

AURA

---

# ATHENS UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΥ  
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

---

REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
NATIONAL AND KAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS



ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 1 • VOLUME 1 ☼ ΜΑΪΟΣ 2018 • MAY 2018



# ATHENS UNIVERSITY REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGY

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΥ  
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

REVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF ART  
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY  
NATIONAL AND KAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS

---

ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ • EDITORS

Κωνσταντίνος Κοπανιάς • Ιωάννης Παπαδάτος

ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ • EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Γεώργιος Βαβουρανάκης || Γιάννης Γαλανάκης || Γεωργία Κουρτέση-Φιλιππάκη  
Ελένη Μαντζουράνη || Χρήστος Ντούμας || Διαμαντής Παναγιωτόπουλος  
Ελευθέριος Πλάτων || Νάγια Πολυχρονάκου-Σγουρίτσα || Arnulf Hausleiter  
Παναγιώτης Κουσούλης || James Osborne || Πάνος Βαλαβάνης  
Χρύσανθος Κανελλόπουλος || Παυλίνα Καραναστάση || Στυλιανός Κατάκης  
Ευρυδίκη Κεφαλίδου || Γεωργία Κοκκορού-Αλευρά || Αντώνης Κοτσώνας  
Νότα Κούρου || Βασίλειος Λαμπρινουδάκης || Δημήτρης Μποσνάκης || Όλγα Παλαγγιά  
Λυδία Παλαιοκρασσά || Ελευθερία Παπουτσάκη-Σερμπέτη || Δημήτρης Πλάντζος  
Εύα Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά || Katja Sporn || Θεοδοσία Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου  
Μιχαήλ Τιβέριος || Σοφία Καλοπίση-Βέρτη || Μαρία Κωνσταντουδάκη-Κιτρομηλίδου  
Γεώργιος Πάλλης || Μαρία Παναγιωτίδου || Πλάτων Πετρίδης || Andreas Rhoby  
Peter Dent || Παναγιώτης Ιωάννου || Θεοδώρα Μαρκάτου || Ευγένιος Ματθιόπουλος  
Ευθυμία Μαυρομιχάλη || Δημήτρης Παυλόπουλος || Σουλτάνα-Μαρία Βαλαμώτη  
Λίλιαν Καραλή-Γιαννακοπούλου || Βασίλειος Κυλίκογλου || Αλεξάνδρα Λιβάρδα  
Ιωάννης Μπασιάκος || Σέβη Τριανταφύλλου || Μάρλεν Μούλιου || Αλεξάνδρα Μπούνια  
Μαρία Οικονόμου || Ελευθερία Παλιού || Κωνσταντίνος Παπαδόπουλος || Απόστολος Σαρρής

ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΟΣ • LAYOUT

Σχίζα Βασιλική

---

# ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ • TABLE OF CONTENTS

ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 1 • VOLUME 1

ΜΑΪΟΣ 2018 • MAY 2018

## PARASKEVI TRITSAROLI AND SOPHIA KOULIDOU

Human remains from the Pigi Artemidos LBA tumulus, region of Macedonian Olympus, Pieria..... 9

## ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ, ΑΚΗΣ ΤΣΩΝΟΣ

Το ταφικό έθιμο της ανέγερσης τύμβου κατά μήκος της Ιονίας και Αδριατικής ακτής  
ως πολιτιστικό και κοινωνικό φαινόμενο..... 25

## GEORGIA PAPADOPOULOU

“Now I have sent you 500 (talents) of copper”: the Amarna Letter EA 35 from the King of Alašiya  
to the King of Egypt..... 61

## KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS

Cilicia and Pamphylia during the Early Iron Age: Hiyawa, Mopsos  
and the Foundation of the Greek Poleis..... 69

## MANOLIS PETRAKIS

Herakles or Dionysos? Some thoughts on the iconography of the krater of the Athens National  
Archaeological Museum no. 14902 ..... 97

## GEORGIOS PALLIS

Middle Byzantine Altars with Sculpted Decoration..... 119

## ANASTASIA VASSILIOU

Sherds from around the Church: Pottery from the Panayia Church at Chonika, Argolis..... 127

## ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

Μια λανθάνουσα χαλκογραφία του Γύζη. Συμβολή στη μελέτη  
της ελληνικής χαρακτηριστικής του ΙΘ' αι. .... 157

## MARLEN MOULIOU

Cities and museums of cities. Hybrid discourses and social ecosystems.....165

## ΕΛΕΝΗ ΜΑΝΤΖΟΥΡΑΝΗ

Στα ίχνη των κλεμμένων ελληνικών αρχαιοτήτων από τις κατοχικές δυνάμεις (1940–1945)  
Η συμβολή του Σπύρου Μαρινάτου ..... 187

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΚΡΙΣΙΕΣ

### Γ. ΚΟΚΚΟΡΟΥ-ΑΛΕΥΡΑ,

Κ. Καρακάση, *Οι Αρχαϊκές Κόρες* ..... 223

### Ε. ΣΗΜΑΝΤΩΝΗ-ΜΠΟΥΡΝΙΑ

Ντ. Κατσωνοπούλου και Ε. Παρτίδα (επιμ.), *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Μελέτες προς τιμήν του Στέφανου Μίλλερ* ..... 231

---

## ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ • CONTACT

Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών  
Φιλοσοφική Σχολή / Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας  
Πανεπιστημιόπολη Ζωγράφου / Αθήνα 157 84

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Faculty of History and Archaeology  
University Campus, GR-15784 Athens, Greece

Ιστοσελίδα • Website <http://aura.arch.uoa.gr/>  
email: [aura@arch.uoa.gr](mailto:aura@arch.uoa.gr)

Σχεδιασμός • Layout: Βασιλική Σχίζα ([vass.schiza@gmail.com](mailto:vass.schiza@gmail.com))

© Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας, ΕΚΠΑ © Faculty of History and Archaeology, NKUoA  
Όλα τα άρθρα αυτού του τόμου υπόκεινται στην άδεια χρήσης Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0  
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/deed.el>).

All papers in this volume are subjected to the Creative Commons CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 License  
(<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-ncnd/4.0/>).

