

**ATRIYA AND STRATONIKEIA IN THE LATE BRONZE AGE:  
SOME REMARKS ON CARIAN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY***Umay OĞUZHANOĞLU\****Makale Bilgisi**

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**Abstract**

*The evaluation of the Hittite and Luwian inscriptions that mention Western Anatolia, and the extended archaeological research on the Bronze Age have led to an increase in knowledge and arguments about the historical geography of Western Anatolia. But the poor source of documents about Western Anatolia has made the research more challenging. It is known that one of the old names of the city of Stratonikeia, which is located on the Yatagan Plain in Muğla and is among the important cities of the region, is Idrias. It is suggested that Atriya can be localized within the territorium of Stratonikeia considering the phonetic similarity with Atriya mentioned in Hittite documents. This study aims to contribute to the arguments on this subject by evaluating some of the recent findings in Stratonikeia concerning the Late Bronze Age and the studies on historical geography. Among the ceramic samples of the Late Helladic III period found in the Stratonikeia territory, there has been added some other ceramic samples such as the ones found in the Tasavlu region in 2009, under the Heroon of Hierocles in the city center of Stratonikeia during the excavations in 2018, and in the Değirmendere region during the excavations by the Muğla Museum in 2018-2019. When the routes followed by some Hittite Kings during their travels to the west,*

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*the arguments concerning the location of the cities within the Yatağan Plain and Çine (Marsyas) Creek Valley, and the archaeological findings combined, it is concluded that localizing Atriya within these areas is a reasonable proposal.*

**Keywords:** Atriya, Stratonikeia, Lukka, Waliwanda, Iyalanda, Late Bronze Age

### **Geç Tunç Çağı'nda Atriya ve Stratonikeia: Karia Tarihi Coğrafyası Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler**

#### **Öz**

Batı Anadolu'dan söz eden Hititçe ve Luvice yazıtların değerlendirilmesi ve Tunç Çağı'na dair arkeolojik araştırmalarının artması, Batı Anadolu'nun tarihi coğrafyası ile ilgili bilinenlerin ve tartışmaların giderek artmasını sağlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, Batı Anadolu'nun yazılı belgeler açısından oldukça fakir olması, bu çalışmaları zorlaştırmaktadır. Muğla'daki Yatağan Ovası'nda yer alan ve bölgenin önemli kentlerinden biri konumunda bulunan Stratonikeia kentinin, eski isimlerinden birinin Idrias olduğu bilinmektedir. Hitit yazılı belgelerinde adı geçen Atriya ile fonetik benzerlikten hareketle, Atriya'nın, Stratonikeia territoriumu içerisine lokalize edilebileceği önerilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, Stratonikeia'da son yıllarda elde edilen bazı yeni Geç Tunç Çağı bulguları ile tarihi coğrafya çalışmaları bir arada değerlendirilerek, bu konudaki tartışmalara katkı sağlamak hedeflenmiştir. Stratonikeia territoriumu içerisindeki Geç Hellas III dönemi seramik örneklerine, 2009 yılında Taşavlu mevkiinde bulunanlar, 2018 yılında çalışmaları sırasında Stratonikeia kent merkezinde Hierokles Heroon'u altında bulunanlar ile Muğla Müzesi tarafından yapılan 2018-2019 kazılarında açığa çıkarılan Değirmendere Mevkii örnekleri de eklenmiştir. Gerek Hitit krallarının batıya uzanan bazı seferlerinde izlenen güzergah, gerekse Yatağan Ovası ve Çine (Marsyas) Çayı Vadisi'ndeki kentlere ait lokalizasyon önerileri ve arkeolojik bulgular dikkate alındığında, Atriya'nın bu kesimlerde lokalize edilmek istenmesinin bugün için makul bir öneri olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Atriya, Stratonikeia, Lukka, Waliwanda, Iyalanda, Geç Tunç Çağı

## **1. Introduction**

Indirect information about the historical geography of Western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age, is collected from Hittite cuneiforms, especially from the Boğazköy archives. New evaluations of the seal of

Tarkasnawa, the King of Mira,<sup>1</sup> and the inscription of the Karabel monument in Izmir;<sup>2</sup> the inscription in the Yalburt pool,<sup>3</sup> Suratkaya in Herakleia Latmos,<sup>4</sup> and the inscriptions in İzmir Torbali<sup>5</sup> are in Luwian and have made significant contributions to outline the historical geography of Western Anatolia. There are a few seals/seal impressions with hieroglyphic inscriptions in West Anatolia found in Troy,<sup>6</sup> Metropolis,<sup>7</sup> and in Çine-Tepecik.<sup>8</sup> An example that can be included among these documents is the seal in the Haluk Perk collection found near Yortan.<sup>9</sup> Despite being rare, these inscriptions and seals are sufficient to prove that Luwian was used in Western Anatolia during the Late Bronze Age. Oreshko<sup>10</sup> stated that it would not be appropriate to interpret the inscriptions found in Western Anatolia as an indication of the relationship with the Hittite State, instead, they could be referring to a high class of literate bureaucrats from Western Anatolia.

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- <sup>1</sup> Hans G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Seals in the Walters Art Gallery Source" *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36, (1977), 11-14.
- <sup>2</sup> John D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel", *Anatolian Studies* 48, (1998), 1-31.
- <sup>3</sup> Massimo Poetto, L'iscrizione luwio-geroglifica di Yalburt: nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'Anatolia Sud-Occidentale. *Studia Mediterranea* ; 8 (Pavia : G. Iuculano Editore, 1993).
- <sup>4</sup> Suzanne Herbordt, "Die Felsinschriften vom Suratkaya – Latmos" H. Lohmann (ed.), *Feldforschungen im Latmos. Forschungen im Umland von Herakleia am Latmos*, Asia Minor Studien 93 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2019), 128-151.
- <sup>5</sup> Fahri Işık, Mahir Atıcı, Recai Tekoğlu, "Die nachhethitische Königsstele von Karakuyu beim Karabel-Pass. Zur kulturellen Kontinuität vom bronzezeitlichen Mira zum eisenzeitlichen Ionia", *Asia Minor Studien 66: Studien zum antiken Kleinasien VII*, (Bonn: R. Halbert, 2011): 1–33; Rostislav Oreshko "Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia: Long Arm of the Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?" A. Mouton, I. Rutherford, I. Yakubovich (eds.) *Luwian Identities. Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 377-386.
- <sup>6</sup> John D. Hawkins, Donald F. Easton, "A hieroglyphic seal from Troia", *Studia Troica* 6 (1996), 111-117.
- <sup>7</sup> Andreas Schachner, Recep Meriç, "Ein Stempelsiegel des späten 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. aus Metropolis in Ionien.", *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 42/1 (2000), 85-102.
- <sup>8</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, "Ein hethitischer Siegelabdruck aus Çine-Tepecik", *Archäologischen Anzeiger* 2010/1 (2010), 1–11; Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, "Mykenische Kraterfragmente mit figürlichen Darstellungen und ein Siegelabdruck eines hethitischen Prinzen aus der spätbronze-zeitlichen Siedlung von Çine-Tepecik", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2014 (2014), 1-14.
- <sup>9</sup> Ali Dinçol, Belkıs Dinçol, "Ein neues hethitisches Hieroglyphensiegel aus West-anatolien in der Perk-Sammlung", Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, J. Miller (eds.), *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 99–100.
- <sup>10</sup> Rostislav Oreshko "Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia: Long Arm of the Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?" 372.

The seal of “Tarkondemos” and the Karabel inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> produced influential conclusions concerning the borders of the Arzawa, Mira, and Seha River countries. Yalburt inscription and some Hittite texts provided a great deal of information about the location and cities of the Lukka land.<sup>12</sup> The location of the Tarhuntassa region has been testified with various documents, especially the bronze tablet.<sup>13</sup> The prominent role of Troy in the West Anatolian Bronze Age archaeology, as well as the Troy seal with Luwian inscription and the Alaksandu Treaty has led to build fruitful arguments concerning the historical geography of Northwest Anatolia.<sup>14</sup> All these studies were also supported by the data found in the excavations belonging to the Late Bronze Age. Therefore, the borders of the western and southern coasts of Anatolia have been outlined.

This study aims to synthesize the information about Atriya in the Hittite texts and the arguments concerning the location of the cities thought to be in its vicinity, taking into account the new archaeological data from the Late Bronze Age found in the territory of Stratonikeia. For this purpose, general epigraphic and archaeological data will be compiled to reach an opinion about the historical geography of the Yatağan Plain and Çine (Marsyas) Valleys in the Late Bronze Age.

## 2. Hittite Texts Mentioning Atriya and Neighbourhood

The name of the city of Atriya (<sup>URU</sup>At-ri-ya; abbreviated as <sup>URU</sup>At)<sup>15</sup> can be found only in two Hittite documents.<sup>16</sup> One of them is the Tawagalawa Letter and the other is the Milawata Letter, which are important in terms of Hittite-Aegean relations.

<sup>11</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 1-31.

<sup>12</sup> Trevor Bryce, “The Lukka Problem-and a Possible Solution” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33/4, (1974), 395-404.

<sup>13</sup> Massimo Poetto, L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt, nuove acquisizioni relative alla geografia dell'Anatolia Sud-Occidentale; Meltem Doğan-Alparslan, “Anadolu'nun Kayıp Başkenti, Tarhuntassa” *Aktüel Arkeoloji* 21, (2011), 46-57.

<sup>14</sup> John D. Hawkins, Donald F. Easton, “A hieroglyphic seal from Troia”, 111-117.

<sup>15</sup> The transcriptions in Hittite are given in parentheses for the names of the locations quoted from the texts which are mentioned for the first time in the article. In case the same name of the location is spelled differently in any document, a transcription of that new spelling is given when referring to the relevant document, so that the differences in both spelling and determinative usage can be recognized by the reader.

<sup>16</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, Texte der Hethiter Philologische und historische Studien zur Altanatolistik Heft 27, (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), 115.

