiyawa
	of Assuwa
	of the land of Mira
	Manapa-Kurunta
	Kupanta-Kurunta
	Ura-Hattusa
	Alaksandu
	Piyamaradu
	Warki
<b>Rulers</b>	the rulers of the other Arzawa lands
	ruler of Ahhiya
	Attarisiya ruler of Ahhiyawa
	Mazluwa ruler of Kuwaliya
	the ruler of Piggaya
<b>LU</b>	the enemy ruler of Ahhiya
	man of Arzawa
	man of Ashtata
<b>Messengers</b>	man of the land of the Seha River
	Messengers of Wilusa
<b>Nobles/Elites</b>	Messenger of Attarissiya
	Nobleman of Hapalla
	Piseni, [the nobleman(?),
	the nobles of (the Land of) the Green River
<b>Elders</b>	Puskurunuwa
	elders of Pitassa
<b>Generals</b>	General of Mudduwatta

Table 4. Terms related to administrative offices.

<b>Troops</b>	of Land of Arzawa
	of Huwarsanassa
	of [Suruda(?)]
	of the towns of Attarimma
	Madduwatta's
	of Dalauwa
<b>Chariotry and Infantry</b>	Piyama-Kurunta's
	Tapalazunawali's
	of Arzawa
	Madduwatta's
	of Attarissiya
	of Assuwa

Table 5. Terms related to military power.

<b>People</b>	of Arzawa
	of city Kariska
	of Lukka Land/ Lukka
	of Hallawa
	of Kussurriya
	of the land of the Seha River
	of Pitassa
	of Puranda
	of Mira
	of Dalauwa
	of Ahhiyawa
<b>Hostages</b>	of Awarna
	of Pina
<b>Captives/Civillian Captives</b>	of Arzawa
	of the town of Huwarsanassa
	of the town of Suruda
	of Attarimma / of the town of Attarimma
	Tagalawa (7000)
	Tuthaliya I's 7000 captives
	of Hapalla
	Civilian captives of the land of Mira
	Civilian captives of the land of Arzawa
	Madduwatta's 42 civilian captives
	The civilian captives in the city of Sallawassi,

Table 6. Terms related to residents of foreign lands



1	AhT 27A–B Letters from the Hittite court to Ammurapi of Ugarit
2	AhT 28 Inscription of Warika, king of (Ah)hiyawa
3	CTH 4 Annalen Hattušilis I.
4	CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II
5	CTH 61 Annalen Muršilis II. (.I Zehnjahresannalen, .II
6	CTH 67 Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Targašnalli von Ḫapalla
7	CTH 68 Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Kupanta-Kurunta von Mira und
8	CTH 69 Vertrag Muršilis II. mit Manapa-Tarḫunta von Šēḫa
9	CTH 76 Vertrag Muwattallis II. mit Alakšandu von Wiluša
10	CTH 142 Annalen Tutḫalijas I.
11	CTH 143 Annalen Arnuwandas I.
12	CTH 147 Vergehen des Madduwatta
13	CTH 166 Brief Ramses II. an Kupanta-Kurunta von Mira
14	CTH 172 Brief Ḫattušilis III. an Kadašman-Enlil II.
15	CTH 176 Brief Puduḫepas an Ramses II.
16	CTH 181 Brief eines hethitischen Königs an den König von
17	CTH 182 Milawata-Brief
18	CTH 183 Brief des Königs von Aḫḫijawa an den hethitischen König
19	CTH 191 Brief Manapa-Tarḫuntas an den hethitischen König
20	CTH 211 Fragmente von Annalen
21	CTH 211 Fragmente von Annalen
22	CTH 214 Fragmente historischer Texte
23	CTH 215 Undifferenzierte Fragmente historischer Texte
24	CTH 219 nicht vergeben
25	CTH 251 Instruktionen für Würdenträger (LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD)
26	CTH 271 Instruktionen für die dynastische Abfolge
27	CTH 570 Leberorakel (SU)
28	CTH 571 Leberorakel (SU) mit unabgekürzten Termini
29	CTH 572 Losorakel (KIN)
30	CTH 581 Orakelbriefe
31	CTH 590 Fragmente der Traum- und Gelübdetexten
32	EA 31 From the Pharaoh Nimmuriya (Amunḫotep III) to Tarḫunta-
33	EA 32 From the King of Arzawa to the Pharaoh Amunḫotep III
34	kBo 2.11 From the King of Arzawa(?) to Ḫattušili III(?)

Table 7. The texts used for the data set.

## CHAPTER 3

### ARCHAEOLOGY

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the most important textual evidence for the socio-political structure of Western Anatolia comes from the Hittite archives and Amarna letters from Egypt. However, the written evidence is not enough, especially when it is not emic. It is crucial to test the textual data on material evidence before accepting the data as a reflection of the history. In the following chapter, I will present the recent sources focused on western Anatolia and then introduce the archaeological sites, geographical zones and cultural groups of western Anatolia based on material culture. Then, I will examine four case studies from four different regions of western Anatolia through their socio-political aspects.

### 3.1. Review of Recent Literature

One of the most recent books on western Anatolia is *NOSTOI: Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age* published by Koç University, which is a collection of articles on western Anatolia and Aegean islands during the LBA and the IA with the themes such as cult, social, and intercultural aspects (Kopanias et al eds., 2015).

MacSweeney's (2010) *Community Identity and Archaeology: Dynamic Communities at Aphrodisias and Beycesultan* presents important ideas and information about the identity matter on western Anatolia. *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* offered important articles such as Deniz Sari's article of *The Cultural Development of Western Anatolia in the Third and Second Millennia BC and its Relationship with Migration Theories* (Mouton et al. eds., 2013). Another recent publication is Hittite *Landscape and Geography* edited by Mark Weeden and Lee Z. Ullman (2017). In this book there are four chapters devoted to western Anatolia: two chapters for archaeology and two chapters for philology. These are *West Archaeology* by Sevinç Günel and *Central West: Archaeology* by Kimiyoshi Matsumura Mark Weeden and *West Philology* by Max

Gander and *Central-West Philology* by Stefano de Martino. Although the book gives a general picture of western Anatolian archaeology and history, again, the archaeology and textual chapters treat their datasets separately, thus, the correlations and links between the texts and the material culture remain undiscussed.

### **3.2. Archaeology of Western Anatolia**

The archaeology of Bronze Age western Anatolia is still relatively understudied in contrast to the central Anatolian prehistory. This is because the type of research projects in the area have been limited in number, period, and geographical scope. Fortunately, new survey projects and excavations in the region helping to understand the history and material culture of western Anatolia from a relatively more complete perspective.