---

## Εκδοτικό Σημείωμα • Editorial

---

Το Περιοδικό του Τομέα Αρχαιολογίας και Ιστορίας της Τέχνης (AURA) είναι ένα διεθνές περιοδικό με σύστημα διπλής ανώνυμης αξιολόγησης, το οποίο εκδίδεται από το Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών. Στόχος του είναι η δημοσίευση πρωτότυπων εργασιών που εστιάζουν στην αρχαιολογία, την τέχνη και τον υλικό πολιτισμό του ευρύτερου Ελληνικού κόσμου, από την απώτερη προϊστορία έως και τη σύγχρονη εποχή. Δημοσιεύονται μελέτες, γραμμένες στα Ελληνικά ή Αγγλικά, που αφορούν στην (1) Εποχή του Λίθου και του Χαλκού στην Ελλάδα και όμορες περιοχές, (2) τη Γεωμετρική, Αρχαϊκή και Κλασική περίοδο στην Ελλάδα και τις Ελληνικές αποικίες στη Μεσόγειο, (3) τον ευρύτερο Ελληνιστικό κόσμο, (4) τη Ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα, (5) τη Βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία, (6) τη Λατινική και Οθωμανική περίοδο στην Ελλάδα, (7) την τέχνη της σύγχρονης Ελλάδας, (8) την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο και την Εγγύς Ανατολή, (9) Περιβαλλοντική Αρχαιολογία και Αρχαιομετρία, (10) Μουσειολογία και (11) Ψηφιακές Εφαρμογές στην Αρχαιολογία. Το είδος των μελετών ποικίλλει, και ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται συνθετικές μελέτες, εκθέσεις ανασκαφών και ερευνών πεδίου, μελέτες αρχαιολογικού υλικού και έργων τέχνης, μελέτες περιπτώσεων, καθώς και προκαταρκτικές δημοσιεύσεις υπό εξέλιξη ερευνητικών προγραμμάτων στα θέματα που αναφέρονται παραπάνω.

Το περιοδικό είναι ελεύθερης και ανοικτής πρόσβασης. Τα τεύχη του δημοσιεύονται ηλεκτρονικά ως αρχεία PDF. Όλα τα άρθρα είναι δωρεάν διαθέσιμα για όλους στο διαδίκτυο αμέσως μετά τη δημοσίευσή τους και σύμφωνα με την άδεια Creative Commons (BY-NC-ND 4.0). Τα τεύχη του περιοδικού μπορούν επίσης να εκτυπωθούν κατόπιν παραγγελίας και να αποσταλούν ταχυδρομικά ή να παραληφθούν από το βιβλιοπωλείο του Εκδοτικού Οίκου Καρδαμίτσα, Ιπποκράτους 8, Αθήνα.

The Athens University Review of Archaeology (AURA) is an international, peer-reviewed archaeological journal published by the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. It is dedicated to the publication of original research articles and reports focusing on, or related to the archaeology, art and material culture in the broader Greek world, from the earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era. We welcome contributions in Greek or English about (1) the Stone and Bronze Age in Greece and related adjacent areas, (2) the Geometric to Classical periods in Greece and the Greek colonies in the Mediterranean, (3) the broader Hellenistic world, (4) Roman Greece, (5) the Byzantine Empire, (6) the period of Latin and Ottoman rule in Greece, (7) Modern Greek art, (8) the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, (9) Environmental Archaeology and Archaeometry, (10) Museology and (11) Computer Applications in Archaeology. The range of studies varies, including synthetic works, reports on excavations and field surveys, studies of archaeological material or works of art, various case studies, as well as preliminary publications of on-going research projects dealing with the scientific areas described above.

AURA is a fully open access journal. Each issue is published electronically as a PDF file. All papers are available on the internet to all users immediately upon publication and free of charge, according to the Creative Commons (BY-NC-ND 4.0). AURA issues can also be distributed on a print-on-demand basis and posted or collected from the bookstore of the Kardamitsa Publications, 8 Ippokratous str, Athens.

---

Το πρώτο τεύχος του AURA εκδόθηκε με ευγενική χορηγία  
του Ιδρύματος Ψύχα στη μνήμη του Γιάννη Σακελλαράκη

The first issue of AURA was published thanks to the kind support  
of Psychia Foundation in memory of Yiannis Sakellarakis

