Cultural Exchanges and Current Research at Kültepe and its Surroundings

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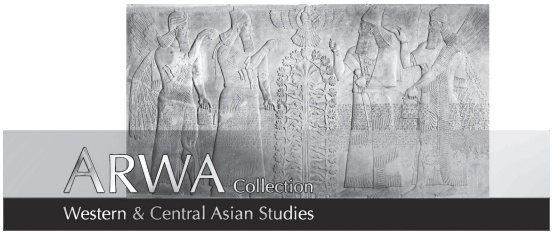
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Cover image: Silver pins from Kültepe, early second millennium BC.
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Cultural Exchanges and Current Research at Kültepe and its Surroundings

Kültepe, 1–4 August, 2019

Edited by

Fikri Kulakoğlu, Guido Kryszat
& Cécile Michel

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Karl Hecker pictured on the occasion of Heinrich Otten's ninetieth birthday in Marburg, 16 January 2004. © Gerfrid G. W. Müller.

In memory of
Karl Hecker

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Professor Karl Hecker, who definitively closed his tablets and books on 22 November 2017. As early as the 1960s he became interested in the archives of the Assyrians discovered at Kaneš and published a collection preserved at Giessen in 1966 (*Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*), and soon after an Old Assyrian grammar in 1968 (*Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte*, Analecta Orientalia 44, Rome). Early on, Karl Hecker understood that Kültepe studies could only be properly maintained in international cooperation without our Turkish colleagues and lived this conviction through his entire career. He travelled to Prague, to work together with Lubor Matouš on the Old Assyrian tablets that were brought back by B. Hrozný and kept at Charles University (*Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*, 1998, published together with G. Kryszat and L. Matouš). Throughout the 1980s and onwards, up until 1995, he went regularly to Ankara to work on a number of archives of merchants that were excavated during the 1959 (Kt k/k), 1961 (Kt m/k), and 1987 (Kt 87/k) seasons; he very generously shared his transliterations with us PhD students, and later on with the Old Assyrian Text Project, based at Copenhagen, even though he never joined the group. Karl Hecker was always very welcoming to young foreign colleagues, not hesitating to open his home to them, and he loved to throw parties, at which the younger generations could listen to the old ones making jokes or singing in Akkadian. The songs will linger on.

Fikri Kulakoğlu, Guido Kryszat & Cécile Michel

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Foreword

K. Aslıhan Yener

The systematic excavations of Kültepe, ancient Kanesh, ongoing since 1948 by T. Özgüç and since 2006 directed by Fikri Kulakoğlu have unearthed the most important Early and Middle Bronze Age kingdom in central Anatolia. Aside from the massive, fortified lower town (formerly *kārum*) known primarily from the point of view of non-local merchant documents, now as a result of a shift of research focus, the monumental palatial buildings, local intra-Anatolia trade networks, and material culture of the third millennium BC on the mound preceding these Old Assyrian commercial activities have been highlighted. Furthermore, new projects such as KAYAP (Kayseri Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması Projesi) throughout the entire rich hinterland of Kültepe have presented a much more nuanced understanding of the fundamental reasons why Kanesh was so wealthy.

The pioneering KIM (Kültepe International Meetings) conferences held every two years at the excavation quarters give scholars and students the opportunity to exchange findings, debate scientific issues, and plan for future research agendas. The immediate publication of these papers in SUBARTU has in addition made these findings accessible to the scholarly community. The KIM papers have been carefully organized to complement presentations given by historians and text experts with specialists in material culture and archaeology. The meetings have been generously backed by local businesses, government institutions, and private individuals. Local restaurants have donated delicious meals and day-trips have taken the groups to the sites which interacted with Kültepe in antiquity, giving them the opportunity to experience and visit these first hand.

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No aspect concerning Kanesh has been left out; archaeology, geology, climate, zoology, botany, genetic studies, conservation, archival sciences, network analyses, metallurgy, ceramic science, characterization analyses, and many more topics have been covered in the KIM conferences. Directors of other excavations have also presented papers augmenting the connections between their sites and Kültepe. The intellectual synergy has been palpable with many participants taking away with them ideas for their own projects as well as giving direction to further discoveries for Kültepe. English has been the preferred language of presentation but translations have been available when needed, bringing the findings of Turkish scholars to the international community as well.