Before going into more detail on the archaeological sites in the region and the case studies, “western Anatolia” as a geographical concept should be defined. Western Anatolia refers to the area located in between the Aegean coast and the central Anatolian plateau. It is a modern concept that is used by scholars used to address the regions roughly from west of

the Konya to the islands on the Aegean. Main characteristics of western Anatolian topography include a great variety of ecological elements such as coastal plains, river valleys and mountain ranges (MacSweeney, 2011, 59).

There are numbers of archaeological sites with Bronze Age levels in western Anatolia and among the most well-known, there are Kaymakçı, Çine Tepecik, and Beycesultan in central western Anatolia, Troy in north-west Anatolia, and Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, Çeşme-Bağlararası, Bademgediği Tepe, Selçuk-Ayasoluk, Miletos, and Iasos on the coast (map 1).

These sites present significant evidence of how western Anatolian settlements during Bronze Age interacted with other neighboring settlements and with each other; and their social, cultural, and even some political aspects and influences from outside western Anatolia.

Before testing the Bronze Age western Anatolian socio-political structure on the archaeological ground, first, the type of data that the geography provided in general will be explained briefly to acquire an idea about the nature of the archaeological evidence.

The sites in western Anatolia show link both with Aegean and central Anatolia. Beycesultan, Troy, Küllüoba and Demircihöyük present link with the central Anatolia in terms of ceramic traditions. Limantepe, on the other hand, has burial customs that are showing parallels with Anatolian traditions, but also provide Middle and Late Minoan and Late Bronze Age Mycenaean finds (Günel 2005, 119). Bademgediği Tepe, which is associated with the Arzawan city *Puranda*, presents a great number of Milesian Creamy Ware (Meriç & Öz 2015, 619). Miletos even though has a Hittite type of fortification wall (Maner 2015, 844), mostly presents evidence of Minoan material culture with Kameres style and Anatolian southwest ceramic tradition. The Minoan impact continues after Middle Bronze Age including in ceramics, cult vessels and fresco fragments. There is a visible interregional contact and Mycenaean influence during the later periods (Günel 2017, 123). Another important site is Çine-Tepecik, where a Hittite cylinder seal impression was found dated to Hittite Imperial period and the quality in the craftsmanship suggests that there was a direct link with the heartland. It is suggested that Çine-Tepecik was a part of the vassal Mira and shows both western Anatolian and Aegean characteristics (Günel 2017,126). In Iasos, there are both locally produced and imported material dated to 3<sup>rd</sup> and the beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> mil. BC, and there are some potters' marks in Linear A

(Günel 2017a,127). One of the most elaborately excavated and documented sites is Beycesultan. There are developed wall systems, official buildings, sanctuaries, and stone paved streets (Abay & Dedeoğlu 2014, 4). Kaymakçı is another important and new excavated site with a complex fortification system (Roosevelt et al. 2018, 649).

MacSweeney suggests that Hittite ceramic as an index of imperial control is lacking in Western Anatolia which indicates the possibility of the political independence of the west. Troy and Beycesultan, as well excavated sites, show some Hittite comparison, yet it is still not enough evidence (MacSweeney 2011, 70). There is a Luwian inscribed seal impression found in Troy, and a stamp seal in Beycesultan. Beside Hittites, there are also visible Egyptian influence on the area such as the scarabs and faience bead findings at a necropolis in Panaztepe (İzmir) (Kozal 2015 700). It is certain that western Anatolia, with the different types of objects and practices, present a very wide range of contacts both internally and externally.

### **3.3. Cultural and Geographical Zones in Western Anatolia**

Western Anatolia is surrounded by three seas: The Marmara Sea to the north, the Aegean Sea to the west, and the Mediterranean Sea to the

south, and it is linked to the central Anatolian Plateau in the east. Ralf Becks suggests that it is possible to determine major geographical regions within specific topographical situations since they present different categories of settlements. This analysis shows different socio-economical political organizations at various levels in the settlements (Becks 2015, 116).

Becks makes these settlements with different political organizations visible by using GIS analyses and creates settlement maps. His work includes a data set of almost 1000 attested Bronze Age sites of all kinds. Among them, 573 sites are dated to EBA, 306 sites dated to MBA, and 233 dated to LBA. There are two key groups for the distribution of the sites. The first one is on the west, with the LBA sites on the coast and broad river valleys of the western lowlands. The second group is in the eastern highlands with the gathered LBA sites in diverse alluvial valleys, plains, and river valleys. Between these two, there is a space that was thought to be not settled, but further archaeological fieldwork is needed to understand the area more thoroughly (Becks 2015, 117). Although, Pavuk suggests as well that the area had not been settled since the Neolithic period (Pavuk 2015). The modern topography of the area is still



hard to settle in since the region is mostly composed of mountainous areas.

Becks divided the western Anatolian settlements according to their “geographical position” and “morphological features” as coastal areas, river valleys in the western lowlands, and alluvial plains in the eastern highlands; in addition, mountainous country can also be considered as a part of the settlement patterns (Becks 2015, 118).

There are various kinds of settlements in western Anatolia. The most common of them is the mound (691 of them). Other settlement types are the flat settlement (17) and slope settlement (27), which can be found in every part of western Anatolia, and their life span can be relatively shorter. The hill-top (139) settlements are another kind that can be attested in all areas. These are easier to find, and their strategic location is essential for controlling the plains and the routes. The number of hill-top settlements increased during the 2nd mil. BC, contrary to the general decrease in the number of settlements (Becks 2015, 120-1). This phenomenon can be interpreted as populations' search for protection since the hill-top settlements are high and more difficult to attack.

In his study, Becks developed various models by using settlement size to measure “settlement hierarchies.” He interprets these settlements hierarchies as the representatives of different kinds of or stages of socio-political organizations. This type of relationship can also be seen in the correlation between settlement size and productivity, central place theory, and the rank-size model, which are some of the geographical models that can be applied to archaeology (Becks 2015, 121).

By using these models, seven categories of ranking orders can be built. It is certain that the settlement hierarchies present in western Anatolia are traceable through EBA. An important note is that, in comparison to central Anatolia, even the largest western Anatolian settlements are considerably smaller; the largest settlement is 40 ha, followed by 20 ha. From MBA to LBA, overall site number diminished, populations moved from smaller sites to bigger centers, and from the fertile plains to higher grounds. Becks relates this phenomenon with the collapse of the Old Assyrian trade colonies, thus the unstable political situation of Central Anatolia in MBA. This was followed by the dominant Hittite power in the LBA and their armed intervention toward western Anatolia (Becks 2015, 125-6).