---

Άρθρα

---

Articles





# Cilicia and Pamphylia during the Early Iron Age

## Hiyawa, Mopsos and the Foundation of the Greek Cities

---

Konstantinos Kopanias

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens  
kkopanias@arch.uoa.gr

### ABSTRACT

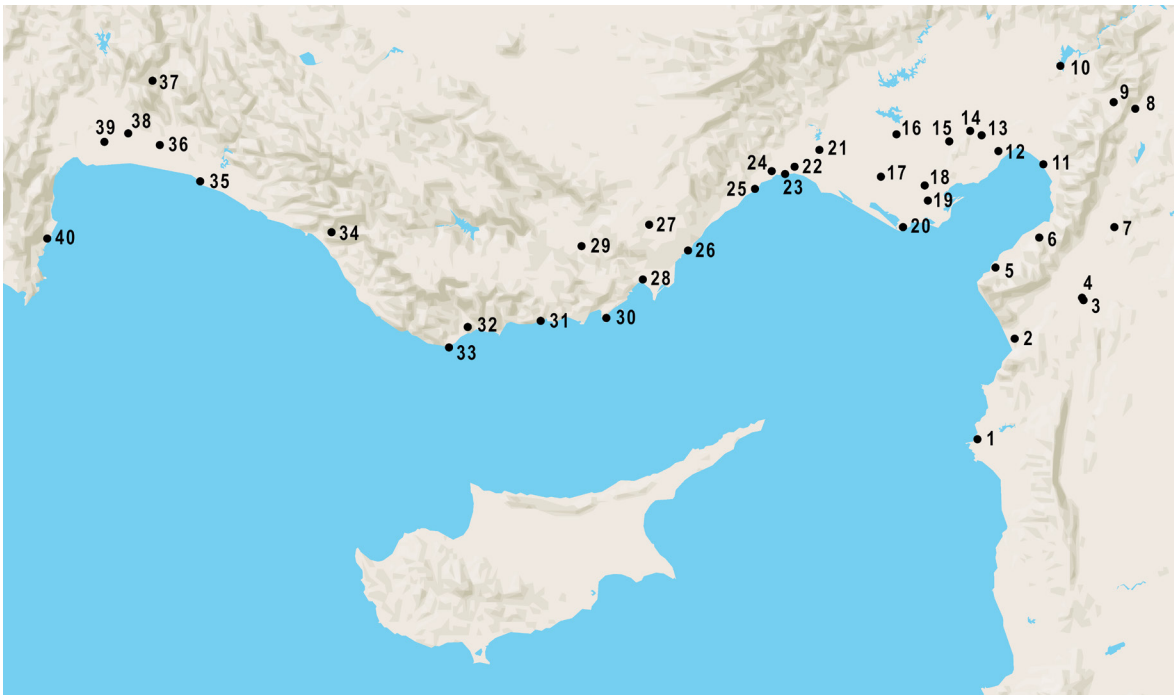
*Various Greek authors from the Archaic to the Roman period refer to a migration of population groups from the Aegean and West Anatolia to Pamphylia and Cilicia in the aftermath of the Trojan War. The meagre archaeological evidence, as well as the Arcadocypriot and Mycenaean elements in the Pamphylian dialect, fits with this narrative. Furthermore, from (at least) the end of the 10th to the late 8th centuries a kingdom, which was called Hiyawa in Luwian and Qw or 'mq 'dn in Phoenician inscriptions, controlled Cilicia and possibly also a part of Pamphylia. Its subjects were called Hiyawa in Luwian and dnnym in Phoenician. The term Hiyawa stems from the Hittite geographic term Ahhiyawa, which referred to one of the Mycenaean kingdoms in the Aegean during the LBA; both Ahhiyawa and Hiyawa derive from the ethnonym 'Achaean'. At least one of the rulers of the Kingdom of Hiyawa considered himself to be a descendant of Muksas/mpš, which shows that the later stories about Mopsos were not entirely fictitious. The Achaean settlers in Cilicia gradually fused with the Luwian population. Herodotus later called them Hypachaeans, which implies that they were neither Achaeans or Greeks, nor Luwians or Cilicians. Further waves of Aegean migrants continued to arrive mainly in Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia at least until the 7th century. These later migrants were also gradually amalgamated with the indigenous population and their vernacular became heavily influenced by the local Luwian dialects.*

Herodotus (7.91) mentioned that the army of Xerxes included one Pamphylian and one Cilician contingent, when it marched against Greece. He noted that the Pamphylians were descendants from people who migrated from the region of Troy under the leadership of Amphilochos and Kalchas, as well as that their soldiers were equipped like Greeks. Herodotus added that the inhabitants of Cilicia were previously called *Hypachaeans* and attributed their later ethnonym (*Kilikies*) to Kilix, the son of Agenor from Phoenicia.<sup>1</sup> Although not explicitly mentioned anywhere, the use of the ethnonym *Hypachaeans* implies that some of the inhabitants of Cilicia were considered (or considered themselves) to be descendants of Achaeans (i.e. Mycenaean).<sup>2</sup> Herodotus implied that these *Hypachaeans* were gradually assimilated into the indigenous population, since

---

<sup>1</sup> Some Phoenicians also settled in Cilicia at some point of the EIA. Xenophon (Anab. 1,4,6) mentions that Myriandros was a Phoenician city. For the evidence of Phoenician presence in Cilicia, see Ehling *et al.* 2004, 16–7; Lehmann 2008, 218 ff.; Novák 2010, 408; Boardman 2014, 512.

<sup>2</sup> Homer uses three ethnonyms for the people who fought against Troy under the command of Agamemnon: Achaeans, Danaans, Argives; for a recent discussion, see Miller 2014, 106 ff. The term *Hypachaeans* is usually translated as “sub-Achaeans” or “Lower-Achaeans” (Barnett *et al.* 1948, 60). An equivalent term is *Hypothebai*, which was used by Homer (Il. 2.505) to signify the city of Thebes, in its weakened state after its destruction by the Argives. Thus, the *Hypachaeans* are the descendants of Achaeans, but not equals to their forefathers. It is less probable that the *Hypachaeans* referred to *Mixed Achaeans*, as proposed by Kretschmer (1933, 217–24; also Astour 1967, 69). Achaeans are also mentioned in Colchis (Str. 2.5.31; 11.2.1; 11.2.12–14; 17.3.24) and in Pontus (Str. 9.2.42); Finkelberg 2005, 152. Interestingly, these were not described as *Hypachaeans*.



Map of the North Syrian, Cilician and Pamphylian sites mentioned in the text. Source: K. Kopanias. Created with mapbox.

Adana (16)	İslamkadı Çiftlik (13)	Phaselis (40)
Alalakh (4)	Karatepe (10)	Sabuniye (2)
Anchiale (23)	Kazanlı Höyük (22)	Selge (37)
Anemourion (33)	Kelenderis (31)	Side (35)
Aphrodisias (30)	Kilise Tepe (29)	Sillyon (38)
Arsuz (5)	Kinet Höyük (11)	Sirkeli Höyük (14)
Aspendos (36)	Korykos (26)	Soloi (25)
Cebelireis Dağı (34)	Magarsos (20)	Soyalı Höyük (12)
Çineköy (17)	Mallos (18)	Tarsus (21)
Dağlıbaz Höyük (6)	Mersin (24)	Tayinat (3)
Domuztepe (19)	Misis (15)	Ugarit (1)
Hassan Beyli (9)	Nagidos (32)	Zincirli (8)
Holmoi (28)	Olbe (27)	
İncirli (7)	Perge (39)	

by then they were called *Kilikies* and their soldiers were not equipped like Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

Herodotus' reference to the Hypachaeans seems at first incomprehensible. Nevertheless, there are four separate sets of evidence, which further elucidate the use of this particular term: 1) Luwian and Phoenician texts from the Early Iron Age (EIA) in Cilicia and adjacent areas, 2) archaeological evidence, 3) Assyrian texts from the 8th and 7th centuries, and 4) texts from Greek authors from the Archaic to the Roman period. The first set of evidence was recently discussed extensively, but not in combination with the other three. This paper will attempt to offer a comprehensive overview of the available evidence.