Some of the scientific studies have been jaw dropping. Especially critical has been the discovery that Kanesh was submerged by water in the LBA as revealed by the new sedimentary cores. Furthermore, the site was even larger than ever imagined in the Middle Bronze Age: pottery sherds and walls have been discovered one kilometre from the foot of the mound. In terms of settlement landscape, the ever-changing and little-known environment of Kanesh has revealed its complex tiers of state systems and satellite villages. Nearby mineral resources such as the EBA tin source and miners' villages at the foot of the volcano Erciyes has astonished the scholarly community so used to the paradigm of imported tin. Studies into the agricultural potential of the land, the abundant grain surpluses, and animal husbandry have been fine-tuned to reveal the optimum carrying capacity of Kanesh. In other words, the KIM conferences have embedded Kanesh into its vast regional network with the addition of archaeological science to the abundant data from now 23,000 texts.

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17. The Connection between Cappadocia and the Mediterranean Coast through the Cilician Plain in the First Millennium BC

Mustafa H. Sayar

The landscapes of Cilicia and Cappadocia are neighbouring regions,[1] which were connected in antiquity through a number of roads.[2] Cilicia was an important transit area connecting inner Anatolia with the Mediterranean shore through the Taurus and with Syria through the Amanus Passes.[3]

The hitherto ascertained roads between Cappadocia and Cilicia are:

1. The road from Amorion to Ereğli (= Herakleia) and Podandos (= Pozantı; Hild 1977, 61–63; Forlanini 2013, 15).
2. The road from Kaisareia — Develi — Yahyalı — Rodandos (= Faraşa, Hild 1977, 118–29) to Cilicia Plain.
3. The road from Amisos — Tabia — Kaisareia — Develi — Firaktin — Bakırdağı — Kiskisos — through Taurus to Feke (= Baka) — Sision (Hild 1977, 114–29).[4]
4. The road from Koloneia (= Aksaray) to Tunna (= Tyana) and Podandos (= Pozantı) through Taurus to the Cilician Gates = Gülek Pass (Hild 1977, 41–59).[5]

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Kizzuwatna = Hiyawa = Quwe = Cilicia was an important meeting point of different cultures par excellence.[6] This situation can be traced through the ages. Unfortunately, there are insufficient written documents to investigate the transformation of this area during antiquity. Knowledge of this period is based on the Assyrian archives and some early Greek inscriptions from the Mediterranean coast.

Assyrian king Shalmaneser III had campaigned four times in the direction of Quwe and Hilakku = Cilicia between 858 and 824 BC. The main purpose of these expeditions was to take control of Syria, which is strategically important in the west of the Euphrates. Shalmaneser, who wanted to consolidate his sovereignty in Syria, wanted to control the Cilicia region in the north of this region up to the Taurus Mountains.

On the Cilician coast, during the Neo-Babylonian period (Baker 2012, 914–30), Soloi and Tarsos were in close contact with the eastern Mediterranean world. This region, west of Cilicia Pedias, was an area of intense commercial communication between the Neo-Babylonian kingdom and the Greek city states.[7] Information on the status of Quwe during this period is very limited. It is unlikely that they would have reached the country of Quwe during the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nabukadnezar. But it is highly probable that they controlled the important trade routes passing through Cilicia and reaching into Cappadocia.

[1] For the historical geography of Cappadocia according to Strabo, see Panichi 2005.

[2] For the main routes between Cilicia and Cappadocia, see Erzen 1940, 25–26; Hild 1977, 61–129; Hild & Restle 1981, 124–27; Hild & Hellenkemper 1990, 128–42; French 1981 (= RRMAM I); 1988 (= RRMAM II); 2012 (= RRMAM III 3) and 2014 (= RRMAM III 7); Turchetto 2018; Sayar 2019.