During the LBA, settlement patterns altered, especially in the central and the southern parts of the eastern highlands. A radical drop in the number of the settlement sites can be attested and only the larger areas in the rest of western Anatolia continued to be settled. However, most of the settlements in the northern part of the eastern highlands and the coastal part continued as in the MBA. Each part of western Anatolia includes a large settlement measured from 5 to 7 within the size categories, which is considered as a center, and this center controls some smaller settlements measured from 1 to 4. In the eastern highlands, these centers are evenly dispersed and depended on the natural geographical borders that determine the size of their territory. The west's settlement density is lesser than the east; only several big settlements ranked to 5-7 are seen in the coastal areas. Becks interpreted this situation as the correlation between sea access and the development of the local centers. Interestingly, even though it has advantageous communication routes stretching to east and west, the Maeandros river does not establish a major center (map 2.; Becks 2015, 126.). However, one should note that although it might be one of the indicators, the settlement size alone is not an indication of being a center. Beck's quantitative data should also be supported by other archaeological evidence such as the presence of

administrative buildings, palaces, fortifications, gates, craft production and so on.

Peter Pavuk (2015) recently demonstrates that the cultural zones and pottery groups within the zones form a map that overlap with the map of Hittites' historical geography based on the texts dated to Empire period created by D. Hawkins (map 4.). Furthermore, Deniz Sarı (2013), in her article, argues that the roots of these groups can be traceable even back to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Peter Pavuk studies the geographical zones and the cultural groups of western Anatolia based on the settlement and ceramic patterns. He concludes that there are three main identifiable zones (map 3.). These are: "western Anatolia proper," "inner western Anatolia," and "the islands," and they have sub-divisions under these three general groups. He focuses on cultural zones and possible interaction routes within the region (Pavuk 2015, 82-3)

Inner western Anatolia presents different sub-groups. The first sub-group of central part is presented by unexcavated sites Tavşanlı and Köprüören, Bahçehisar, and excavated Demircihöyük and its cemetery Sarıket. In addition, Seyitömer can also be considered as a part of this group. It is very challenging to constitute a general definition of these groups since

most of the materials are still unpublished. The second group comes from the north of the area around the İznik Lake. The well-known İnegöl Grey Ware belonged to this group and observed during MBA, however local production of LBA remains unclear for this part. The final and southern group belonged to Beycesultan and Kusura which indicates links with north and only a few shows direct central Anatolian influence (Pavuk 2015, 92-4).

North-western Anatolia is a mountainous region, and its topography has resulted in the creation of settlement chambers. Although these chambers still had connections among each other, a certain degree of isolation from the inland can be observed since not all the innovations of the north appeared inland. There are two major zones in North-Western Anatolia: northern and southern groups. Anatolian Grey Ware is the most diagnostic one in the northern group. The coastal zone, on the other hand, shows parallels with the Aegean and as a result shows more dynamic development (Pavuk 2015, 95).

Other ceramic groups belonged to an area called the "Interface," which is first described by P. Mountjoy (Mountjoy, 1998, 33). She defines the area as the Upper and Lower Interface. The lower Interface includes Rhodes,

the South-west Anatolia, and the Dodecanese Islands. Mostly Mycenaean and partially Minoan material culture can be seen in this area. The Upper Interface is not a very well-defined area in terms of both geography and culture, only unified aspect of the area is abundance of the Mycenaean finds (Pavuk 2015, 97).

The next group is the south of western Anatolia. The hinterland and the coastal part of the south-western Anatolia have their own material cultures since the continuous mountain ranges create a natural border. The other dominant and visible groups are Aphrodisias and Beycesultan ceramic groups (Pavuk 2015 97-101).

As it can be seen, archaeological data suggest that there are several different (material) cultural zones. However, with all the excavations and surveys in the region, it is still impossible to find the traces of a unified Arzawan or Ahhiyawan material culture. Only possible deduction is that these peoples and cultures lived in western Anatolia had connections and interactions with each other. As I mentioned before in the thesis, maps formed by scholars such as Hawkins (map 4.) and recently Gander (map 5.) are based on the textual data, and Pavuk's cultural zones maps are overlapped. Another important aspect of these maps and the texts is that

even though the former powerful “Arzawan polity” was split by smaller city state-like polities during the reign of Mursili II, archaeological data suggests that the foundations of these smaller units can be traced back to the Early Bronze Age, as both Pavuk and Sarı argue.

### **3.4. Case Studies**

For understanding the socio-political aspects of western Anatolia, four sites from the four different locations of western Anatolia were chosen as case studies. These are: Beycesultan in central western Anatolia, Kaymakçı in between the coast and the inner part, Troy in the north-west, and Bademgediği Tepe is in the coast.

First of all, although there is no certain evidence, all four sites were associated with certain Arzawan *political or geographical polities*: Beycesultan-Arzawa, Kaymakçı-Seha River Land, Troy-Wilusa, Bademgediği Tepe- Puranda. Secondly, as Smith suggests (2016), there are several attributes for attesting an ancient city and these four sites meet several of the criteria of the attributes. They all have considerable sizes, fortification systems, and several important architectural elements such as shrines and possible administrative building remains. And in

addition, Beycesultan, Kaymakçı and Troy in light of the new evidence can be considered as centers surrounded by different smaller settlements as Becks suggested.

### **3.4.1. Beycesultan**

Beycesultan mound is in Çivril/Denizli, the southern part of Gördek-Uşak region in inner western Anatolia. James Mellaart, who conducted a survey project in western Anatolia, explored Beycesultan mound. The excavations started in 1954 by the directorship of Seton Lloyd and lasted until 1959. The first excavations revealed levels from late Chalcolithic to late Bronze Age. The results of these excavations were published as four volumes, each dedicated to one level (Abay 2011, 7-8). Forty-eight years later, the excavations restarted under the directorship of Ege University, Department of Archaeology, as the second part of the Upper Menderes Basin Research Project. The first part of the project included surveys in Çivril, Çali, and Balkan regions and lasted for eight years. The data from the surveys prove that the area was settled from the Neolithic period, and the zone Z, which is part of the older excavation, presents evidence from Iron Age (Abay 2012, 40-1).