## LUWIAN AND PHOENICIAN TEXTS FROM CILICIA AND ADJACENT AREAS

There is now an almost unanimous consensus that the Hittite term *Ahhiyawa* referred to a Mycenaean kingdom in the Aegean.<sup>4</sup> The ethnonym *Achaean*<sup>5</sup> and its derivative *Hypachaeans*<sup>6</sup> are both connected with it. The majority of scholars postulates that the term *Hiyawa* (both an ethnonym and a geographic term) also stems from the Hittite term *Ahhiyawa*.<sup>7</sup> Gander and

<sup>3</sup> The Cilicians were not considered Greeks by later authors: Balzat *et al.* 2013, xvi.

<sup>4</sup> About Ahhiyawa, see Beckman *et al.* 2011; Kelder 2012; Kopanias 2008; 2015a; Eder and Jung 2015. Its capital was probably located either in Mycenae or Thebes.

<sup>5</sup> Forrer 1924.

<sup>6</sup> Kretschmer 1933, 215.

<sup>7</sup> Tekoğlu *et al.* 2000, 981–4; Lipinski 2004, 124; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; Hawkins 2006, 194; 2009, 166; Singer 2006, 251; Oettinger 2008, 64; Schmitz 2008, 6; Bryce 2010, 47; 2016, 70–2; Beckman *et al.*

Simon recently argued that the term *Hiyawa* cannot derive from *Ahhiyawa*, mainly based on the axiomatic assumption that the aphaeresis of the initial /a/ is impossible in Luwian.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, such an aphaeresis is indeed attested in the seventh line of the Çineköy inscription, where Assyria is abbreviated as *Su+ra/i-ia*.<sup>9</sup> Forlanini and in particular Bryce have effectively countered the arguments of Gander and Simon, so it is not necessary to further discuss them here.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest reference to the term *Hiyawa* appears in two letters from the early 12th century in Ugarit:<sup>11</sup> The Hittite king Suppiluliuma II asked his vassal king of Ugarit to pay on his behalf the debt owed to an undefined number of *Hiyawa* men, who at the time were in the land of Lukka (i.e. the region of Lycia). The debt had to be paid in the form of (probably metal) ingots (PAD.MEŠ)<sup>12</sup> for an undefined service that the *Hiyawa* men had already rendered to the Hittite king. Bryce argued convincingly that these *Hiyawa* men were probably employed as mercenaries in the Hittite army.<sup>13</sup>

For the next 150–200 years, namely during the turbulent period after the collapse of the Hittite kingdom, the term *Hiyawa* appeared in none of the few surviving texts. Nevertheless, in the late 10th century it re-emerged in two almost identical Luwian inscriptions of king Suppiluliuma of Walistin, which were discovered in Arsuz.<sup>14</sup> The text is not entirely comprehensible, but it is evident that Suppiluliuma was at the time at odds with the *land Hiyawa* and with the *city/land \*429* (a term which will be discussed further below).<sup>15</sup> A *land Hiyawa* was never mentioned in South Anatolia or North Syria during the Late Bronze Age (LBA).<sup>16</sup> *Hiyawa* was apparently a new kingdom, which was established in Cilicia after the collapse of the Hittite state. Its name indicates that some *Hiyawa* people (i.e. Achaeans) had a significant involvement in this affair.<sup>17</sup>

In the bilingual inscription of Çineköy, dated to the end of the 8th century, the term *Hiyawa* appears (1) as a city,<sup>18</sup> (2) as the name of a plain, and (3) as an ethnonym.<sup>19</sup> In the Phoenician version of this inscription, the ethnonym *Hiyawa* is translated as *dnnym* and the territory of *Hiyawa* as *'mq 'dn*. Furthermore, a Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa, king of Sam'al (Zincirli), attests that around the middle or in the second half of the 9th century his kingdom was subdued by *'mq 'dn* and he had to become an ally of Assyria, in order to withstand it. A Phoenician inscription in İncirli mentions that, sometime after the middle of the 8th century, king *Wrkys* of *Hiyawa* was an ally of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser and assisted him in his war against Arpad, Urartu, Gurgum and Kummuh. In this inscription king *Wrkys* used for himself two titles:

---

2011, 261; Forlanini 2012, 136–7; Singer 2012, 461; Oreshko 2013, 20; Melchert 2013, 305; Miller 2014, 13; Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 67; Woudhuizen 2015, 221.

<sup>8</sup> Gander 2010, 50–5; 2012, 284, 286; Simon 2011, 258–9; 2015, 401; also Lane Fox 2008, 206–26; Hajnal 2011, 247–9.

<sup>9</sup> Hawkins 1979, 156; Lipinski 2004, 124; Melchert 2013, 305.

<sup>10</sup> Forlanini 2012, 136–7; Bryce 2016.

<sup>11</sup> RS 94.2530, RS 94.2523; Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005; Hawkins 2006, 194; Singer 2006; Beckman *et al.* 2011, AhT 27A-B; Bryce 2010; 2016, 71–4.

<sup>12</sup> Singer 2006, 252–7; Oreshko 2013, 29 n. 37; Bryce 2016, 68.

<sup>13</sup> Bryce 2016, 68.

<sup>14</sup> About this kingdom, see Weeden 2015. For a discussion about the find place of this inscription, see Dillo 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 64–5: “(§11) The city/land Adana ‘put me to the stick’ (§12) and I overcame, (§13) I routed? [or turned? to] also the land Hiyawa [hi-ia-wa/i-ha(REGIO)].” Yakubovich (2015a, 58) translates it as follows: “The town/land \*429 made me take up arms. I rose up and routed also the land Hiyawa.” In the version A1 \*429 is defined as a city and in A2 as a land: A1: (A)TANA-sa-pa-wa/i-mu(URBS), A2: (A)T[ANA]-sa-[pa]-wa/i-mu(REGIO).

<sup>16</sup> During the LBA the east part Cilicia was called *Kizzuwatna*. West Cilicia and East Pamphylia was called *Tarhuntassa*: Kümmel 1976–1980; Novák 2010, 403–5.

<sup>17</sup> Beckman *et al.* 2011, 266.

<sup>18</sup> Beckman *et al.* 2011, 264: §7: *Hi-ya-wa/i-sa-ha-wa/i*(URBS), possibly also §2.