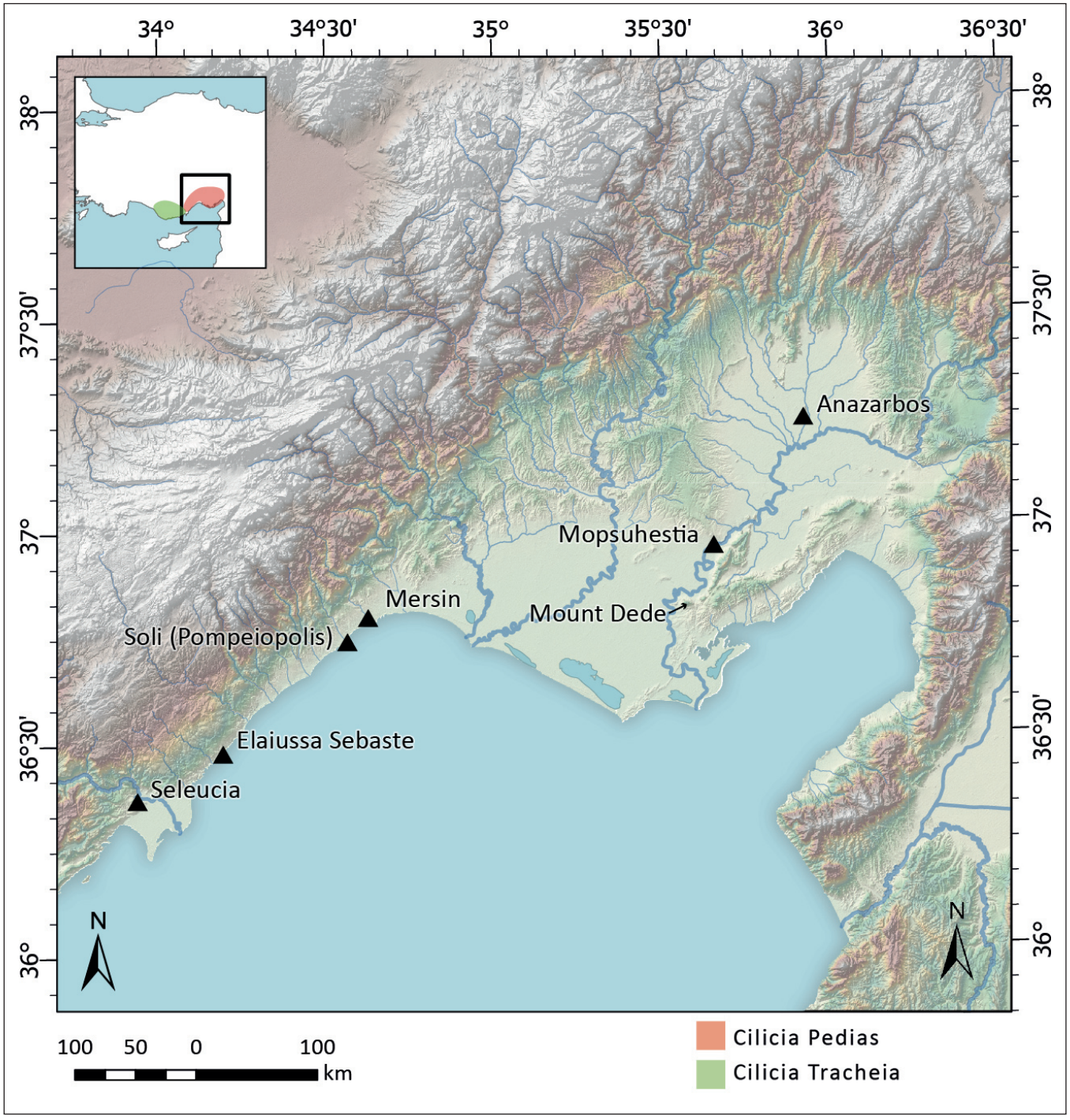
[3] For the trade routes through Cilicia Plain in Middle Bronze Age, see Elsen-Novak & Novak 2020; for the trade routes in the Cilicia Plain and their connections with harbours on the Mediterranean coast or with the river-harbours on Pyramos in the Late Hittite period, see Wittke 2004.

[4] For the route between Hanyeri and Feke, see Forlanini 2013, 23–24.

[5] For the route between Cilician Gate and Cilicia Plain, see Forlanini 2013, 5, 14–20.

[6] For the history of Kizzuwatna, see Desideri & Jasink 1990, 52–109; Trémouille 2001, 57–78; Kümmel 1980, 627–31; Jasink 1991, 253–59; Meyer 2004, 7–17; Novak 2010 and Barjamovic 2011. For the region Quwe, see Bredow 2017, 60–68; Rutishauser 2017, 121–49 and Novak & Rutishauser 2017, 134–45.