The region was considered as part of the land of Arzawa, which is mentioned in both Hittite and Amarna texts. According to those texts, Arzawa should have been placed somewhere in western Anatolia. However, no written document was found during the first excavations, only one clay stamp seal with Luwian inscriptions was found in Level III. Hawkins argues that the Beycesultan mound is ancient *Kuwaliya* (1998).

In the level EBA I, a fortress, religious buildings, and a fire level were excavated. After the fire, the area was resettled. The interactions between Anatolia and Mesopotamia could be traced within EBAlI level. At this level, excavators attested some non-local developments. These developments can be seen in architecture and ceramics, especially in level XIV and XII. In these levels, pottery was still produced handmade with some specific colors like salmon and sand, light brown and pinkish, and grey and black. Another fire level, which was associated with the Luwians by the excavator, destroyed the city (Abay 2012, 43). Yet, the association with the fire and the Luwians should be challenged since both the social and political identification of the Luwians is still an unsolved discussion in Bronze Age Anatolian studies and associations without evidence can't go beyond speculations.

In EBA III level, the area was, again, resettled after the fire. Some cultural changes and innovations occurred in this period, such as potter's wheel, depas type of ceramic cups, tankard, and loom weights. Towards the end of this period, wheel-made production increased. However, they continued to produce traditional forms handmade. Contrary to innovations in ceramic production, no changes were observed in architecture. From the Early Bronze age to the Middle Bronze Age, there was no cultural break. However, a transition period, based on pottery, was detected between 2000 and 1800 BC. There is still not enough information regarding the political structure of the site during the MBA. Levels V and IV had administrative buildings. The most important structure of this period is the so-called "burnt palace," which included a court with a portico and corridors. There was a two-story building with three doors at the northern, eastern, and western parts of the site and one main entrance in the southwestern part of the building. Some colored fragments of a wall were found in the area, which possibly indicated wall paintings. Also, there were fortified official buildings and rich inventories located in the mound. During the LBA, the ceramic tradition changed. In levels III-II, the buildings such as little palaces,

twin temples, and regular settlement plans continued. It suggests that the site was still an important center. (Abay 2011, 43-6)

Another critical study for understanding Beycesultan's status during the Bronze Age is the survey project of Küfü Çayı Valley. This project took place in the whole Upper Meander Basin. The valley is 36 kilometers in length and 1-1,5 km in width. The valley's strategic importance is based on the mountains and plateaus that are surrounding the area. The survey demonstrates that Beycesultan was an essential center in the basin and was a part of a bigger political and strategic system. Dedeoğlu explained that the team found settlements located from the core of the region to the far ends during the survey. They considered these settlements as control points. The valley was eligible for military and trade purposes due to its strategic location. It links the basin to Afyon in the northeast, to Eskişehir and Kütahya in the north, central Anatolia in the east, and coastal part of the western Anatolia in the southwest via Çivril Ovası (Dedeoğlu 2015, 196).

Survey results present 25 settlements from different periods. Two of the settlements dated to EBA I and the other three dated to EBA III. There

are also nine dated to MBA; 5 of them (Belence, Osmanköy-Ören, Çöğürlüpinar, Aşağı Asartepe, and Kocakaya) located in the valley, between Çağlayan and Aşağı Çapak villages and other 4 (Belkuyu, Çeşmebaşı, Kocaalan, and İlimanlı) located on the roads to the valley. There is a noticeable similarity in terms of ceramic groups between the survey region and Beycesultan mound. This shows the possibility of a powerful connection between the settlements and Beycesultan. Results show that Küfü Çayı Valley started to be settled during the Early Bronze Age period and settled densely in the Middle Bronze Age. Dedeoğlu suggests that this is because of the general socio-economical structure of the basin, which indicates an organized political structure. She argues that the locations of these settlements were chosen purposely since most of them located the critical areas where the entrance of the valley became wider and wider, and the settlements were located at the same distance to each other. The settlements in Küfü Çayı Valley were left after the Middle Bronze Age. Similarly, in Beycesultan, both old and new excavations discovered burnt levels during the end of Middle Bronze Age and the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Radiocarbon dating results support these dates. Dedeoğlu explains this phenomenon as a possible invasion. These damaged levels and decrease in the population can also

be seen in the surrounding contemporary settlements, such as Asopos Tepesi and Kusura Höyük (Dedeoğlu 2015, 195-6).

Another related study is the Somak-Asarlık fortress. The fortress is located in Çivril plain on a volcanic hill. Stone lines were found at the site, which can be the indicator of a fortification wall. The location of the fortress is high and protected, which seemed like a strategic position. The pottery found is similar to those found in Beycesultan layer Vb, in addition, Aphrodisias, Panaztepe, Troia, and Bademgediği Tepe. The area was abandoned during the beginning of the Late Bronze Age period, which corresponds to the fire level in Beycesultan. Moreover, there are four settlements detected around the Beycesultan: Yakacık, Sökmen, Çatal, and Yamanlar. These settlements are considered as the hinterland that fed and protected the population of the centralized population in Beycesultan. The location of the fortress centralizes Beycesultan and its hinterlands (Dedeoğlu 2016, 195-8).

### **3.4.2. Troy**

The site is located in the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles, facing an alluvial plain between Karamanderes Çayı and Dümruk Deresi in northwestern

Anatolia. The site underwent a dramatic geomorphological change over the past 6000 years, consequently original bay has silted up with river sediments. The size of the mound is 300 x 200 meters and has a surrounding settlement (Jablonka 2012, 717). The site was inhabited from ca. 3000 BC. to 600 BC. The excavation history of Troy is well known. The site first recorded by Franz Kauffer in 1703, and E.D. Clarke is the one who identified the site as classical Ilion in 1801. Later, H. Schliemann took over the excavations from 1870 to 1890. He believed that the Trojan war occurred in Hisarlık since he discovered a treasury in a burnt citadel. However, later studies at the site have proven that the treasury dated to the Early Bronze Age, and it is much earlier than a possible date of any event linking to Homer. After Schliemann, chronologically, W. Dörpfeld, C. Blegen, M. Korfmann, C.B. Rose, E. Pernicka and P. Jablonka continued to work on the site (Jablonka 2012, 718-9). Besides archaeology, philologists Emil Forrer and Paul Kretschmer noticed that the names known from Iliad are similar to the ones from cuneiform tablets from the Hittite capital Hattusa: Wiluša as (W)ilios, Alakšandu as Alexandros, and Ahhiyawa as Achaioi (Jablonka 2012, 725).

Troy level IV and V is dated to around 2200-1750 BC and present the evidence of interregional contacts and a modest fortification system.