<sup>19</sup> Beckman *et al.* 2011, 264: §1: *Hi-ya-wa/i[-ni]-sá*[URBS] | *REx-ti-'sa'* = (Ah)hiyawan king.

1) *mlk dnnym* (king of the Danuna), and 2) king of *Qw*. The İncirli inscription shows that the geographic term *Qw* is synonymous with the ethnonym *dnnym* and the Çineköy inscription shows that the ethnonym *dnnym* is synonymous with the ethnonym *Hiyawa*. Thus, we can conclude that the term *Qw* was also synonymous with *Hiyawa*.

The geographic terms *dn* (Hassan Beyli) and *'dn* (Çineköy, Karatepe) refer to the capital of the land of *Hiyawa/Qw*. In the Luwian version of the Çineköy inscription, the term *'dn* is translated as *city Hiyawa* (*hiia-wa/i*-(URBS)); in the Karatepe inscription the Phoenician term *'mq 'dn* is translated as *á-ta-na-wa/i-za*(URBS) TERRA+LA+LA-za (=attana-wan-za wal(i)l-an-za = plain of Adana).<sup>20</sup> Thus we can conclude that *'dn* was a synonym of both *Hiyawa* and *Atana*. This means that also the terms *Atana* and *Hiyawa* must have been used synonymously. The term *Atana* is obviously derived from the city name *Adanawa*, which is attested in Hittite texts already in the beginning of the LBA.<sup>21</sup> The Phoenician term *dnnym* also originates from the term *Adanawa*, as the majority of scholars believe.<sup>22</sup>

In the Arsuz and the Karatepe inscriptions the Phoenician term *'dn* corresponds with the word (city/land) *á-\*429-wa* in their Luwian versions. The traditional reading of the term *á-\*429-wa* is *Adanawa*.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, in the Çineköy inscription the term *'dn* in the Phoenician version corresponds with the term *hiia-wa/i* in the Luwian version; this makes very plausible the recent proposal of Oreshko and Yakubovich, that the term *á-\*429-wa* should to be read as *Ahhiyawa*.<sup>24</sup>

The Assyrian name of Cilicia (*Qawe* and later *Qu[w]e>Que*),<sup>25</sup> the Babylonian (*Humē*) and Hebrew/Aramaean one (*QWH*) are all derived from the term *Hiyawa*.<sup>26</sup> The Assyrian term *Que* referred mainly to the eastern part of Cilicia, known as *Cilicia Pedias* and *Cilicia Campestris* in Greek and Latin texts respectively. For the western, mountainous part of Cilicia (*Cilicia Tracheia* and *Cilicia Aspera*), the Assyrians used the term *Hilakku* (KUR Hilak-ku).<sup>27</sup> Gradually, the term *Hilakku* prevailed and henceforth was used for all Cilicia. Already Kreschmer noted that the term *Κυλικία* is derived from the term *Hilakku*.<sup>28</sup>

The Akkadian term *Danuna*, mentioned in a 14th century letter of the king of Tyre to the Egyptian king, could also be linked to the terms *dnnym*, *'dn* and *Atana/Adanawa*.<sup>29</sup> The majority of the scholars locate this *land of Danuna* in Cilicia, because of the similarity of its name with the city *Atana/Adanawa*.<sup>30</sup> The term *Danuna* is also attested in some of the letters exchanged between Hattusili III and Ramesses II.<sup>31</sup> Edel proposed that *Danuna* should be equated with the terms *Kizzuwatna* and *Qaa-ú<sup>1</sup>-[e]* in the same letters and that all these terms referred to Cilicia.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, Simon recently showed that there is very reasonable doubt about the

<sup>20</sup> Yakubovich 2015b, 39; KARATEPE 1 § 37.

<sup>21</sup> Payne and Melchert 2012, 5.

<sup>22</sup> Laroche 1958, 266–7; Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 195–7; Tropper 1993, 3 n. 4; Lipiński 2000, 242; 2004, 123; Hawkins 2000, 40; 2015, 55; Lanfranchi 2009, 128; Beckman *et al.* 2011, 266; Yakubovich 2015b, 38; Bryce 2016, 74. *contra* Simon 2015, 393–4.

<sup>23</sup> Recently Hawkins 2016, 26.

<sup>24</sup> Oreshko 2013, 20; Yakubovich 2015a, 56.

<sup>25</sup> Ahhiyawa > Hiyawa > \*Qawa > Que. Kreschmer 1933, 233–8; Hawkins 2006, 191; 2009, 166; Jasink and Marino 2007, 411; Oreshko 2013, 28; Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 67; Bryce 2016, 74.

<sup>26</sup> Hawkins 2006, 191.

<sup>27</sup> Bing 1971, 99; Desideri and Jasink 1990, 8–11; Ehling *et al.* 2004, 9 n. 36; Hawkins 2006, 191; Novák 2010, 406; Payne and Melchert 2012, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Kreschmer 1933, 236; Symington 2006, 195; Beckman *et al.* 2011, 266.

<sup>29</sup> EA 151:52. Rainey and Schniedewind 2015, 763–7.

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Jasink and Marino 2007, 410. Simon (2015) recently proposed that this kingdom was located in North Syria instead.

<sup>31</sup> KUB 3.62, 499/d, KBo 1.15 + 19 (+) 22; Edel 1994, 2:94.

<sup>32</sup> Edel 1994, 2: 94–5, 120, 139, 370; also Rainey 1996, 10 and Hawkins 2006, 194.

equation of the terms *Danuna*, *Kizzuwatna* and *Qaa-ʾú<sup>1</sup>-[e]*.<sup>33</sup> The term *Qaa-ʾú<sup>1</sup>-[e]* is only partially preserved in only one tablet,<sup>34</sup> therefore the reading *Qa[we]* is uncertain.<sup>35</sup> The Egyptian sources also mention the term *Qode*,<sup>36</sup> which is usually thought to be located in Cilicia.<sup>37</sup> It was proposed that *Qode* corresponded with the Luwian term *Hiyawa* (*Qode*>\**Qawe*>*Hiyawa*>*Que*),<sup>38</sup> but Yakubovich and Simon have convincingly argued against it.<sup>39</sup> It is possible that the Egyptian term *Qode* corresponds to the term *Qṭ* in the Ugaritic texts, but the surviving texts offer no hints about its location.<sup>40</sup>