**a. The Tawagalawa Letter (KUB 14.3/CTH 181)<sup>17</sup>** : It was probably written by Hattusili III and addressed to Tawagalawa, the King of Ahhiyawa; however, the majority of the content involved the hostile acts of Piyamaradu against the Hittite. It can be inferred from here that the people of Lukka (LU<sup>MEŠ</sup> URULu-uq-qa-a) sought help from both Hittite and Ahhiyawan kings against the attacks of Piyamaradu. In response to this call for help, the Hittite king organized a campaign to Attarimma (URUAt-ta-ri-im-ma). Then he destroyed the city of Attarimma, including the acropolis walls. During this campaign, he first arrived at the city of Sallapa (URUŠal-la-pa), and here they, he and Piyamaradu, sent messages to each other. After that, the Hittite King marched to the city of Waliwanda (URUWa-li-wa-an-da), and he ordered Piyamaradu: “If you desire the domination of the Hittite King, I shall not see you or any of your men in the city when I arrive at Iyalanda (URUI-ya-la-an-da)”. However, the order of the King was not obeyed, and Hattusili III had to fight the enemy in three different locations in Iyalanda, a very steep place to fight on. After that, the Hittite King destroyed the entire country (KUR URUI-ya-la-an-da), and let Atriya remain as a single fortress -without destroying- as a gesture of goodwill towards a city, the name of which could not be read. After these events, he marched to Millawanda (URUMé-el-la-wa-an-da). Whether Hattusili III reached Millawanda is debatable.<sup>18</sup> Piyamaradu escaped from Millawanda on a ship. According to this text, Atpa, the King of Millawanda was a subordinate of the King of Ahhiyawa during this period.<sup>19</sup> As a result of the clay analyzes made on the tablet on which the Tawagalawa letter was written, it was argued that it originated from a clay bed around Miletus;<sup>20</sup> therefore, the relevant document was written in Hittite in Western Anatolia.

<sup>17</sup> For transcription and translation see Garstang ve Gurney 1959, 111-114; Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, Writings from the ancient World. Society of Biblical Literature no. 15. (Atlanta, 2009), 296-320; Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 97-104; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, Jewish, Society of biblical literature no. 28, (Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 97-104; D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, N. C. Stampolidis, Ç. Maner, K. Kopanias (eds). *Nostoi Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration*, (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015), 21-22.

<sup>18</sup> John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 22.

<sup>19</sup> John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Alexander Herda, “Greek (and our) Views on the Karians” A. Mouton, I. Rutherford, I. Yakubovich (eds.) *Luwian Identities. Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 436; John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 21.

The basic information about Atriya obtained from this text can be summarized as follows:

- Atriya is a fortress accessible from Waliwanda and located near Iyalanda.
- Atriya is under the rule of the Hittite King together with Iyalanda and Waliwanda.
- Since the Hittite king destroyed “the entire country” except Atriya, Atriya is within the borders of the “Land of Iyalanda”.<sup>21</sup>
- All these cities are estimated to be located on the road to Millawanda and close to Millawanda.

**b. The Milawata Letter (CTH 182/KUB 19.55+KUB 48.90)<sup>22</sup>:** According to Hawkins,<sup>23</sup> this letter was written by Tuthaliya IV to Tarkasnawa, the King of Mira. The Hittite King and the King of Mira reached an agreement on the borders of Millawata (<sup>KUR</sup>Mi-la-wa-ta). As it can be understood from here, the Ahhiyawa domination on Millawata came to an end, and the region became the land of Mira. The Hittite King mentioned the return of the captives of the cities of Utima (<sup>URU</sup>U-ti-ma) and Atriya, which were his subjects.<sup>24</sup> According to this text, the Hittite King asked for the return of the captives of the cities of Utima and Atriya from the father of the King of Mira.<sup>25</sup> In response, the Hittite king returned the captivities of Awarna (<sup>URU</sup>A-wa-ar-na) and Pina (<sup>URU</sup>Pi-na) as a gesture of goodwill. In addition, he made a request to the king, the recipient of the letter, saying, “Your father did not keep this promise, you shall keep it”.

The information about Atriya obtained from this text can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>21</sup> Trevor Bryce, “The Lukka Problem-and a Possible Solution,” 401; Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 102.

<sup>22</sup> For transcription and translation see John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959), 114-115, Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 104-114; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 123-132, John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 28, Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 320.

<sup>23</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 19; John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 28.

<sup>24</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 115-119, 212; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 132)

<sup>25</sup> Alantalli after John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 19.

- Atriya is estimated to be located somewhere close to the border of Milawata.
- Milawata may have had a border with the Kingdom of Mira and also been in a position to take captives from Utima and Atriya.<sup>26</sup>
- Since the city of Atriya and Utima were mentioned together, the two may have been close to each other and been in the domain of the Hittite King. This was also the case during the reign of his father (Alantalli), who was on the throne before Tarkasnawa.
- It can be inferred that the cities of Awarna and Pina were also close to each other and were not far from Atriya. The Yalburt and Emirgazi inscriptions also support this inference, and they probably were not too far from the cities like Wiyanawanda and Patara in Yalburt.<sup>27</sup>
- Atriya may have been still under the domination of the Hittite Kingdom.

Aside from the two texts mentioned above, The Indictment of Maduwatta text and the Annales of Mursili II where the Arzawa campaign was told, are vital sources for this argument here, albeit not mentioning the name Atriya. Therefore, it is appropriate to mention briefly here:

**c. The Indictment of Madduwatta Text** (KUB 14.1, CTH 147)<sup>28</sup> In this text, which described the events in the period of Arnuwanda I, the crimes committed by a person named Maduwatta against the Hittite king were listed. Iyalanda (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ya-lan-ti, KUR<sup>URU</sup> I-ya-la-an-ti), Wallarima (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Wa-al-la-ri-im-ma), Attarimma (KUR<sup>URU</sup> At-ta-ri-im-ma), Suruta (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Šu-ru-ú-ta), Zumanti (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Zu-u-ma-an-ti), Mutamutassa (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Mu-ú-ta-mu-ú-ta-aš-ša) Zumrari (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Zu-u-mar-ri) and Hursanassa (KUR<sup>URU</sup> Hu-u-ur-ša-na-aš-ša), were attacked by Maduwatta. The Hittite King asked Maduwatta why he attacked Hapalla, which belonged to him; and he receives the following response from Maduwatta: “Hapalla is the land of His Majesty; however, Iyalanti, Zumarri, and Wallarima are mine, I took them by sword (army)”.<sup>29</sup> It is also mentioned that Maduwatta

<sup>26</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 19.

<sup>27</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 185-186)

<sup>28</sup> For transcription and translations, see Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 69-98, John D. Hawkins, “The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)”, 23-24.

<sup>29</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 79; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 93.

provoked Dalawa (<sup>URU</sup>Da-la-u-wa) and Hinduwa (<sup>URU</sup>Hi-in-du-wa) against the Hittite King. The cities mentioned here were captured as a result of the same military campaign so they should be close to each other,<sup>30</sup> and some/all of them could be in Lukka region.<sup>31</sup>

The information in this text that may indirectly relate to the issue of Atriya is as follows:

- The names of cities that may have been located close to each other were listed: Iyalanda, Wallarima, Attarimma, Suruta, Zumanti, Mutamutassa, Zummari, Hursanassa.
- These cities were considered as his territory by the Hittite King and were probably all in or near the Lukka Lands.

**d. Annales of Mursili II** (CHT 61.I)<sup>32</sup> Uhhaziti, the King of Arzawa, did not return the captives belonging to the Hittite King, Mursili II. Thereupon, the Hittite king fought against the son of Uhhaziti on the banks of the Astarpa River and was victorious. After that, he started the campaign to Arzawa. The Hittite King mentioned that the captives of Huwarsanassa and Suruta, and then the captives of Attarimma, escaped from him. After the campaign of Arinnanda and Puranda, he came back to the banks of Astarpa. During these events, he stated that he gave an order to the city of Karkisa (<sup>URU</sup>Kar-ki-ša) against the supporters of Uhhaziti and rewarded the city for obeying this order.

The information in this text that may indirectly relate to the issue of Atriya is as follows:

- Attarimma, Huwarsanassa, and Suruta, which seem to be in Southwest Anatolia, may have been close to each other.

### 3. Historical Geography of Southwest Anatolia and Localizations

The identification of Atriya with Stratonikeia was first proposed by Hrozny<sup>33</sup> based on the fact that Hittite texts mention its name together with the cities in the Southwestern Anatolia, as well as its phonetic similarity with

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<sup>30</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 105.

<sup>31</sup> Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 98; Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 115.

<sup>32</sup> For transcription and translations, see Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 15-33; John D. Hawkins, "The Political Geography of Arzawa (Western Anatolia)", 22-23.

<sup>33</sup> Bedrich Hrozny, "Hethiter und Griechen", *archive orientalni* 1 (1929), 326, Taf. XI.



the name Idrias. This argument was later accepted by other researchers.<sup>34</sup> As summarized in the previous chapter, the localization of Millawanda, Iyalanda, Waliwanda, and Utima, -which seem located near Lukka and Atriya- are of crucial importance for the discussion of Atriya.

The name Lukka was encountered for the first time in Hittite texts in the time of Telepinu. More information was obtained based on the documents belonging to especially the period of Mursili II and later periods.<sup>35</sup> The name Lukka exists in both cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions. It is written as KUR(.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup>)<sup>URU</sup>Lukka (Lu-uk-ka-ka, Lu-uq-qa-a) in Hittite, and as Lu-ka REGIO-zi/a in Luwian. According to the relationship of Lycian language seen in the 5th-4th century BC inscriptions with the Indo-European Luwian, at least some of the Lycian population originated from the native Luwian people and two regions -Lukka and Lycia- might be identical based on the phonetic similarity.<sup>36</sup> The Land of Lukka was probably located in the southwest of the Hatti land and had a coast to the sea judging by its naval power.<sup>37</sup> The fact that some of the Iron Age toponyms in Lycia had significant phonetic similarities with Hittite texts also supported the acceptance of the Lukka=Lykia identification among scientists.<sup>38</sup> The Land of Lukka, which was mentioned in various ways in Hittite texts, (<sup>URU</sup>Lukka, KUR<sup>URU</sup> Lukka) or the men from Lukka (LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Onofrio Carruba, "Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens", F. Blakolmer, J. Borchhardt (eds.) *Fremde Zeiten, Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt I*, (Wien, Phoibos, 1996), 32, fn. 31; John D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel" 27, fn. 168; Alexander Herda, "Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration", F. Rumscheid (ed.), *Die Karer und die Anderen, Internationales Kolloquium an der Freien Universität Berlin 13. Bis 15. Oktober 2005*, (Bonn, R. Habelt, 2009), 54, Abb. 4; Bilal Söğüt, *Stratonikeia (Eskihisar) ve Kutsal Alanları*, Stratonikeia Çalışmaları 5, (İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 2019), 27.