Troy V is crucial since the progress of building technology and planning can be seen clearly. Another important aspect of Troy is that in the level VI Early, there are two areas considered as elite burial grounds located outside of the central part, next to the citadel fortifications of the level VI Later. The first monumental fortification of Troy took place in the level VI Middle, as well as the ditch. Besides, the first locally produced Mycenaean pottery is seen in this period. During the level VI Late, the great prosperity period began in which the biggest monumental architectural structures and fortifications were built, and the lower town extended to c. 30ha. In addition, an extramural cemetery in Troy and Beşik-tepe appeared in this level VI Late (Pieniżek 2016, 516). The fortification walls built by using five meters wide limestone blocks with “sawtooth” offsets every seven to ten meters, and the blocks are ten meters high. It is possible to detect towers that are built against the walls.

Troy VI presents evidence of high standard of craftsmanship and very remarkable city development with the ruins and foundations of temples, palaces and houses (Uslu et al., 2010, 396). In addition, there is a drained and paved street comes from the south gate into the citadel. In terms of

architecture, there are big free-standing buildings, megarons, halls with pillars or columns, and irregular floor plans (Jablonka 2012, 721).

Looking at the archaeological remains, it seems that the architecture of the level VIIa is considerably modest than the previous Troy VI Late. There is a new architectural project held in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. and it includes densely built houses, paved streets, and magazines with many storage vessels, and there are large structures outside the citadel, too. Material culture shows that the prosperity from the level VI late continued in this period as well (Pieniżek, 2016, 517). The settlement of Troy VIIa was demolished around 1200-1180 BC, as the end of the palace culture of the Mycenaeans and the Hittite empire (Pieniżek 2016, 518).

### **3.4.3. Kaymakçı**

The site is in the Marmara Lake basin in the Gediz River valley in Manisa and is a part of western Anatolia. The excavation is under the directorship of Chris Roosevelt by the Kaymakçı Archaeological Project (KAP) since 2013 (Roosevelt et al. 2018, 646).



Kaymakçı presents an occupation chronology from the Middle Bronze Age to most likely a final LBA or early IA. The ceramic analyses show that the densely occupied Late Bronze Age phase can be divided into two sub-phases as LB 1 and LB 2. It is possible to examine the highest point of the citadel is an almond-shaped area that also forms the core of the inner citadel. (Roosevelt et al. 2018, 647).

The local wares attested in the site composed of red-light brown wares, red and brown coarse wares, grey ware, and they each include different decorative elements. Red slipware can also add to the pottery spectrum of MBA and the earliest phase of LBA. With this Kaymakçı shows parallels across western Anatolia with sites such as Panaztepe, Limantepe, Çeşme-Bağlarası, Bayraklı and more. The material evidence shows that there was metal production at the site (Roosevelt et al. 2018, 663).

There are three main areas at the site in terms of topography and architecture: The southern terrace, inner citadel, and the surroundings and the northern fortification system. The southern terrace is the largest area situated on a big plain surface and surrounded by terrace walls. The

architectural remains show that the area was settled very densely and had an organized architectural plan (Ünlüsoy et al. 2018, 5-6). The architectural complexes consisted of long rectangular buildings which were separated from each other by narrow streets, besides, a high street measured to 3-5 meters wide that lay down to the inner citadel is detected. The inner citadel and the surroundings consist of three main structures. The inner citadel is the highest point of Kaymakçı and can be examined within three main areas and each of them is surrounded by inner circuit walls. The second area is a terrace that is again surrounded by circuit walls shaped like an arrow. The third area is a slope settlement which is separated from the southern terrace by a wide wall (Ünlüsoy et al. 2018, 6-8).

The fortification system at the citadel of Kaymakçı is a complex one, including a single curtain wall in the north, a double wall in the south with projecting towers, bastions and different features, and the access to the citadel provided by the gates probably located at the southeast southwest, and north. The fortification wall went through three architectural phases with innovations. (Roosevelt et al. 2018, 649).

Within the scope of the Central Lydia Archaeological Survey (CLAS), the researchers focused on the 2nd mil. BC. remains from area and they found thirty-four sites and among them, twenty-four sites seemed to be not settled densely and small in size. Also, there are five more sites present more dense ceramic scatters and considered to be more permanent communities (Roosevelt et al. 2017, 121).

The project managed to detect six fortified settlements by at least one circuit wall located in the Marmara Lake basin including Kaymakçı. These sites are Kızbacı Tepesi, Koca Dere, Asar Tepe 1, Asar Tepe 2, and Kaymakçı. The location of these settlements can be considered strategic since they are situated on higher grounds. From these locations, it is possible to obtain a view of surrounding landscapes or communication routes. Inside these circuit walls, there are also remains of building complexes (Roosevelt et al. 2017, 138). Topographically speaking, Kaymakçı is the only settlement that has the views of the other four settlements. It is significant that the building elements and the type of fortification of these settlements show similarities and gives rise to the idea of a local fortification system tradition (Roosevelt et al. 2017, 141).

#### **3.4.4. Bademgediği Tepe**

The site is a hilltop settlement on the slopes of the mount Galession located in Torbalı, İzmir province. The location of the settlement is considered as very strategic because it is possible to control all the directions that surrounded the mount including roads to Ephesus, Smyrna and Karabel which pass by the site. The excavations took place between 1999 and 2007 with the directorship of Dr. Recep Meriç (Meriç 2021, 157). The settlement is not only located in a strategic position, but it is also advantageous in terms of fertility since there is fresh water supplies and is suitable for pastoral activities (Meriç & Öz 2015, 610).

The settlement was occupied from the Neolithic periods until the sub-geometric periods. The one of the most important aspect of the settlement is the visible fortification walls of the citadel and the inner castle. The site divided into four levels. In level I there are not much to say besides the reduced fortification wall. The wall from the level II patched and reused. In addition, there are some not well-preserved architectural remains dated to Iron Age and some curvilinear or rounded structures were found. In terms of pottery, a large amount of Grey Ware was found (Meriç & Öz, 2015 612).

Level II tells more about the settlement. The settlement in this level surrounded by a large exterior wall including three sub-phases. Besides the fortification wall, some of the rectangular elements of the domestic architecture were excavated. Most probably, narrow corridors or roads divided these houses (Meriç & Öz 2015 614). Level III presented, again, the fortification wall and some domestic units which are different than the ones in the level II (Meriç & Öz 2015 615). Levels IV-V present destruction indications of mudbrick elements of the Cyclopean fortification, in addition a possible fire could have been occurred. Level VI is contemporary with Beycesultan IV a-b and Troy VI b-c. The material culture of this period like ones from Beycesultan IV and the Grey Ware still is very commonly used (Meriç & Öz 2015 624).