The terms *dnnym* (Zincirli, İncirli, Çineköy) and *'dnnym* (Karatepe) are usually transcribed as *Danuna*;<sup>41</sup> they are used as an ethnonym in the Phoenician texts and refer to the subjects of the kingdom of *Hiyawa/Qw/'dn*. In the Çineköy inscription this term is translated in Luwian with the ethnonym *Hiyawa* and in the Karatepe inscription with the term á-\*429-wa. Forlanini proposed that *dnnym* is the Semitic transcription of the ethnonym *Δαυαοί*;<sup>42</sup> the synonymous use of the Phoenician ethnonym *dnnym* with the Luwian ethnonym *Hiyawa* (Çineköy) makes this proposal very plausible. Recently, also Radner arrived at the same conclusion: she argued that the term *Yadnana*<sup>43</sup> (i.e. the Assyrian name of Cyprus), the term *dnnym* (i.e. one of the 'Sea Peoples') in the inscriptions of Medinet Habu from the reign of Ramesses III III, as well as the term *dnnym* in the above mentioned Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia are all derived from the ethnonym *Δαυαοί*.<sup>44</sup>

To sum up, the Luwian term *Hiyawa* (used for an EIA kingdom in Cilicia) is derived from the Hittite term *Ahhiyawa* (used for an LBA kingdom in the Aegean); the terms *dnnym* and *'dn* (the Phoenician translations of the term *Hiyawa*), and possibly also the term *Danuna*, are linked with the ethnonym *Δαυαοί* and also with the term *Atana/Adanawa* (an LBA land/city in Cilicia). We can, thus, assume that also the terms *Atana/Adanawa* and (*Ah*)*hiyawa* are somehow connected with each other. Hajnal tried to solve this conundrum by suggesting that the LBA kingdom of *Ahhiyawa* was located in Cilicia, but this proposal rightfully has found no support.<sup>45</sup> Hawkins proposed that some Mycenaeans, i.e. (*Ah*)*hiyawans*, settled in Cilicia already during the LBA,<sup>46</sup> but there is no textual or archaeological evidence to support this assumption. Novák recently offered a simpler and more appealing explanation, namely that the term *dnnym/'dn* and the ethnonym *Danaans* (i.e. *Δαυαοί*) are derived from the place name *Adana*.<sup>47</sup> We should not, however, assume that a population group migrated from Cilicia to the Aegean at some point during the MBA or LBA; the ethnonym alone could have been transplanted, maybe as the result of an interdynastic marriage.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Simon 2011, 258; 2015, 396–7.

<sup>34</sup> KBo 1.15 + 19 (+) 22, Section O.

<sup>35</sup> Hawkins 2006, 194; Simon 2011, 258–9. *Qaa-ʾú<sup>1</sup>-[e]* could be connected with the *land of Kawiza*, mentioned in the Story of Sinuhe (Schneider 2002, 264–6). Nevertheless, the location of *Kawiza* is unknown: Hawkins 2006, 194; Simon 2011, 261–2.

<sup>36</sup> For a catalogue of the texts, see Simon 2011, 249–50.

<sup>37</sup> Hawkins 2000, 39; Bryce 2005, 249. Simon (2011, 263) located it in north Syria and Liverani (1995, 49) in Tarhuntassa.

<sup>38</sup> Lebrun and Vos 2006, 50–2.

<sup>39</sup> Yakubovich 2010, 152 n. 93; Simon 2011, 257–63.

<sup>40</sup> Simon 2011, 256–7.

<sup>41</sup> e.g. Jasink and Marino 2007, 410; Bryce 2016, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Forlanini 1988, 142–3; 2005, 111–2; Finkelberg 2005, 152; 2006, 116.

<sup>43</sup> Ya' and Adnana, i.e. "island of Adnana".

<sup>44</sup> Radner 2010, 436. The Egyptian term *D/Tanaja*, which referred to mainland Greece since the late 15th century, is also linked to these terms: Kopanias 2015a, 216 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Hajnal 2003, 39–42.

<sup>46</sup> Hawkins 2006, 194.

<sup>47</sup> Novák 2010, 407–8.

Find Place	Personal Names, Geographic and Ethnic Terms		Dating
	HLUW	PHOEN	
Arsuz 1+2 <sup>49</sup>	Suppiluliuma Walastanean King, (land) Hiyawa (city/land) Adanawa <sup>50</sup> or Hiyawa <sup>51</sup>		late 10th century <sup>52</sup> 910 or 900 BC <sup>53</sup>
Zincirli <sup>54</sup>		Kilamuwa king of Y'DY [Sam'al] <i>mlk dn[n]ym</i>	middle 9th century <sup>55</sup> 825 BC <sup>56</sup>
İncirli <sup>57</sup>		<i>Wrkys</i> , king of <i>Qw Wrkys</i> , king of the House of Mopsos ( <i>wryks mlk z bt mp[š]</i> ), king of the Danunians ( <i>mlk dnnym</i> )	765 BC <sup>58</sup> late 740s BC <sup>59</sup>
Hassan Beyli <sup>60</sup>		<i>'wrk</i> <i>mlk dn</i>	Ashurdan III <sup>61</sup> Tiglath-pileser III <sup>62</sup> Sargon II <sup>63</sup>
Çineköy <sup>64</sup>	Warikas	<i>w[rk]</i>	Tiglath-pileser III <sup>65</sup> late 8th century <sup>66</sup> late 7th century <sup>67</sup>
	Mukšsas	<i>mpš</i>	
	Hiyawaeans	<i>dnnym</i>	
	Hiyawa	<i>'dn</i>	
Karatepe 1 <sup>68</sup>	Azatiwandas	<i>'ztdw</i>	745 BC <sup>69</sup> late 8th century <sup>70</sup> early 7th century <sup>71</sup>
	Awarikus	<i>'wrk</i>	
	king of Adanawa	<i>'dnnym</i>	
	House of Muksas	<i>bt mpš</i>	
	á-*429-wa/i (Adanawa or Ahhiyawa)	<i>'mq 'dn</i>	
	á-ta-na-wa/i-za (URBS) TERRA+ (plain of Adana)	<i>'mq 'dn</i>	
Azatiwadaya (fortress)	á-*429-wa/i (Adanawa or Ahhiyawa)	<i>'dnnym</i>	
		<i>'ztdwy</i>	
Cebel Ires Dağı <sup>72</sup>		<i>wryk</i> (Awarikus) <i>wrykly</i> (Awarikliya) <i>Kw</i> (Kawa)	second half 7th century <sup>73</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 59–60; Bryce 2016, 68.