<sup>35</sup> For a chronological list of Hittite texts in which the name Lukka is mentioned see Trevor Bryce, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, (Copenhagen, Museum Tusulanum Press, 1986), 8-10; Sezer Seçer-Fidan, "Yazılı Belgeler Işığında Lukka Ülkesi'nin Hitit Tarihindeki Yeri" E. Akyürek Şahin, M. E. Yıldız, M. Alkan, (eds.) *Eskiçağ Yazıları 6 - Akdeniz eskiçağ araştırmaları*, Akdeniz Üniversitesi Akdeniz Dillerini ve Kültürlerini Araştırma Merkezi dizisi 8 (İstanbul, Arkeoloji Sanat Yayınları, 2014), 192-205.

<sup>36</sup> Trevor Bryce *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Trevor Bryce, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, 5; Frank Starke, "Milattan Önce İkinci Bin Yılın Güç Dengesi İçinde Troia", *Troia Düş ve Gerçek*, (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag GmbH, 2001), 43, fn.2.

<sup>38</sup> Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 300; Adnan Diler, "Genel Hatları ile Lykia ve Karia İlişkileri Üzerine Bazı Notlar", H. İşkan, F. Işık (eds.) *Kum'dan Kent'e Patara Kazılarının 25 Yılı Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, 11-13 Kasım 2013 Antalya, Patara VII.1, (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2015), 147.

<sup>URU</sup>Lukka) did not seem to be reflect a political union. Bryce<sup>39</sup> evaluated them as independent communities with ethnic similarities. Seçer-Fidan<sup>40</sup> underlined that the name Lukka was first mentioned as KUR.KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>URU</sup>Luqqa in the Annales of Hattusili III, and interpreted this expression as a federation of different cities/principalities.

Another controversial issue is the borders of Lukka. In general, there is a consensus that the borders of Lukka in the Hittite Period did not exactly match with the ones of classical Lycia.<sup>41</sup> There have been assumptions that the Ancient Caria was also located in Lukka<sup>42</sup> or it may have covered only a part of the Lycia extending to further east from there.<sup>43</sup> Some researchers localized Karkisa/Garakisa/Karkiya which was mentioned in Hittite texts, in the Northwest Anatolia, according to Alaksandu Treaty.<sup>44</sup> Since Karkisa was mentioned alongside Lukka in different texts, it was not part of Lukka; it was autonomous. Lukka is also mentioned in the Alaksandu Treaty; therefore, this does not seem sufficient to locate all of the cities/lands that joined the alliance were in Northwest Anatolia. The fact that Mursili II gave an order to Karkisa (<sup>URU</sup> Kar-ki-ša) and rewarded the city during his campaign to Arzawa<sup>45</sup> is an important clue to localize the city in the Southwest Anatolia. Hawkins<sup>46</sup> mentioned that Karkisa/Karkiya can be associated with classical Caria. According to Herda<sup>47</sup>, Karkisa should have had Millawanda to its west, Tarhuntassa to its east, Mira to its north, and Lukka to its south/southeast; the Latmos-Suratkaya inscription was to be associated with the border between Mira-Millawanda and Karkisa.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Trevor Bryce *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Sezer Seçer-Fidan, “Yazılı Belgeler Işığında Lukka Ülkesi'nin Hitit Tarihindeki Yeri”, 192,201.

<sup>41</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 63-64.

<sup>42</sup> Sezer Seçer-Fidan, “Yazılı Belgeler Işığında Lukka Ülkesi'nin Hitit Tarihindeki Yeri”, 208.

<sup>43</sup> Frank Starke, “Milattan Önce İkinci Bin Yılın Güç Dengesi İçinde Troia”, 43, fn. 2; Max Gander “Antik Yakınoğu Kaynaklarında Lukka, Likyalılar ve Trmmili” H. İşkan, E. Dündar (eds.) *Lukka'dan Lykia'ya Sarpedon ve Aziz Nikolaos'un Ülkesi*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019), 88.

<sup>44</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, X, 82, 103, 107, Map 1.

<sup>45</sup> Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 33.

<sup>46</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira “Tarkondemos”, Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 29, fn. 184

<sup>47</sup> Alexander Herda, “Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration”, 49; Alexander Herda, “Greek (and our) Views on the Karians” A. Mouton, I. Rutherford, I. Yakubovich (eds.) *Luwian Identities. Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), 433-434.

<sup>48</sup> Alexander Herda, “Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration”, 52-55; Alexander Herda, “Greek (and our) Views on the Karians” 433-434.

The localization of the cities of Millawanda, Iyalanda, Waliwanda, and Utima, are of special importance for the localization of Atriya. Before looking at these cities, it is appropriate to briefly touch upon the arguments concerning the localization of other cities in the Southwest Anatolia (Fig. 1-2). Bryce<sup>49</sup> evaluated all the cities of Lukka under three main clusters based on Hittite texts while Carruba<sup>50</sup> extended this argument by reconsidering the clusters by Bryce. The clusters according to these two studies are listed in Table 1:

After Bryce 1974, Table 1		After Carruba 1996, Table 1		Identification (after Carruba 1996)	Identification (by other researchers)
Attarimma Group	Attarimma	Attarimma Group	Attarimma		Telmessos Trml(=Lycia)
	Suruta		Suruta		
	Huwarsanassa		Huwarsanassa		
			Mutamutassa	Mylasa	
Iyalanda Group	Iyalanda	Iyalanda/Millawanda Group	Iyalanda	Alinda	
	Wallarima		Waliwanda	Alabanda	
	Zumanti		Zumanti		
	Zumarri		Zumarri		
	Arinna				Arnña
			Millawanda	Miletos	
			Wallarima	Hyllarima	
Dalawa Group	Dalawa	Dalawa Group	Dalawa	Tlos	
	Hinduwa		Hinduwa	Candyba	
	Kuwalapassa		Kuwalapassa	Telmessos	Kolbasa
			Kuwalatarna	Telandros	
			Awarna	Arnña	
			Atriya	Idrias	
			Utima	Idyima	
			Pina	Pinara	
			Wiyawanda	Oinoanda	
			Patar	Patara	
Table 1: Groups of Southwest Anatolian cities					

Some of the identifications on Table 1 (Atriya=Idrieus, Utima=Idyima, Wallarima=Hyllarima) were suggested by Hrozný<sup>51</sup> and it was suggested that Zumanti, Wallarima, Iyalanti, Zummari, Mutamutassa, Attarimma, Suruta, and Hursanassa mentioned in the Maduwatta text must

<sup>49</sup> Trevor Bryce, "The Lukka Problem-and a Possible Solution," 400, Table 1.

<sup>50</sup> Onofrio Carruba, "Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens", 39, Table 1.

<sup>51</sup> Bedrich Hrozný, "Hethiter und Griechen", 326-327.

be in Caria and/or Lycia.<sup>52</sup> For the two cities, Awarna and Pina, of which names were mentioned in the Milawata text as corresponding to the captives of Atriya and Utima, the cities of Xanthos (Lyk. Arnña) and Pinara were suggested respectively based on phonetic similarity.<sup>53</sup> Hawkins<sup>54</sup> indicated that Pinali in the Yalburt inscription and Pina in the Tawagalawa text referred to the same city. Awarna, usually accepted as equal to Arinna which is mentioned in the annales of Tuthaliya IV was identified with Xantos.<sup>55</sup> Mursili II wanted the return of the captives of Attarimma, Suruta, and Huwarsanassa, who escaped from Uhhaziti. According to Garstang and Gurney<sup>56</sup>, these three cities were on the border of Lukka and were supposed to be the lands of Hittite during the time of Mursili II. According to several researchers, Attarimma was Telmessos.<sup>57</sup> Carruba,<sup>58</sup> on the other hand, states that the name Attarimma was the origin of the Lycian name Trmmili, i.e. Lycians in the Iron Age, and this city should be localized in Lycia together with Suruta and Huwarsanassa. Gander<sup>59</sup> underlined the following information about Wallarima: According to documents from the period of Hattusili III, it was close to Iyalanda.

The Millawanda/Milawata= Miletos identification is the most widely accepted for the Southwest Anatolia and is now almost undisputedly accepted.<sup>60</sup> This shows that most of the city names mentioned in both Milawata and Tawagalawa texts were supposed to be near Miletos and at least in an easily accessible distance from/to Miletos.

<sup>52</sup> John Garstang, Oliver R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 76-79.

<sup>53</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 187.

<sup>54</sup> John D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel", 19.

<sup>55</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 79.

<sup>56</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 76-77.

<sup>57</sup> John D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel", 26, fn. 163-164; Penelope Mountjoy, "The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa", *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998), 48; Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, 300, fn. 256

<sup>58</sup> Onofrio Carruba, "Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens", 30-33.

<sup>59</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 112-114.

<sup>60</sup> Bedrich Hrozný, "Hethiter und Griechen", 323; John Garstang, "Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor, A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map", *American Journal of Archaeology* 47/1, (1943), 42; John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 80; Onofrio Carruba, "Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens", 25-39; Niemeier 1997, 531-532; John D. Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel" 26, fn. 161; Bryce 2003, 59, fn. 36; Alexander Herda, "Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration", 46-48; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 268.