[7] For the colonization of the coast of Cilicia, see Blumenthal 1963 passim; Fischer-Hansen & Keen 2004, 1217–20 and von Bredow 2017, 15–23.



Map 17.1. Map of Cilicia Plain (© M. Sayar; cartography: Susanne Rutishauser/Bern).

The Cilician region to the south of the Taurus mountain range was an area where Luwians lived in the Early Iron Age.[8] In addition, it has been suggested that people of Hurrian origin were also living there. The names of the ancient Anatolian gods, details from the Bronze Age iconography of Anatolia are found in inscriptions written in late Luwian Hieroglyphic script. In Neo-Assyrian inscriptions the name of the state is defined as Quwe. It was later called Que. It is used to define the region Cilicia. In the mountainous region of Cilicia, there was a local kingdom called Hilakku. The Greeks, who came from the west to the region of Hilakku, which was a

[8] For Luwians in Asia Minor, see, Melchert 2003; Yakubovich 2010; Mouton; Rutherford & Yakubovich (eds) 2013, 1–604 and Yakubovich 2015, 35–53.

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Luwian name, first met the inhabitants of the mountainous Cilicia and used this word to describe the region extending to the Amanos mountain range in the south of the Taurus mountain range. Cilicia is region where copper, gold, silver, lead, iron, and tin can be obtained. Cilicia was also suitable for settlement with its rich tree stock in its forests and arable land. It was easy to defend because the mountain ranges surrounding it could only be crossed at a few passes. Assyrian tax lists also document the wealth of horse and bovine breeding and textile products. The region of Cilicia, Que was undergoing a stage of intense resettlement during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, but it was not mentioned in the sources after the collapse of the Great Hittite Empire. However, at the time of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858–824) the name Que began to appear again in written sources. In 839 Shalmaneser included Que in the reign of the Assyrian kingdom. It is likely that during this period, the king of the Que region besieged Kate in Pahri (Mopsuhestia = Misis, during the Assyrian period see Ünal 1994, 269–70), where one of his palaces was located. Kate surrendered and agreed to remain under the Assyrian yoke. In 833 Shalmaneser launched a second Que campaign and deposed Kate, installing his brother Kirri on the throne instead. A rock relief on the summit of Uzunoğlan hill,[9] east of Kozan on the way between Cilicia Plain and Cappadocia was probably built between the years 839 and 833 by Shalmaneser, who captured Tarsos, the most important city to the west of the Cilicia Pedias, which represented the northernmost point of the king's sovereignty (Garelli 1963 and Adalı 2018, 276–99).

The country of Que is mentioned once again in the time of Tiglath-Pilesar III, between 739 and 732. A Que king named Urikki paid taxes to the Assyrian king (Winter 2010, 500). During the reign of King Shalmaneser V in *c.* 722 it was understood that Que was an Assyrian province. This state also included the regions Tabal and Hilakku. The rich natural resources of these regions were of great importance for the Assyrian kings and in 718 the Assyrian king Sargon invaded Que again. He conquered many castles. In 715 the Assyrian kingdom repulsed sea warriors coming to the shores of Cilicia with the ships of Hatti. It is understood from the inscriptions that a king named Urikki ruled the country of Que in 710/09. The inscriptions on orthostats discovered during the excavations in Karatepe, which was named Azatiwataja at the time, were dated to the second half of the eighth century. Reliefs on Karatepe orthostats are the most comprehensive monuments of Que ever found. It is noteworthy that the word Assyrian does not appear in the inscriptions. In 732 Urikki ruled the region of Que and managed the region alone until 710. It is the Luwian transliteration of the name Awarikus Urikki, which is mentioned in bilingual Karatepe inscriptions in late Luwian texts (Hawkins 2000, 44 and Novak 2020, 23–91). An inscription found in Çineköy in 1997 also describes Awarikus as the successor of Muksas and the servant of the god Tarhunzas (Lemaire & Tekoğlu 2000, 960–1006; Yakubovich 2015, 40–44; Hawkins 2017, 211–16). Awarikus is also described as a man of the sun god. The inscriptions of Çineköy and Karatepe are in many ways similar. The lines where the Assyrians and Que are mentioned together are important. When we look at the contents of the inscriptions it turns out that these inscriptions were written after the death of Azatiwata. The region was ruled by Urikki, a member of the Muksas dynasty. The Greek city states became active in the Cilician region in the sixth century. The most important basis of the thesis that the Greek colonies started to dominate the Cilician region since the eighth century is Mopsos and the myth behind him.[10] However, the name Mopsos is also mentioned in the Phoenician inscriptions, and is essentially a Luwian personal name, Muksas, which was translated into the Phoenician language. Likewise, the fact that the kings of the Que dynasty bear the names Urikki is a reflection of the ancient Cilician language. The fact that the name of Muksas is mentioned three times in Karatepe inscriptions shows that it is defined here by the name of the person who is the founder of a legal dynasty. According to the Que inscriptions the founder of the kingship of Danuna was a local nobleman named Mukasa, who probably lived in the ninth century.