<sup>50</sup> Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 64–5; Hawkins 2016, 26.

<sup>51</sup> Oreshko 2015.

<sup>52</sup> Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 76; Bryce 2016, 67.

<sup>53</sup> Dillo 2016, 40.

<sup>54</sup> For further references, see Fales 1979, 6 n. 1–2; Brown 2008, 342 n. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Brown 2008, 342 and n. 9 for further references.

<sup>56</sup> Tropper 1993, 27; Lipinski 2004, 115.

<sup>57</sup> Kaufman 2007; Dodd Swartz 2012.

<sup>58</sup> Lipinski 2004, 118.

<sup>59</sup> Kaufman 2007, 9.

<sup>60</sup> Lemaire 1983.

<sup>61</sup> Lipinski 2004, 117–8.

<sup>62</sup> Gander 2012, 296.

<sup>63</sup> Lemaire 1983, 18–9.

<sup>64</sup> Luwian version: Tekoğlu *et al.* 2000, 968–72; Beckman *et al.* 2011, 263–6; Payne and Melchert 2012, 42–4.

Phoenician version: Tekoğlu *et al.* 2000, 994–5.

<sup>65</sup> Gander 2012, 296.

<sup>66</sup> Gander 2012, 293–6; Bryce 2016, 70.

<sup>67</sup> Oettinger 2008, 64; Payne and Melchert 2012, 42.

<sup>68</sup> Bron 1979; Çambel *et al.* 1999; Hawkins 2000, 45–68; Schmitz 2008; Payne and Melchert 2012, 21–42.

<sup>69</sup> Lipinski 2004, 117–9.

<sup>70</sup> Winter 1979; Brown 2008, 342 n. 15; Payne and Melchert 2012, 20; Bryce 2016, 3.

<sup>71</sup> Oettinger 2008, 64.

<sup>72</sup> Mosca and Russell 1987; Röllig 2008; Schmitz 2017.

<sup>73</sup> Röllig 2008, 51.

## MOPSOS

In the İncirli inscription king *Wrkys* claims to be a descendant of the House of *mp[š]*. In the Çineköy inscription king *Warikas* (Phoenician: *w[rk]*) mentions that he is a descendant of *Muk[sas]* (Phoenician: *mpš*). In the Karatepe inscription *Azatiwandas* (Phoenician: *'ztdw*) claims that king *Awarikus* (Phoenician: *'wrk*) was a descendant of the House *Muksas* (Phoenician: *mpš*). The fact that all these kings of Hiyawa/*dnnym* emphatically state that they were descendants of *Muksas/mpš*, while they mention none of their other predecessors, shows that *Muksas/mpš* was considered the founder of their royal dynasty and probably also of the kingdom of *Hiyawa/dnnym* in Cilicia.

The name *Mók<sup>w</sup>sos*, a variation of the name *Muksas/mpš*, appears in Linear B tablets in Knossos and Pylos.<sup>73</sup> In the so called *Indictment of Madduwatta* of the late 15th/early 14th centuries a certain *<sup>m</sup>Mu-uk-šú-uš* is mentioned, probably in connection with Ahhiya(wa).<sup>74</sup> Oettinger argued that the name *Mopsos* is Greek, not Anatolian, because otherwise its Hittite or Luwian form would have been *\*Mukussa* or *\*Mukussu*.<sup>75</sup> Already in 1948 Barnett proposed that *Muksas/mpš*, the forefather of the Hiyawan kings in Cilicia, is to be identified with the seer Mopsos, the son of Manto and grandson of Teiresias.<sup>76</sup> The subsequent discovery of more inscriptions from Cilicia, mentioning *Muksas*, have also convinced the majority of scholars.<sup>77</sup>

The earliest references to Mopsos originate from Greek authors of the 7th century.<sup>78</sup> His mother was forced to leave Thebes after its destruction by the Epigoni and found refuge in Klaros in West Anatolia; there she married Rhakos, the ruler of the city with a Cretan origin, and gave birth to Mopsos.<sup>79</sup> After the end of the Trojan War, Amphilocho and Kalchas led some of the Achaeans and other people (μυγᾶδων τιτῶν ἐκ Τροίας) away from Troy;<sup>80</sup> when they arrived in Klaros, Kalchas was defeated by Mopsos in a contest in seer-craft.<sup>81</sup> Afterwards, Kalchas, Amphilocho and Mopsos, led the immigrants to the east. Along the way, some of them decided to settle in locations they considered suitable: Podaleirios settled in Caria, Polypoites and Leonteus in Pamphylia;<sup>82</sup> Kalchas founded Selge in South Pisidia,<sup>83</sup> and Mopsos established several cities in Pamphylia and in Cilicia, which was renamed *Mopsopia*.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>73</sup> KN De 1381.B, PY Sa 774; Barnett 1953, 142; Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 194; Ramón 2005, 29; Jasink and Marino 2007, 408 n. 16; Oettinger 2008, 63 (rendering /Mok<sup>w</sup>so-/).

<sup>74</sup> Vanschoonwinkel 1990, 197; Tekoçlu *et al.* 2000, 983–5; Jasink and Marino 2007, 408. Oettinger (2008, 64) mentioned: “*The Muksus living in the late-fifteenth century and mentioned in the Hittite letter to Madduwattas could have been a Greek.*” *contra* Gander 2012, 300.

<sup>75</sup> Oettinger 2008, 64; also Jasink and Marino 2007; Hawkins 2009, 166; Fowler 2013, 550; Yakubovich 2015b, 36–8. On the other hand, the Lydian writer Xanthus (*apud* Nikolaos of Damascus, FGrHist 90 F16) mentioned that Mopsos was Lydian. The name *Muksos* was inscribed in one of the wooden beams of Tumulus MM in Gordion (c. 740 BC): Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 145–52.

<sup>76</sup> Barnett *et al.* 1948, 60; 1953.