When it comes to Iyalanda, Hrozný<sup>61</sup> opposed the views localizing Iyalanda near Konya and Afyonkarahisar by suggesting it should have been in Western Anatolia and identified Iyalanda with Alinda. Garstang<sup>62</sup> supported this opinion, and Garstang and Gurney<sup>63</sup> reported that it was in line with the war conditions defined by Mursili III, considering the rocky hill and the rugged nature of the land on which Alinda was founded. Ünal<sup>64</sup> listed Iyalanda among the cities of Southwest Anatolia. Seçer-Fidan<sup>65</sup> associated Iasos with Iyalanda. However, the equation of Iyalanda=Alinda is more widely accepted.<sup>66</sup>

Although Hrozný<sup>67</sup> desired to associate Waliwanda with Blaundos, the more accepted proposal concerning the identification of this city was with Alabanda.<sup>68</sup> In the Annales of Suppiluliuma I, similar to the Tawagalawa letter, Sallapa and Waliwanda (<sup>URU</sup>Wa-li-wa-an-ta) were the two important stops during the campaign towards Arzawa.<sup>69</sup> Waliwanda was probably the most important stop after the city of Sallapa, and some argue that this city was in the further east compared to Alabanda<sup>70</sup> when various proposals concerning the localization of the city of Sallapa are considered.

<sup>61</sup> Bedrich Hrozný, “Hethiter und Griechen”, 325.

<sup>62</sup> John Garstang, “Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor, A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map”, 42.

<sup>63</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 78.

<sup>64</sup> Ahmet Ünal, “Studien über das hethitische Kriegswesen II, Verba Delendi harnink/harganu- “vernichten, zugrunde richten”.” *Studi Micenei et Egeo-Anatolic* 24 (1984), 85.

<sup>65</sup> Sezer Seçer-Fidan, “Yazılı Belgeler Işığında Lukka Ülkesi'nin Hitit Tarihindeki Yeri”, 200.

<sup>66</sup> Trevor Bryce, “The Lukka Problem-and a Possible Solution”, 402; Onofrio Carruba, “Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens”, 32, fn. 31; John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira 'Tarkondemos', Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel” 26, fn. 162; Penelope Mountjoy, “The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa”, 48, Alexander Herda, “Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration”, Abb. 4; Harry A. Hoffner, *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*, fn. 269

<sup>67</sup> Bedrich Hrozný, “Hethiter und Griechen”, 325.

<sup>68</sup> John Garstang, “Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor, A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map”, 42; John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 79; Trevor Bryce, “The Lukka Problem-and a Possible Solution,” 403; Onofrio Carruba, “Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens”, Table 1; also for all documents where the name Waliwanda is read see Gander Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 143-150.

<sup>69</sup> Massimo Forlanini, “Hauppuriya, eine Hauptstadt von Arzawa?”, M. Alparslan, M.Doğan-Alparslan, H. Peker (eds.) *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan VITA Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, (İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 2007), 290; Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 147-149.

<sup>70</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 192.

This opinion, which localizes Iyalanda and Waliwanda in the further east, hence localized Atriya and Utima in the further east.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, Hrozny<sup>72</sup> identified Idyma with Utima considering its proximity to Artia/Idrias and its phonetic similarity, and this argument was supported by some researchers.<sup>73</sup> (Figs. 1-2).

### 5. Late Bronze Age in Yatağan Plain and Çine (Marsyas) Valley<sup>74</sup>

Stratonikeia is located in the district of Eskihisar, within the borders of the Yatağan district of Muğla. The city was established on the northern slope of the hill known as the Kadıkulesi Hill and on the plain area to the north. It is close to the source of the Çine (Marsyas) river and dominates the Yatağan Plain. This has provided both agricultural and industrial advantages, leading to the city and the plain having a long history of settlement. In the Late Bronze Age, Yatağan plain seem to be densely occupied<sup>75</sup> (Fig. 3).

#### a. Stratonikeia and the Heroon of Hierocles

The first Late Bronze Age finds from Stratonikeia was published by Hanfmann and Waldbaum in 1968.<sup>76</sup> These almost complete pots were found near the theatre and may have belonged to a tomb.<sup>77</sup>

One of the pots is a stirrup jar with a decoration thick horizontal band in five rows on the body. When viewed from above, vertical wavy lines are visible between the handles and the mouth. This stirrup jar is very similar

<sup>71</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 202.

<sup>72</sup> Bedrich Hrozny, "Hethiter und Griechen", 327.

<sup>73</sup> John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 81; Onofrio Carruba, "Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens, Neues zur Frühgeschichte Lykiens", 32, fn. 31.

<sup>74</sup> I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the excavation team and especially to Prof. Bilal Söğüt, the head of the excavation, who shared his knowledge and opinions, and provided all kinds of permission and support to me to study on the city and its surroundings concerning the Bronze Age by making me a team member in the Stratonikeia and Lagina excavations.

<sup>75</sup> A new research carried out in Koranza, north of Lagina yielded also some Late Bronze Age ceramics. Personal communication with B. Söğüt.

<sup>76</sup> George M. A. Hanfmann, Jane C. Waldbaum, "Two Submycenaean Vases and a Tablet from Stratonikeia in Caria", *American Journal of Archaeology* 72/1 (1968), 51-56.

<sup>77</sup> George M.A. Hanfmann, Jane C. Waldbaum, "Two Submycenaean Vases and a Tablet from Stratonikeia in Caria", 51; Yusuf Boysal, "Stratonikeia Nekropolünün Tarihsel Süreci", *Remzi Oğuz Arık Armağanı*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1987), 53; Bilal Söğüt, "Stratonikeia'da Hellenistik Dönem Öncesi", M. Tekocak (ed.), *K. Levent Zoroğlu'na Armağan/Studies in Honour of K. Levent Zoroğlu*, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 614, fn.72)

to Kos Late Helladic III C-Middle<sup>78</sup> examples in terms of shape and decoration. The other vase is a bowl with wavy lines between horizontal bands. The bowls with similar decoration are characteristic of the Dodecanese and the interface in the Late Helladic IIIC Early-Middle Period<sup>79</sup>. Therefore, these previously published samples may date to the Late Helladic IIIC Early-Middle period.

Another Late Bronze Age context was found in situ for the first time during the 2018 excavation season. This is a ceremonial pit unearthed under the Late Hellenistic Heroon of Hierocles, located close to the iconic North City Gate of Stratonikeia dating to the Roman period<sup>80</sup> (Fig. 4–5). The preliminary studies and first absolute dating of this pit, which is soon to be published, shed light on Late Bronze Age activities in this part of the city. On a small group of the pottery from this pit chosen for this article (Fig. 4-5), the horizontal wavy line (FM 53) combined with the band motif seen and the “isolated semi-circle” motifs (FM 43:27) are clearly visible which are characteristic for the Late Helladic IIIC Early-Middle pottery of the region.<sup>81</sup>

#### b. Taşavlu District

Taşavlu is located approximately 3.5 km southeast of the center of Stratonikeia. It is located in the fields between the coal dust accumulation area and the striped coal transmission line. In Late Bronze Age, it was a hillside settlement located on the plain to the east of the Peynirli Hill, on the banks of the Kapubağ Stream.<sup>82</sup>

Among the surface material, there are painted Mycenaean pottery as well as the monochrome pottery that can be dated to the Late Bronze Age (Fig. 6-7). Wavy lines combined with band motifs and rows of “isolated semi-circles” are very similar to the pottery from the Heroon of Hierocles, and the Taşavlu material should be dated to the Late Helladic IIIC Early-Middle too.

<sup>78</sup> Penelope Mountjoy *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, (Rahden: Leidorf, 1999), 1118, Fig. 459:157.

<sup>79</sup> Penelope Mountjoy *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, 1080, Fig. 441: h-i.

<sup>80</sup> Bilal Söğüt, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina 2018 Yılı Çalışmaları”, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 41/1 (2020), 374-378; Bilal Söğüt, “Stratonikeia’da Yerleşim Tarihi ve Kentsel Doku/Stratonicea’s Settlement History and Urbanisation”, O. C. Henry, A. Belgin-Henry (eds.) *Karialılar Denizcilerden Kent Kuruculara/The Carians from Seafarers to City Builders*, (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020), 288-290.

<sup>81</sup> Penelope Mountjoy *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, 986, 1080, Fig. 400.j, 441.j.

<sup>82</sup> Umay Oğuzhanoglu, “Stratonikeia Antik Kenti Çevresinde Erken Yerleşim İzleri” B. Söğüt (ed.), *Stratonikeia ve Çevresi Araştırmaları*, Stratonikeia Çalışmaları 1, (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2015), 12-13.

### c. Değirmendere District

Değirmendere which is about 5 km north of the center of Stratonikeia, discovered during rescue excavations carried out by the Directorate of Muğla Museum in Samantaş region. This is the only site where Late Bronze Age domestic architecture and storages have been unearthed so far. In Değirmendere, houses with stone foundations including an abundance of loom weights and spindle whorls, together with a very high amount of decorated Mycenaean ceramics, suggested the focus of textile activities. Pithoi which are vertically-placed on a floor and clustered in the periphery of the settlement, must have been the common storage area of the settlement. The pottery has not been published in detail. A small group chosen for this paper dates mainly to the Late Helladic IIIB-C period, starting from the Late Helladic IIIA (Fig. 8-9)<sup>83</sup>. The kylix with octopus decoration and a band motif extending along its handle is known to be characteristic of the konié starting from Late Helladic IIIA2 until Late Helladic IIIB<sup>84</sup>. In addition, the semicircular motifs also point out to the Late Helladic IIIC Early-Middle period, similar to Stratonikeia and Taşavlu.

The technical characteristics of the ceramics in the three locations mentioned above are very similar. Painted Mycenaean pottery, usually with a brick red paste, is decorated in shades of red, orange, and brown, applied on top of a yellowish beige slip. The monochrome ware has a buff paste and is slipped in the shades of red and orange.