Karatepe inscriptions were supposedly written during the period of Que's independence. The Çineköy inscriptions were written at a time when Que's political structure was completely changed. Did Urikki voluntarily leave his territory to the Assyrians? Or was Urikki a ruler under the command of the Assyrian kingdom? The Çineköy inscription documents an important stage in the process of the transformation of the Que region into the Assyrian state. Karatepe inscriptions prove that people from the Phoenician region came to the Que

[9] See Börker-Klähn 1982, 220; Colbow 2000, 11–12 and Köroğlu 2018, 184–87. For the Assyrian occupation of Cilicia Plain and for the relief on Uzunoğlan Hill, see Yamada 2000, 201–05.

[10] See Barnett 1953, 140–43. For Mopsos see Bremmer 2000, 390–91; Scheer 1993, 254 contra Işık 2008, 571–85, especially 572; von Bredow 2017, 67–68.

area. In 705, with the death of Sargon II it is understood that there were riots in Cilicia and Assyrian rule weakened. In the first years following Sennacherib's ascension to the throne in 696, Kirua, the ruler of Illupru in the Hilakku region, started a rebellion. It is suggested that the settlement of Illupru is near the Cilician Gates = Gülek Strait.[11] Ingira = Mersin and Tarsos participated in Kirua's rebellion. Those who joined the rebellion closed the gates of Cilicia and cut the connection between Kappadokia, Cilicia, and northern Syria/Mesopotamia. In 696, Sennaherib seized the cities of Tarsos, Inigra, and Illupru and exiled the people of these cities collectively. In the following years there was no rebellion in the Que country. However, rebellions are observed in the Kappadokian region north of Que. Que was used as a base for suppressing this rebellion. In 679 Sandauri, the king of Sissu and Kundi, rebelled. Four years later, he was arrested and executed. Kundi and Sissu are identified with the present village of Kozan in Cilicia. It appears that the governor of Assyria, who was in charge of governing the country of Que, could not fully dominate the region.

During the reign of Esarhaddon and his successor Assurbanipal, the Cimmerians threatened the Cappadocian and Cilician regions as they moved from eastern Anatolia to central Anatolia (Sulimirski & Taylor 2003[5], 559). However, there is no information on how this threat affected the region and how the Assyrian kings took measures. In 668 the pressure of the Cimmerians in the Cappadocia and Cilicia regions alleviated. It is understood that Cilicia left the Assyrian state system in the last years of Assurbanipal. Many local governments emerged in Cilicia in the new power vacuum.

Tarsos (Gözlükule) was on the road leading to Cappadocia via the Cilician Gates and had connections with Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt, and the Aegean Sea.[12] Starting from the seventh century Tarsos gradually developed its commercial relations with the Greek city states. Tarsos was an important port for the sea transport of the metals extracted in the Taurus Mountains. The commercial importance of Tarsos during the seventh century continued under Assyrian rule.

The connection of Cappadocia with the Mediterranean coast and Mesopotamia through Cilicia Plain in the first millennium is very well documented. This connection became more and more intense over the archaic period in the seventh–sixth centuries BC until the Arabic occupation in the seventh century AD.

[11] For the localization of Illupru = Ellipra in Lampron = Namrun = Çamlıyayla, see Forlanini 2013, 4 with note 12.

[12] For the importance of Gözlükule and recent excavations, see, Özyar 2005; Özyar *et al.* 2017, 150–86 and Özyar *et al.* 2017.

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