### **3.5. Socio-political Analyses of the Case Studies and Western Anatolian Archaeology**

As it mentioned earlier, Smith's suggestion for urban settlements (Table 1.) is not to study them rigidly, but it is better to study them from a more flexible perspective. Thus, he creates his list of attributes for archaeological urbanism. He argues that his methodology is suitable for

studying sites in a comparative framework (Smith 2016, 160). From this starting point, the case studies of Beycesultan, Troy, Kaymakçı and Bademgediği Tepe will be compared in order to understand the socio-political dimensions.

In terms of settlement sizes, since it is not possible to know the population and density, only the area of these four sites can be compared. Based on Becks (2016) analyses who categorizes the settlement sizes under seven groups as from one to seven (one is the smallest as 1590-5000 sqm and seven is the largest as 200001-400000 sqm) (127), during the LBA, Troy, Kaymakçı and Beycesultan is belonged to the category of seven, and Bademgediği Tepe is category five. Again, based on Beck's analyses and the map that he created, it is seen that while Troy, Kaymakçı and Beycesultan are considered as the centers surrounded by smaller settlements, Bademgediği Tepe is one of the surrounding settlements of Kocabaşı Tepe (127).

In terms of social impact, civic architecture and craft production can be seen in all the sites in different scales, although Troy among them is the only site that has elite burials. Troy and Beycesultan is the ones that

include palace and temple like architectural structures. When it comes to the built environment the most important attribute for this thesis is the fortifications and all these four settlements have remains of fortification walls. Kaymakçı and Troy have a complicated fortification wall system and Bademgediği Tepe present remains of fortification wall from different levels. However, Beycesultan's fortification system dated to EBA although some remains can be also traceable through later periods.

The category of social and economic features is the most difficult one to attest in a Bronze Age project especially if there is no local textual evidence. However, it is certain that among the western Anatolian Bronze Age settlements including Beycesultan, Troy, Kaymakçı and Bademgediği Tepe there was a great network evident from the different imported goods as a demonstrator of a successful trade network (Abay, 2011, 29).

As a result of the analyses of the archaeological case studies, when it comes to archaeological data of western Anatolian Bronze Age studies, it is not easy to make many different site-specific socio-political deductions. Thanks to the numbers of archaeological survey projects, it is

easier to obtain a more general and interrelated data such as the distribution of the materials, the cultural and geographical zones, settlement densities and sizes, etc. The most of the data coming from the area is quantitative. Excavations from all around the western Anatolia, on the other hand, help to fill the blanks in terms of specificity.

Excavations in big scales such as Beycesultan, Troy, Kaymakçı and Bademgediği Tepe present information about how the settlements in western Anatolia formed and is there any parallels and/or differentiations among the settlements.

To sum up, although Beycesultan is associated with Kuwaliya, Troy is associated with Wilusa, Kaymakçı is associated with the Seha River Land, finally Bademgediği Tepe is associated with Puranda, there is no decisive evidence for these associations. Yet, it is certain from the material evidence and architectural remains from the EBA to LBA that all these four settlements are important centers during the Bronze Age period. Unfortunately, in terms of detailed socio-political structures of these sites, with the archaeological evidence in hand and, there are no further indications rather than these sites being relatively important and large centers and constitute different material cultural zones. Archaeologically



speaking, these cultural zones can be traced back to the Early Bronze Age period and they support the existence of the possible different small city-state like socio-political structures that the Hittite texts mention about. Yet, there is no unified Mycenaean, Arzawan or western Anatolian material culture that overlap with any political organization.

## CHAPTER 4

## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I tried to analyze the socio-political structure of western Anatolia during the (L)BA by combining textual and archaeological data equally. I started by introducing the terms western Anatolia and *Arzawa*. Then I continue with the introductions of the sources, issues, and the previous scholarship on the subject. I especially focused on the main problems of the study area including problem of scholarly bias. After presenting the main issues and inadequacies of the western Anatolian Bronze age studies, I advance to the text chapter which is one of the two main chapters of the thesis. In this chapter, I analyzed present a general history of western Anatolian Bronze age and created tables for chosen keywords regarding the socio-political indicators in the textual data. Then I continued with the archaeology chapter, the other main chapter

of this thesis. In the archaeology chapter, I explained the geographical scope of the thesis, problem of periodization, the common settlement patterns, the (material) cultural and geographical zones of western Anatolia. After the general archaeological framework, I introduced four archaeological case studies and finished the chapter with final analyses.

In this thesis I reached the following conclusions:

- 1) Western Anatolian socio-political structure was composed of numbers of city-states and bigger political organizations that had different kind of administrative elements such as kings, rulers, messengers, elders; and military and men power including chariotries and infantries. These well-formed regional political units could unify under necessary circumstances.
  
- 2) In the earlier documents the term 'Arzawa' refers to a territorial concept. Later, in Amarna letters period (14th c.), Arzawa was presented as a political unity with a king who had diplomatic relations with Egypt.

As discussed in the Chapter 2., Arzawa refers to different meanings in terms of both geography and politics. In addition, the term Arzawa mentioned with all kinds of different selected keywords except with the “city/town”. The term ‘city of Arzawa’ has never been attested. There is both the land of Arzawa and the lands of Arzawa. Lands of Arzawa includes specific land names such as Mira-Kuwaliya, Hapalla and Seha River Land. There are both king of Arzawa and kings of Arzawa lands. The texts present military power of Arzawa, and lands considered as Arzawa lands. Moreover, again, both Arzawa and those lands had their own population that could be taken as hostages or only referred as ‘people’ of the x land. It can be deducted that the Arzawa could mean a general name to given by the Hittites to the western part of their kingdom and they could be more specific about both geographical and political entities when it was necessary.

3) It is not possible to identify an ‘Arzawan’ material culture in western Anatolian archaeology, because there is significant regional variation.

As it is clear from the Chapter 3., archaeology of western Anatolia presents a continuity in the settlement patterns during all Bronze Age phases. However, a unity in the material culture is not the case for the

area. Arzawa as a socio-political formation does not present any kind of standardization in the material culture. When the size of the western Anatolia taking to a consideration, it is not a surprise that there is no one unified material culture that could reflect Arzawa. The area is divided into different sub-groups, and each reflected a different kind of material cultural evidence. The important note that these sub-groups of the material cultural zones are overlapping with the historical-geographical maps that were created based on the Hittite texts. Although texts suggest that Arzawa split to smaller political units during the reign of Mursili II, the variation of the different cultural zones in western Anatolia actually dated back to the Early Bronze Age.