### d. Çine Tepecik

Tepecik is the only systematically excavated Late Bronze Age settlement in Southwest Anatolia. A privileged class that managed to establish overseas relations in Çine Tepecik since the Chalcolithic period. In the Late Bronze Age, the settlement was surrounded by a strong fortification system, which was supported by square-planned towers and built with mudbrick on a stone foundation. The jugs with stirrup handle found in these fortresses were dated back to Late Helladic III B2.<sup>85</sup> Inside the fortified

<sup>83</sup> The above-mentioned material has not yet been published. The ceramic presented here upon the permission of the Directorate of Muğla Museum and the scientific advisor of the rescue excavations, Prof. Dr. Bilal Söğüt. The Late Bronze Age painted pottery is abundant in this site while only a very small group is included here. I would like to thank the Directorate of Muğla Museum for the permission to see and evaluate the site and ceramics during the excavation.

<sup>84</sup> Penelope Mountjoy, "The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa", 43.

<sup>85</sup> Sevinç Günel, "Karia Bölgesi'nin Kentleşme Sürecinde Çine-tepecik Höyüğü/The Process of Urbanization in Caria in Light of Çine-Tepecik Mound",35; O.C. Henry, A. Belgin-



settlement, there is a magazine building, which contains in situ pithoi for storage. There are workshops close to the fortification with evidences of oil and textile production.<sup>86</sup> The pottery consists of both imported and local decorated Mycenaean ware alongside monochrome ware<sup>87</sup>.

Two *bullae*, imprinted by seals with Luwian inscriptions, were stored in the magazine building. They belonged to the construction phase of the building and were kept there as long as the building remained in use.<sup>88</sup> One of them was impressed by a Hittite prince seal and displayed the characteristics of Mursili III period in iconographic terms. Accordingly, it points to the direct relations of the city with the the Hittite kingdom, and that it remained under the influence of the Hittites during at least the Mursili III and Tuthaliya IV periods<sup>89</sup>. The name Tarkasna read on the other *bulla* was to be correlated with Tarkasnawa, the King of Mira.<sup>90</sup> The absolute dates obtained from the pithoi which probably were closed by Hittite seals and protected the official goods, indicated the date range of 1360-1120 BC.<sup>91</sup>

#### 6. Iron Age and afterwards: Idrias, Chrysaoris, Stratonikeia and the Local Cults

After the collapse of Hittite kingdom, information about Southwestern Anatolia can only be obtained from the antique writers of the Classical and later periods as well as from the epigraphic material from archaeological excavations.

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Henry (eds.) Kariahlar Denizcilerden Kent Kuruculara/The Carians from Seafarers to City Builders (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020), 29-30, 35.

<sup>86</sup> Sevinç Günel, “Karia Bölgesi’nin Kentleşme Sürecinde Çine-tepecik Höyüğü/The Process of Urbanization in Caria in Light of Çine-Tepecik Mound”, 36-37.

<sup>87</sup> Sevinç Günel, “Mycenaean cultural impact on the Çine (Marsyas) plain, southwest Anatolia, the evidence from Çine-Tepecik”, *Anatolian Studies* 60 (2010), 25–49; Sevinç Günel, “Çine-Tepecik, New Contributions on Late Bronze Age Cultures in Western Anatolia”. N. C. Stampolidis, Ç. Maner, K. Kopanias (eds). *Nostoi Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration*. (İstanbul, Koç University Press, 2015), 585-605.

<sup>88</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, “Mykenische Kraterfragmente mit figürlichen Darstellungen und ein Siegelabdruck eines hethitischen Prinzen aus der spätbronze-zeitlichen Siedlung von Çine-Tepecik”, 10-11.

<sup>89</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, “Mykenische Kraterfragmente mit figürlichen Darstellungen und ein Siegelabdruck eines hethitischen Prinzen aus der spätbronze-zeitlichen Siedlung von Çine-Tepecik”, 8-11.

<sup>90</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, “Ein hethitischer Siegelabdruck aus Çine-Tepecik”, 5-8; Sevinç Günel, “Karia Bölgesi’nin Kentleşme Sürecinde Çine-tepecik Höyüğü/The Process of Urbanization in Caria in Light of Çine-Tepecik Mound”, 38.

<sup>91</sup> Sevinç Günel, “Karia Bölgesi’nin Kentleşme Sürecinde Çine-tepecik Höyüğü/The Process of Urbanization in Caria in Light of Çine-Tepecik Mound”, 35-38.

Stratonikeia took different names in various periods.<sup>92</sup> One of the old names of the city and the surrounding region was Idrias (Ἰδριάς). Zgusta<sup>93</sup> reported that this name belonged to a city on the banks of the Marsyas in Caria and was in ancient Anatolian languages. Herodotus<sup>94</sup> stated that “the Marsyas river flows from the region of Idrias and issues into the Meander”. Stephanus Byzantius stated that the city had been named as Khrysaoris, Idrias and Hekatesia before.<sup>95</sup> Pausanias<sup>96</sup> wrote about Stratonikeia that “both the city and the region used to be named as Khrysaoris” before. The name Hekatesia, was changed to Stratonikeia during the Hellenistic foundation when the city was dominated by the Macedonians and then the Seleucids.<sup>97</sup>

As cited by Gander,<sup>98</sup> Freu<sup>99</sup> pointed to a phonetic similarity between Zeus Khrysaoreus and the name Hu(wa)rsanassa, a city in the vicinity of Attarimma and Suruta. The adjective Khrysaoreus was Greek and meant “with a golden sword, holding a golden sword”.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, it seems difficult to support the association of Hu(wa)rsanassa=Khrysaoris<sup>101</sup>. This proposition is in fact based on the famous cult of Zeus Khrysaoreus in the region. After Strabo,<sup>102</sup> there were two temples in Stratonikeia: One was the temple of Hekate in Lagina, and the other was the temple of Zeus

<sup>92</sup> Murat Aydaş, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina Polis ve Peripolion, Stratonikeia, ve Çevresi Araştırmaları”, B. Söğüt (ed.), *Stratonikeia Çalışmaları 1*, (İstanbul, Ege Yayınları, 2015), 71-77; Murat Aydaş, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina Klasik Filoloji, Epigrafi ve Eskiçağ Tarihi Araştırmaları”, 608-610 in, B. Söğüt, “Stratonikeia 2013 Yılı Çalışmaları”, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 36/3, (2015), 597-622; Bilal Söğüt, *Stratonikeia (Eskihisar) ve Kutsal Alanları*, 26-27.

<sup>93</sup> Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung. Neue Folge; Beiheft 21 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1984), 193 §363 .

<sup>94</sup> Herodotus, 5.118.

<sup>95</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnikon*, 262, 326, 696.

<sup>96</sup> Pausanias 5.21.10.

<sup>97</sup> Murat Aydaş, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina Polis ve Peripolion, Stratonikeia, ve Çevresi Araştırmaları”, 76; Murat Aydaş, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina Klasik Filoloji, Epigrafi ve Eskiçağ Tarihi Araştırmaları”, 608-610.

<sup>98</sup> Max Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*, 201.

<sup>99</sup> Unfortunately, the author of this article was not able to access the original publication where this view of Freu was mentioned.

<sup>100</sup> Nuran Şahin, *Zeus'un Anadolu Kültürleri*, (Antalya: Suna-İnan Kırış Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2001), 78; Murat Aydaş, “Stratonikeia ve Lagina Polis ve Peripolion, Stratonikeia ve Çevresi Araştırmaları”, 75, fn. 35

<sup>101</sup> A very similar argument was made for Hu(wa)rsanassa and Chersonesus; however, this opinion was then abandoned by the same scholars because the name Chersonesus was Greek. See John Garstang, Oliver Robert Gurney *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, 81, fn. 6.

<sup>102</sup> Strabo XIV.2.25

Khrysaoreus near the city center, which belonged to all Carians. Both Lozano<sup>103</sup> and Debord<sup>104</sup> stated that Hellenistic Stratonikeia was founded with by a synoecism within *komai*. Stratonikeia, situated in the middle of Lagina, Koranza, Hierakome, Koliorga, Panamara, must have been chosen as the center for being at the hearth of the Zeus Khrysaoreus cult of and for the strategic importance of the city to control the politico-religious activities of this cult. Another Zeus Khrysaoreus temple was also excavated in Alabanda.<sup>105</sup> By some scholars, the name of Zeus Khrysaoreus, which was obviously a local Carian cult, was related to the Khrysaor the Hero, the brother of Pegasus as named in the Iliad.<sup>106</sup> If this equation is correct, then the origins of the cult can be traced back to the Late Bronze Age.

The name of satrap Idrieus too has a phonetic similarity with the name Idrias. He was from the Hekatomnid family, son of Hekatomnus, and brother of Mausolus. A local Zeus Idrieus cult existed in Iasos and most probably in the whole Caria according to an inscription from Iasos.<sup>107</sup> Zeus Idrieus has been suggested to be created by the divinization of the satrap Idrieus.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, another suggestion for Zeus Idrieus is that it got its name from the toponym Idrias which is an older name than the anthroponym.<sup>109</sup> According to Debord<sup>110</sup> Zeus Khrysaoreus was formerly named as Zeus Idrieus. This is an important hypothesis that links both these two toponyms and these two local cults. Some other Late Bronze Age cult areas were also preferred for the establishment of major Iron Age sanctuaries such as in Miletos, Ephesos, and Samos<sup>111</sup>. We could suggest a similar scenario for Stratonikeia.

<sup>103</sup> Arminda Lozano, “La impronta indígena en la religiosidad oficial de la ciudad griega de Estratonicea. Conexiones entre política y religión”, *Gerion Revista de Historia Antigua* 11 (1993), 75 .

<sup>104</sup> Pierre Debord, “Essai sur la géographie historique de la région de Stratonicee”, *Mélanges Pierre Leveque. Tome 8, Religion, anthropologie et société*. Annales littéraires de l’Université de Besançon, 499 (Besançon, Université de Franche-Comté, 1994), 117.

<sup>105</sup> Suat Ateşlier, “On the Excavations of The Zeus Temple of Alabanda”, *Anatolia Antiqua* XXII, (2014), 249.

<sup>106</sup> Nuran Şahin, *Zeus’un Anadolu Kültleri*, 77-80.

<sup>107</sup> Roberta Fabiani, “I.Iasos” 52 E Il Culto di Zeus “Idrièus” *Studi Classici e Orientali* 61/2, Epigraphy di Iasos Nuovi Supplement, II (Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2015), 163-202.

<sup>108</sup> Nuran Şahin, *Zeus’un Anadolu Kültleri*, 66, fn. 837; Fabiani 2015, dn. 42)

<sup>109</sup> Roberta Fabiani, “Iasos I”, 176.

<sup>110</sup> Pierre Debord, “Essai sur la géographie historique de la région de Stratonicee”, 109-110.

<sup>111</sup> Wolf D. Niemeier, Ourania Kouka “Samos, Heraion” in, Jahresbericht 2009 des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Athen, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2010/1 (2010), 113–114; Ourania Kouka, “Prehistoric Heraion Reconsidered, Glimpses on the Excavations 2009-2013 North of the Sacred Road”, D. Panagiotopoulos, I. Kaiser, O.

### 7. The “Carian Highway” and its key role for the historical geography

The Meander (Büyük Menderes) valley of the river is one of the most important natural routes of Western Anatolia, extending in the east-west direction. It has been crucial for both settlement and communication throughout all archaeological and historical periods<sup>112</sup>. The Çine (Marsyas) stream, fed by the springs in the east of the Yatağan Plain, flows towards the north and merges with the Meander, passing through the town of Çine. It is the most important and convenient natural roads extending from the Meander Valley towards the south. For this reason, it was the main road used by Carian populations, to establish relations with the north<sup>113</sup>. In the Roman road network<sup>114</sup> (Fig. 2), a principal road extends from Meander valley, while the main turnout to the south; in other words, to the Mediterranean coast, starts from Tralleis and follows the Çine (Marsyas) valley through Alabanda and Stratonikeia. Debord pointed out that this route was also the intersection of two important roads in Caria and should therefore be considered influential for the Hellenistic Period.<sup>115</sup> He stated that the Mylasa-Hyllarima road passed through Hierakome and that Stratonikeia was located at its junction with the Alinda-Alabanda-Kerameikos Gulf direction. The same road was also used by Suleiman the Magnificent in his Rhodes expedition.<sup>116</sup>

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Kouka (eds), *Ein Minoer im Exil. Festschrift für Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier*. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie (Aus dem Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Heidelberg) Bd. 270. (Bonn, Habelt, 2015), 223223, Rostislav Oreshko “Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia, Long Arm of the Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?”, 411.

<sup>112</sup> Engin Akdeniz, “Büyük Menderes Havzasında Prehistorik Yerleşim Dokusu”, *Belleten* LXVI/245, (2002), 1-34.

<sup>113</sup> Umay Oğuzhanoğlu, “Büyük Menderes’ten Denize Uzanan Yollar, Güneybatı Anadolu Erken Tunç Çağı Bağlamında Yeni Gözlemler”, V. Şahoğlu, M. Şevketoglu, Y. H. Erbil (eds.) *Kültürlerin Bağlantısı Başlangıcından Roma Dönemi Sonuna Kadar Eski Yakın Doğu’da Ticaret ve Bölgelerarası İlişkiler/Connecting Cultures Trade and Interconnections in the Ancient Near East From the Beginning until the end of the Roman Period*, (Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2019), 103-106.

<sup>114</sup> William Calder, George bean, *A Classical Map of Asia Minor*, (London, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958).

<sup>115</sup> Pierre Debord, “Essai sur la géographie historique de la région de Stratonicee”, 120.

<sup>116</sup> Bilal Söğüt, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’ın Rodos Seferi Güzergâhındaki Antik Yerleşimler Üzerine Genel Bir Değerlendirme” V. Keleş, H. Kasapoğlu, E. Ergürer, E. Çelikbaş, A. Yılmaz (eds.), *Cevat Başaran’a 60. Yaş Armağanı/Essays for Cevat Başaran’s 60th Birthday Occasion*, (Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat, 2019), 129-160.

Hawkins<sup>117</sup> stated that this road through Çine (Marsyas) valley, which he named “Carian highway”, was the most important route to reach Caria and Miletos from the Menderes Valley in the Late Bronze Age. Mountjoy<sup>118</sup> also underlined that it was possible to reach Mylasa by following the Çine (Marsyas) valley to reach Miletos from the Menderes Valley, passing through Alinda and then Stratonikeia. Therefore, the cities lined up along this route and in a position to control it, might have been mentioned in the Hittite texts. The location of Iyalanda, Waliwanda, and Atriya should also be considered accordingly.

Hawkins<sup>119</sup> also stated that the route of Hattusili III must stretch along the Marsyas (Çine), turn northwest from Stratonikeia and Mylasa, and reach Millawanda, passing through the south of Bafa Lake. Similarly, Herda<sup>120</sup> mentioned that this road turned to the northwest via Labraunda and Mylasa (according to him, Mutamutassa). Based on the Tawagalawa Letter, it was mandatory to use the Çine (Marsyas) passage during the Attarimma campaign and the persistence of Tuthaliya IV on the captives of Atriya and Utima, was due to the victory and claim of his father Hattusili III on the cities on the Carian Highway<sup>121</sup>. Günel and Herbordt<sup>122</sup> drew attention to the location of Alinda controlling the natural road here and mentioned that after Alinda, Mursili II passed through the Suratkaya Valley and headed for Millawanda, and the hieroglyphic inscriptions in Suratkaya should be considered regarding the domination on this passage.

### **8. Discussion: Where is Atriya? Localization of a Southwest Anatolian City**

Based on the opposition and captives issue mentioned in the Milawata text, Hrozný<sup>123</sup> suggested that the city of Atriya must have been located in the border area between the Hittites and Millawanda and that the cities of Atriya, Utima, Awarna, and Pina, were supposed to roughly match with the border between the Hittites, Iyalanda, and Millawanda. He also

<sup>117</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira “Tarkondemos”, Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 25-27.

<sup>118</sup> Penelope Mountjoy, “The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaeans and the Kingdom of Ahhiyawa”, 47.

<sup>119</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira “Tarkondemos”, Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 26-27.

<sup>120</sup> Alexander Herda, “Karkiša-Karien und die sogenannte Ionische Migration”, 55.

<sup>121</sup> John D. Hawkins, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira “Tarkondemos”, Boğazköy Sealings and Karabel”, 28.

<sup>122</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, “Ein hethitischer Siegelabdruck aus Çine-Tepecik”, 8.

<sup>123</sup> Bedrich Hrozný, “Hethiter und Griechen”, 327.

stated that the border between the lands of Iyalanda and Millawanda was formed by Idrias in the north and Idyma in the south.

All of the aforementioned localizations and identifications by researcher are based on the same criteria:

- Phonetic similarity
- Geographical location and distance between cities
- Archaeological evidence
- Continuity of local cults and syncretism

At this point, I would like to synthesize the information about Alinda=Iyalanda, Alabanda=Waliwanda, Atriya=Idrias, and Utima=Idyma identifications after these criteria:

**Phonetic similarities:** This criterion is met in all propositions of Alinda=Iyalanda, Alabanda=Waliwanda, Atriya=Idrias, and Utima=Idyma.

**Geographical location and proximity of cities:** After Hittite texts, Atriya, Iyalanda, Waliwanda and Utima must be close to each other as well as to Millawanda (Fig. 1-2). In case the identifications suggested in the previous chapter are accepted, the crow-fly distances of Stratonikeia to these cities and whether they are compatible with the information obtained from the Hittite documents would be as summarized in Table 2.

	Distance (as the crow flies)	Consistent	Not consistent
Distance to Millawanda/Miletos	78 km	X	
Distance to Iyalanda/Alinda	37 km	X	
Distance to Alabanda/Waliwanda	30 km	X	
Distance to Utima/Idyma	38 km	X	
Distance to Awarna/Xantos and Pina/Pinara	156-140 km		X
Table 2: Distances between Atriya/Stratonikeia and other cities, and their consistency with the written sources			

**Archaeological evidence:** There are at least four different Late Bronze Age findspots within the territory Stratonikeia: Heroon of Hierokles/city center, Taşavlu, Değirmendere and Koranza<sup>124</sup>. We could assume that these different areas were subject to the same city like in the Iron Age. Khrysaoris and Idrias were the names of both cities and regions. The fact that Iyalanda and Hyllarima were mentioned in the same text with both the <sup>URU</sup> and KUR<sup>URU</sup> determinatives suggests that these names expressed both the city and the political border/territory of the land. In this

<sup>124</sup> See fn. 75.

case, four districts in the Stratonikeia territory were located within the borders of a -hypothetical- KUR<sup>URU</sup>Atriya, the name of which has not been encountered yet. There is not sufficient data to identify which of these four findspot was the location of the <sup>URU</sup>Atriya fortress, which the Hittite King decided not to destroy.

No Late Bronze Age remain has been unearthed in Alabanda so far. However, Çine-Tepecik, is located only 5 km from Alabanda, and it is clear that it was a strong citadel during the Late Bronze Age. In this context, in case Waliwanda was the name of both a center and its political territory, as discussed in the previous paragraph, the center of Waliwanda would be Çine Tepecik. The name of Tarkasnawa, who was thought to be the addressee of the “Milawata Letter”, was found together with Late Helladic IIIB pottery in Çine-Tepecik.<sup>125</sup> At the same time, Günel and Herbordt<sup>126</sup> reported that the name of a Hittite prince found on a seal in Tepecik Höyük indicated that the city was within the territory of the Hittite. This matches with the statement mentioned in the Tawagalawa letter that Waliwanda belonged to the Hittite King. Although the Hittite Kings considered certain cities in Southwest Anatolia in their domination, it is understood that they had difficulties in maintaining these places under their control and they encountered resistance.<sup>127</sup> The strong defense system in Çine-Tepecik can also be considered as evidence of such need for defense.