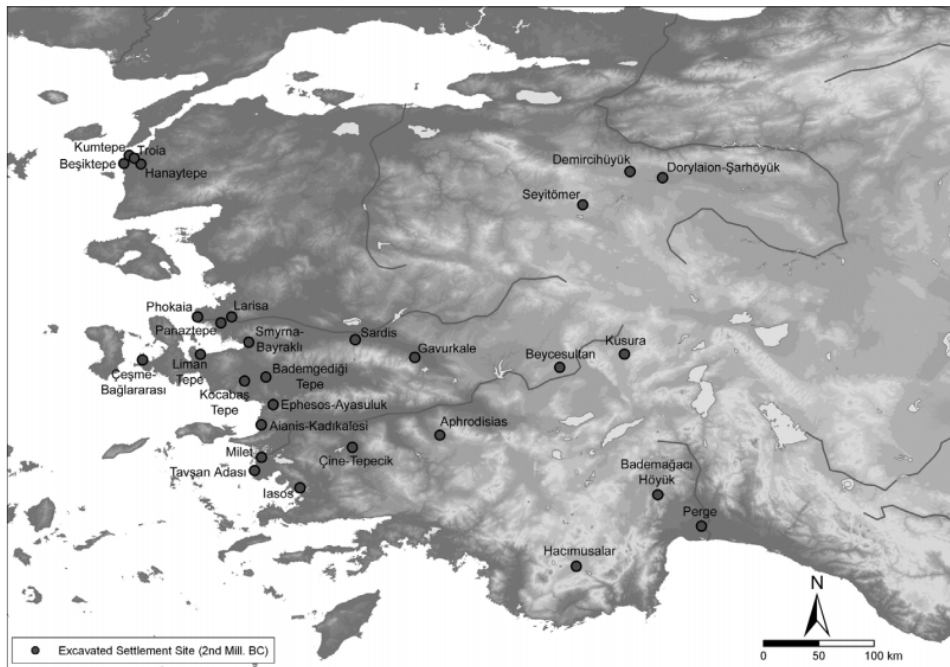
Besides the main conclusions based on the archaeological and textual data, I also would like to emphasize on the main problems and critiques while I was doing the research for the thesis. One of the main critical problem of western Anatolian Bronze Age study is the biases in both textual evidence and archaeology. There was a misleading concept of linking western Anatolian remains to Hittites or the Greeks since they are generally perceived as the “advanced” civilization. Western Anatolia, as an analytical concept, is unclear. The term is a modern concept. The

definitions of *Arzawa* are unclear since the term both geographically and politically used. Another inevitable topic is the Luwians. The idea of Luwians in western Anatolia creates an overreaching identity attribution to the local inhabitants and must be challenged for more solid answers in the future.

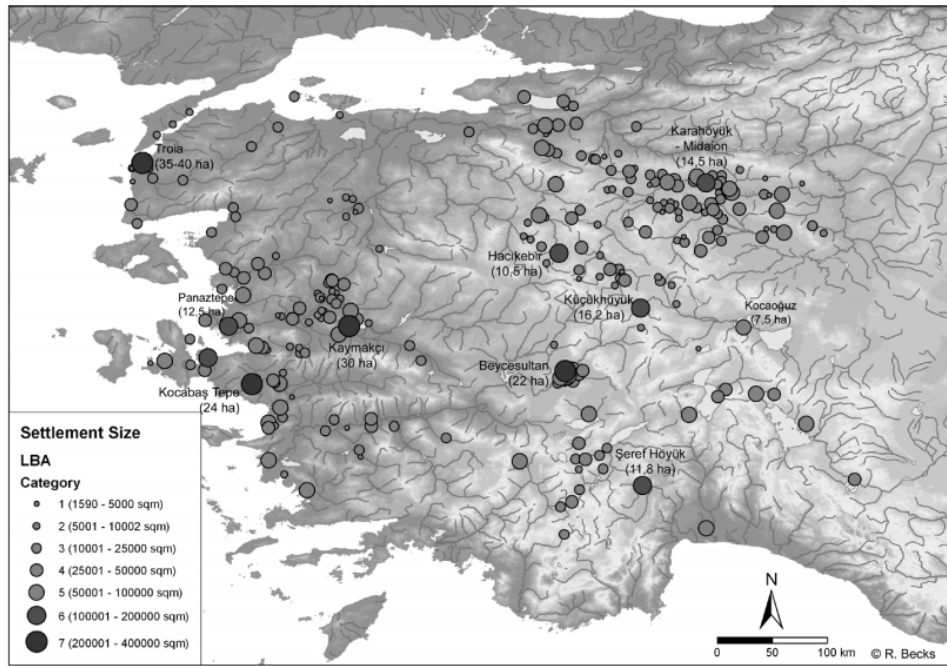
## FIGURES AND MAPS

		Aegean High Chronology	Liman Tepe	Troia	Demirci hüyük	Boğazköy BK	Kültepe Middle Chronology	Gordion	Beyce sultan	Miletus	Kreta High Chronology
1200	LB 2B	LH IIIB	II:2	VIIa		III	Empire Period	9-5 (=YHSS 8)	Ib	VI	LM IIIB
1300	LB 2A	LH IIIA	II:3	VIg-h		IVa			II	V	LM IIIA
1400						IVb	Middle Hittite	11-10	III		LM II
1500	LB 1B	LH IIB	Disturbed	VIe-f	Surf.				IVa	IVb	LM IB
		LH IIA		VId	5	IVc	Old Hittite	c	IVb		LM IA
1600	LB 1A	LH I	III:1-2	VIb/c	4			13-12 e	IVc	IVa	LM IA
1700	MB 2	MH III	III:3	VIa	2 / 3	Hiatus	Ia	e	V		MM III
1800	MB 1	MH II	III:4	V	1	IVd	Ib	16-14 t		III	MM II
1900	?		IV:4		Bahçehisar ??	a IVb c	II II (no tablets)	18-17 r y	VI VII		MM IB