No Late Bronze Age remain has been found in Iyalanda yet apart from some cult traces (see below).<sup>128</sup>

**Continuity of local cults:** The only known evidence of Late Bronze Age cults at Stratonikeia today is the pit associated with the cult of the dead found under the Heroon of Hierocles of Stratonikeia. There are some “cup-marks” discovered in Iyalanda during the surface works in recent years pointed to Luwian rituals and indicated that this was a sign of the continuity

<sup>125</sup> Sevinç Günel, “Karia Bölgesi’nin Kentleşme Sürecinde Çine-tepecik Höyüğü/The Process of Urbanization in Caria in Light of Çine-Tepecik Mound”,35; Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, Eric Cline, *The Ahhiyawa Texts*, 279.

<sup>126</sup> Sevinç Günel, Suzanne Herbordt, “Mykenische Kraterfragmente mit figurlichen Darstellungen und ein Siegelabdruck eines hethitischen Prinzen aus der spätbronze-zeitlichen Siedlung von Çine-Tepecik”, 8-11.

<sup>127</sup> Yaşar Coşkun, “Bir Hitit Kralı ve Mektubu”. *Archivum Anatolicum-Anadolu Arşivleri* 2 (1996), 6.

<sup>128</sup> Barış Gür, “Hitit Belgelerindeki Iyalanda/Iyalanti’nin Lokalizasyonu ve Alında Eşitlemesi Üzerine Kısa Bir Değerlendirme”, M. Çekilmez, U. Kapuci (eds.), *Alında Araştırmaları 1. Eski Belgeler ve Yeni Araştırmalar*, (Aydın, Aydın Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, 2020), 37.

of faith in the city.<sup>129</sup> The roots of Zeus Idrieus and Zeus Khrysaoreus cults, probably dated back to earlier periods.

Table 3 presents to which extent Millawanda, Iyalanda, Waliwanda, Utima and Atriya meet these four main criteria.

	Location	Phonetic similarities	Archaeological evidence	Continuity of Faith
Millawanda/Miletos	x	x	x	x
Iyalanda/Alinda	x	x		
Waliwanda/Alabanda	x	x	x (Çine-Tepecik Mound)	
Utima/Idyma	x	x		
Atriya/Stratonikeia	x	x	x	x
Table 3: The cases where the identification proposals of the cities meet the criteria				

Clearly, the views that localize the cities mentioned here in more east or west fail to meet the above criteria that well. For example, views considering Alinda further east lacks phonetically similar neighboring city names, while other views that localize Waliwanda further north faces the problem of distance from Millawanda. In the light of the new archaeological evidence unearthed in recent years, it seems appropriate to localize Waliwanda and Atriya in Çine Tepecik and Stratonikeia, respectively. In this context, the discovery of a Late Bronze Age fortress in the territory of Alinda will be the most supportive archaeological contribution to these claims.

<sup>129</sup> Emre Erdan, "Cup-Marks in Alinda", M. Çekilmez, U. Kapuci (eds.), *Alinda Araştırmaları 1. Eski Belgeler ve Yeni Araştırmalar*, (Aydın, Aydın Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, 2020), 45-62.



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### Figures

**Fig. 1:** Map of Çine (Marsyas) Valley with the cities mentioned in the text

**Fig. 2:** Roman Road Map in Southwest Anatolia (redrawn by Mustafa Bilgin after Calder and Bean, 1958)

**Fig. 3:** Late Bronze Age sites around Stratonikeia

**Fig. 4:** Late Bronze Age pottery from the area of the Heroon of Hierocles, Stratonikeia (Photo: M. Bilgin).

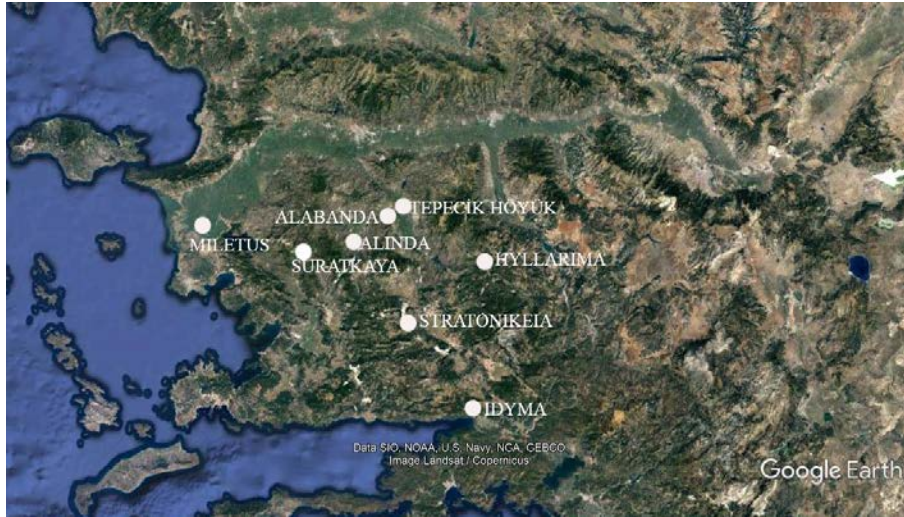
**Fig. 5:** Late Bronze Age pottery from the area of the Heroon of Hierocles, Stratonikeia (Drawing: U. Oğuzhanoğlu)

**Fig. 6:** Late Bronze Age pottery from Taşavlu (Photo: U. Oğuzhanoğlu).

**Fig. 7:** Late Bronze Age pottery from Taşavlu (Drawing: U. Oğuzhanoğlu).

**Fig. 8:** Late Bronze Age pottery from Değirmendere. (Photo: U. Oğuzhanoğlu).

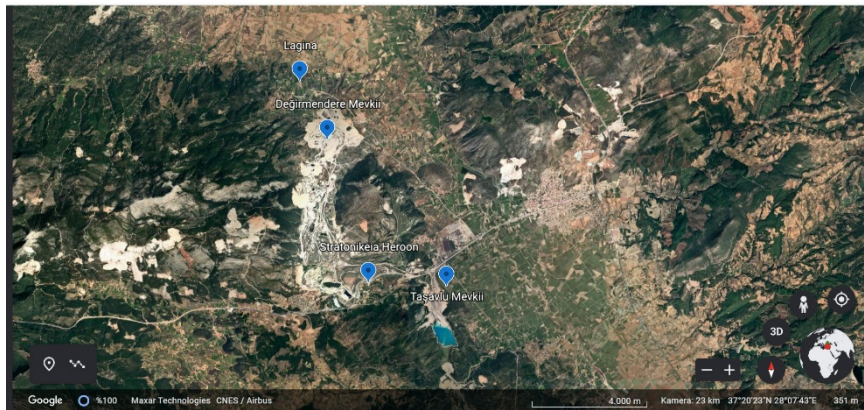
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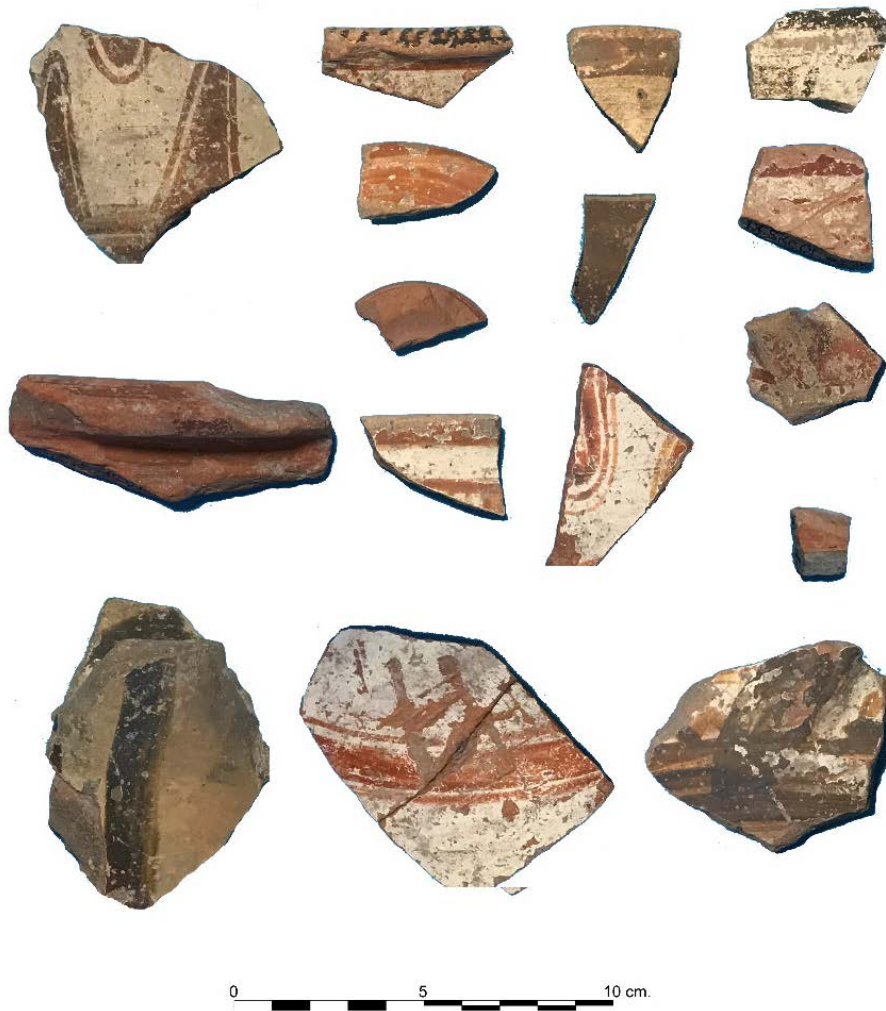