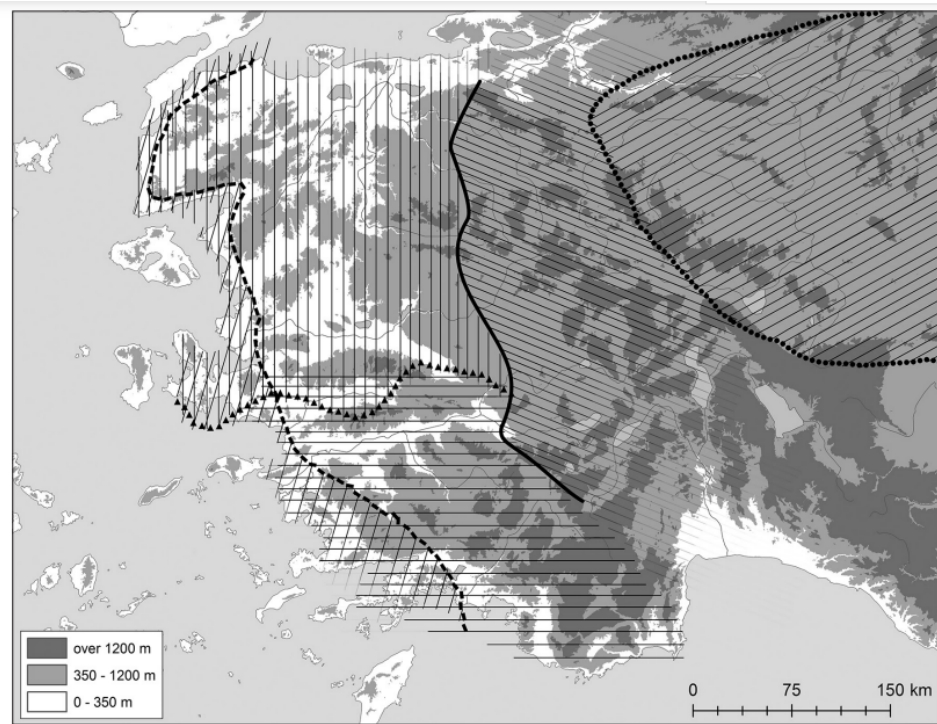
Figure 1. (Pavuk, 2015)



Map 1. (Becks, 2015)

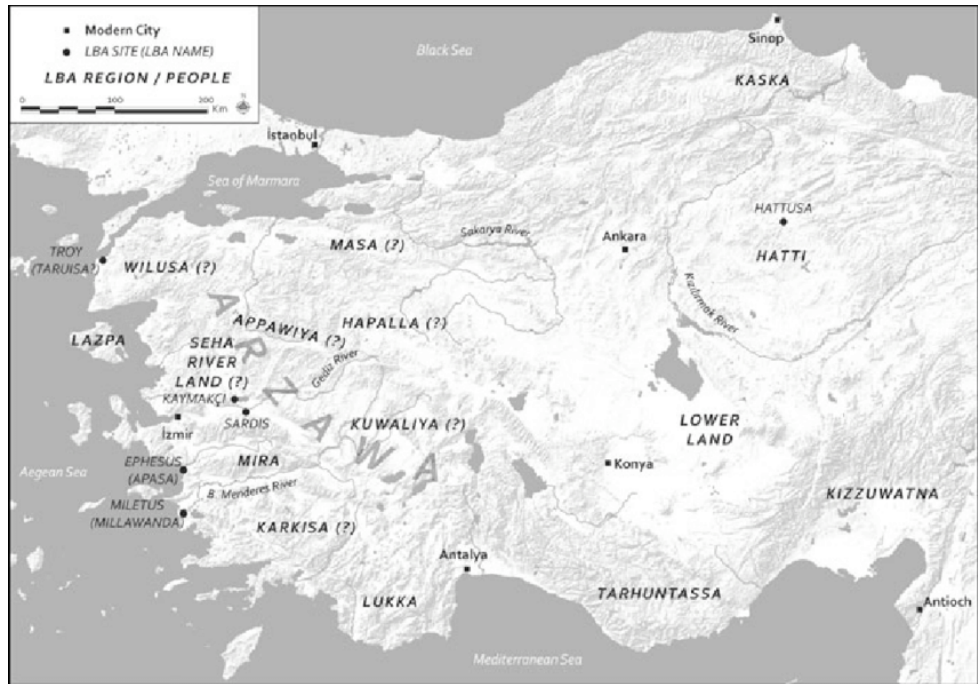


Map 2. (Becks 2012)

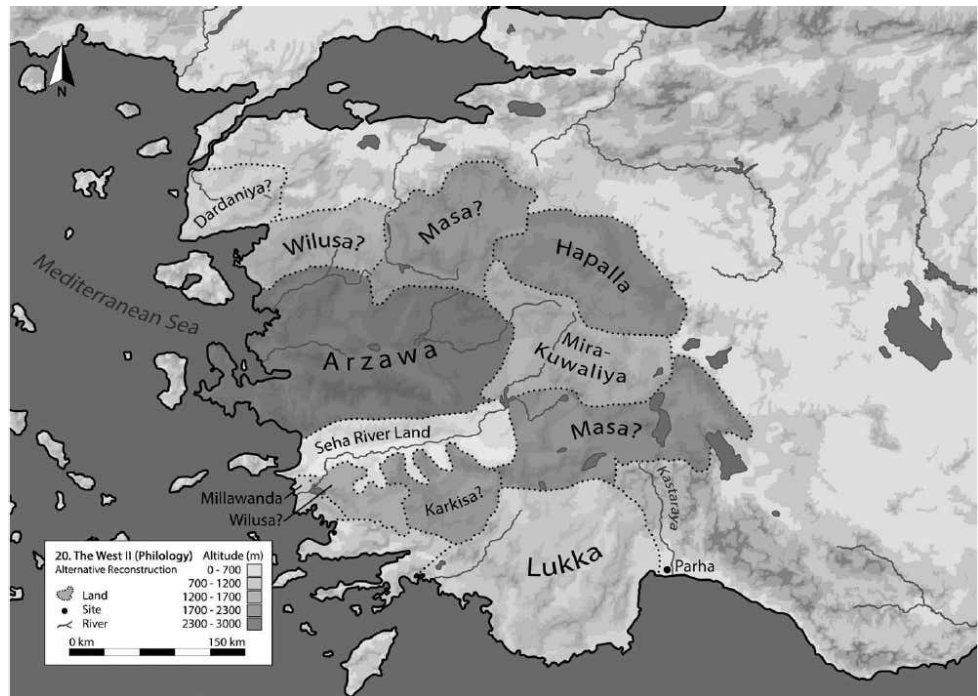


Map 3. (Pavuk 2015)





Map 4. (Hawkins 1998)



Map 5. (Gander 2017)

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