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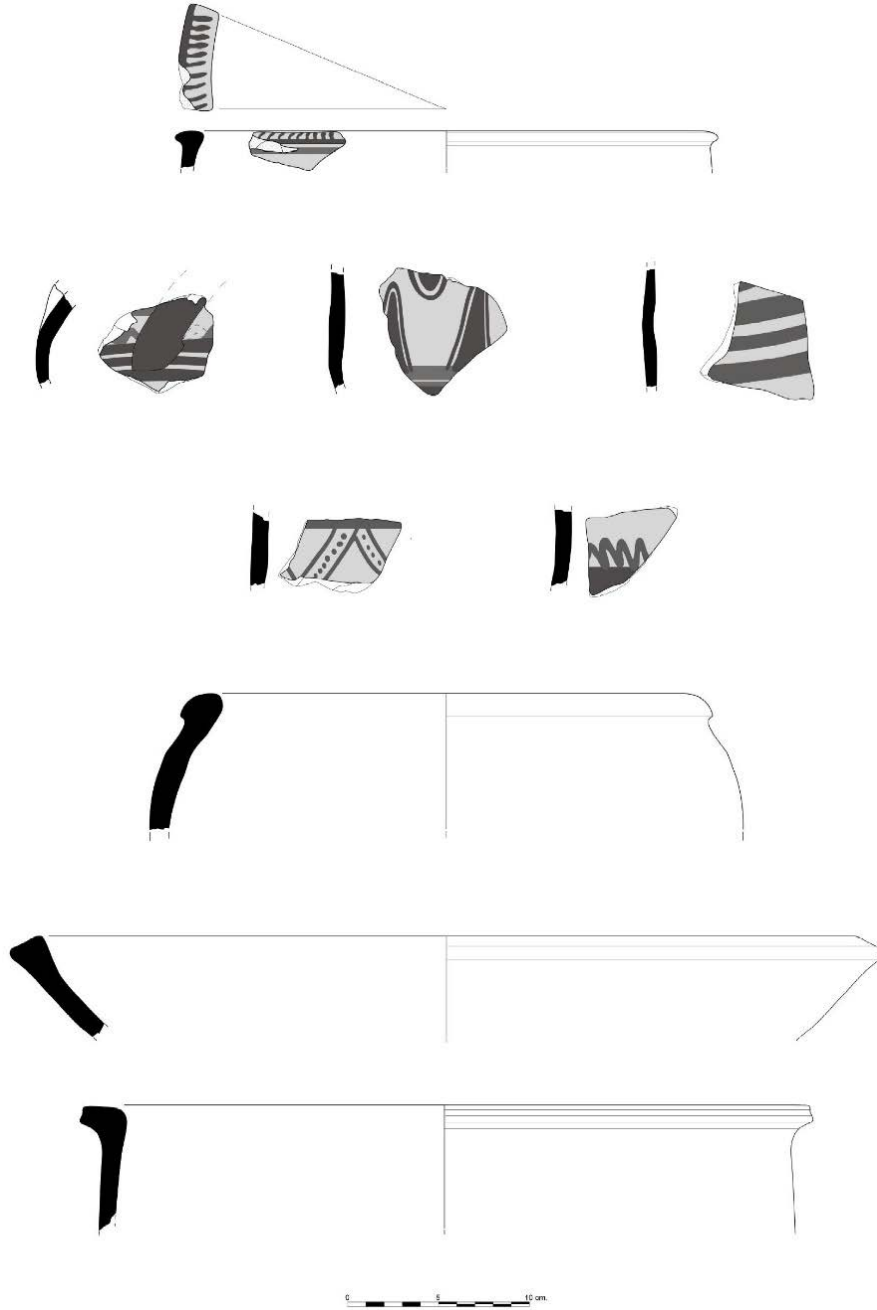
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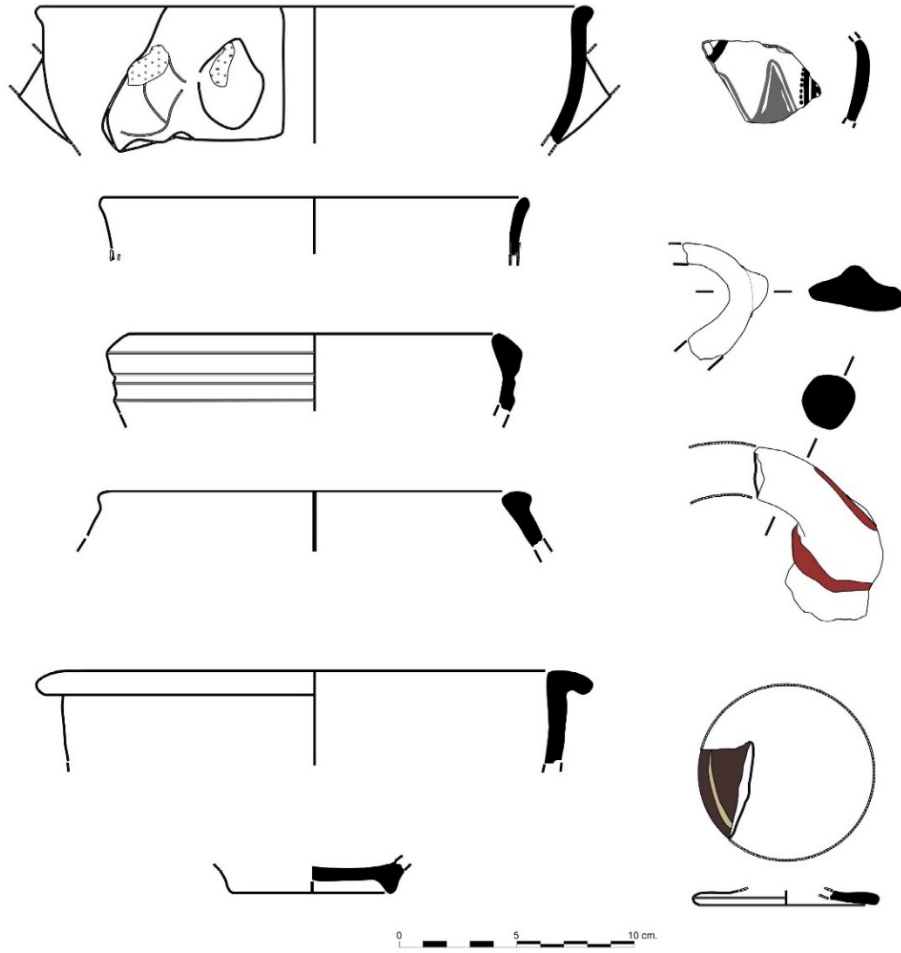




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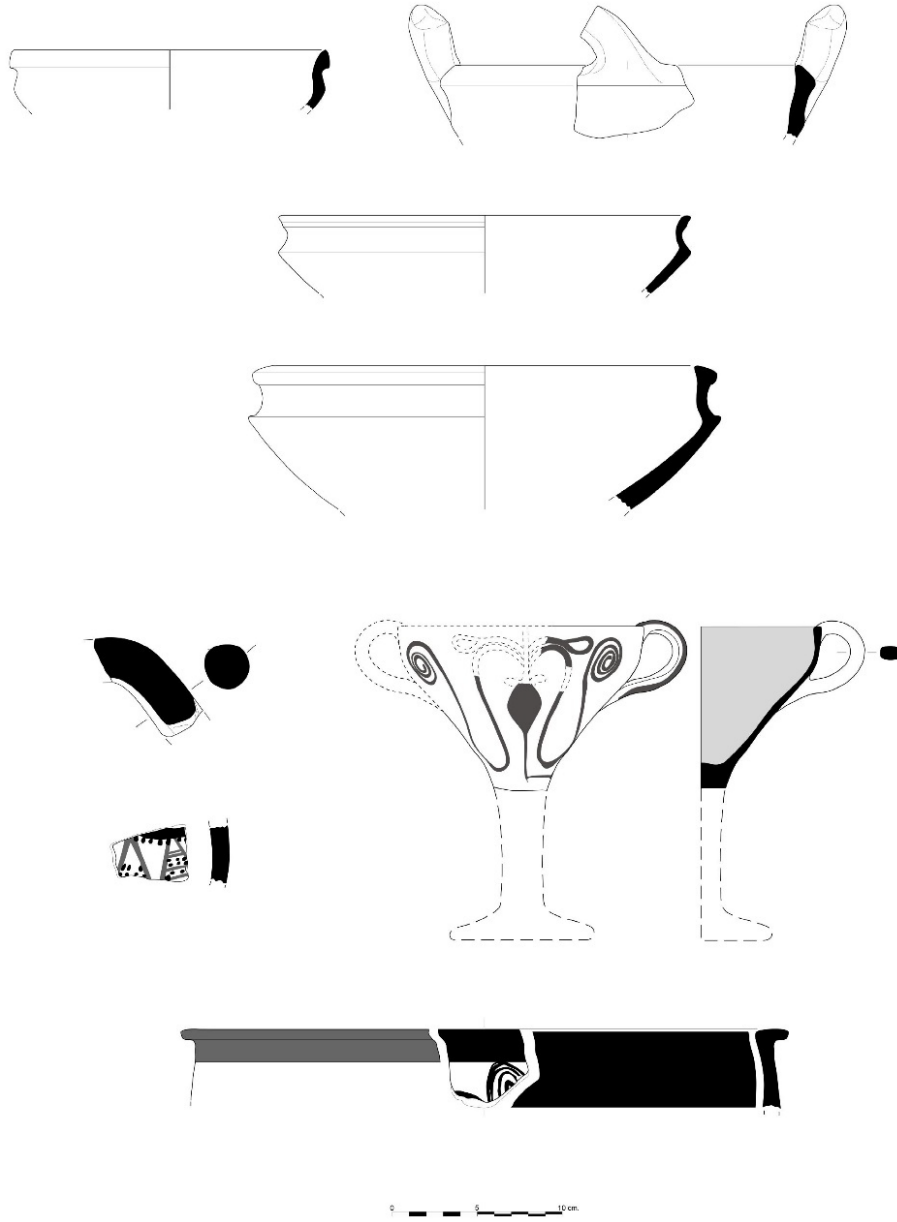
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