<sup>77</sup> e.g. Vanschoonwinkel 1990; Finkelberg 2005, 152; 2006, 116; Forlanini 2005, 111–4; Lemaire 2006; Jasink and Marino 2007; Oettinger 2008; 2011; Hawkins 2009, 165–6; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 147–9; López-Ruiz 2009; Yakubovich 2010, 151–6; 2011, 538; 2015b; Beal 2011, 596; Röllig 2011, 122; Sams 2011, 608; Payne and Melchert 2012, 40 n. 14; Singer 2012, 459–61; Bryce 2016, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Kallinus of Ephesos (Callinus F 8 West) and Hesiod: Barnett *et al.* 1948, 60.

<sup>79</sup> Hesiod, *Melamp.* F 278–9.

<sup>80</sup> Strabo 14.4.1 and 14.5.21.

<sup>81</sup> Finkelberg 2015, 134 n. 40. According to Sophocles (fr. 180) this contest took place in Cilicia. It is also attested that Kalchas died right after the contest (Hesiod, *Melamp.* F 278; Strabo 14.1.27).

<sup>82</sup> Herodotus 7.91; Sophokles *apud* Strabo 14.5.16. Danek 2015, 368.

<sup>83</sup> Strabo 12.7.3.

<sup>84</sup> Pl. *NH* 5.96.



Some of the immigrants continued with their journey: some settled in Syria, where Amphilochos founded the city Posideion, which continued to exist at least until the time of Herodotus (3.91.1). Others reached Phoenicia, and established the city Askalon.<sup>85</sup> This narrative could reflect the historic memory of an overland migration of various groups of people from West Anatolia, through Cilicia and Syria, all the way to Philistia.<sup>86</sup> Interestingly, a similar series of events is described in a well-known passage in the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramesses III:<sup>87</sup> it is mentioned that several groups of people from “foreign countries... in their islands,” attacked Egypt, having previously destroyed a series of foreign lands: Hatti, Qode (i.e. Cilicia), Carchemish, Arzawa (i.e. West Anatolia), Alashia (i.e. Cyprus) and Amurru, where they “desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being.” Of course, these narratives cannot be taken at face value, but we should also not ignore the fact that both the Egyptian and the later Greek Sources describe a similar course of events. As Finkelberg noted, “(i)t seems to be more than a mere coincidence that this pottery [i.e. Mycenaean IIIC:1b] is found along the same route that was associated in Greek tradition with the migration of Mopsos and his people.”<sup>88</sup>

A further indication that these narratives may be an echo of historic events, comes from another Medinet Habu inscription: one of the leaders of the ‘Sea People’ warriors with feathered-helmet, defeated by Ramesses III during his Year 5 campaign and depicted on his mortuary temple, was named m-sh-k-n, which Redford<sup>89</sup> reconstructed as \*Mā-š(a/i)-k-n(0) ; he derived the name from Μόσχος or Μόσχειον, i.e. bull(-like) and suggested a possible etymological connection to Muksa(s)/Mopsu(s). Redford also noted its resemblance to the ethnonym *Mushki*.<sup>90</sup> A second captured warrior is named m-r/l-y-w, which Redford reconstructs as \*Mā-r/i-3-yo(s) and links to Μάλεφος, Μάλεος or Μαλλός. Mallos is a city in Cilicia, which was thought to have been founded by Mopsos.

The story of Mopsos in later Greek sources and the fact that he was considered as the founder of the royal dynasty of the kingdom of *Hiyawa/dnny*m in the EIA Luwian and Phoenician inscriptions from Cilicia, indicate that groups of Achaeans migrated there at the end of the LBA.<sup>91</sup> It should be pointed out that according to the Greek sources the migration from West Anatolia, to Cilicia, North Syria and finally to Canaan was a long process, which lasted for more than one generation.<sup>92</sup>

Further linguistic evidence is to be found. As already mentioned, one or more members of the Mopsos dynasty in the land *Hiyawa/Qw/dnny*m are named in the Luwian and Phoenician inscriptions in Cilicia: *Wrkys* (İncirli), *Warikas/w[rk]* (Çineköy), *Awarikus/’wrk* (Karatepe), *’wrk* (Hassan Beyli) and *wryk* (Cebel Ires Dağı Dağı).<sup>93</sup> These names are usually transliterated as

<sup>85</sup> Strabo 14.4.3; Xanthus *apud* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ασκάλων (765 F 17 Jacoby). Of particular interest is also the reference of Xanthos (765 F 17a Jacoby), that Mopsos threw Atargatis into the Ascalon lake, which implies that “Mopsos was regarded as the founder of the cult of the ‘Askalon goddess’” (Finkelberg 2006, 117).

<sup>86</sup> Yasur-Landau 2003, 37–8; 2010, 114 ff; Singer 2012, 459–60; 2013.

<sup>87</sup> Bryce 2005, 333: “The foreign countries made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were removed and scattered in the fray. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Qode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alasiya on, being cut off at one time. A camp was set up in one place in Amurru. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming forward toward Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their confederation was the Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the land as far as the circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: ‘Our plans will succeed!’”

<sup>88</sup> Finkelberg 2005, 153.

<sup>89</sup> Redford 2007, 300; also Yasur-Landau 2012, 33; Emanuel 2017, 89.

<sup>90</sup> About the Mushki/Phrygians, see Kopanias 2015b.

<sup>91</sup> Hawkins 2006, 194; Oettinger 2008, 65; 2011; Woudhuizen 2015, 221; Bryce 2016, 74.

<sup>92</sup> Finkelberg 2006, 117 n. 41.

<sup>93</sup> Azatiwandas (KARATEPE) was not a king, but a vassal of the unnamed son of Awarikus: Lipinski 2004, 117.

Awarikus and Warikas. Most of the scholars believe that these names refer to the same person, probably the king known as Urikki in the Assyrian sources.<sup>94</sup> Both the names Awarikus and Warikas have been etymologically associated with Greek names:

Awarikus - Εἰσαρχος - Εὐαρχος<sup>95</sup> or Ράκιος<sup>96</sup>

Warikas - Wo-ro-i-ko - Ροίκος<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, Schmitz identified some Greek terms in the Phoenician version of the Karatepe inscription.<sup>98</sup> Particular noteworthy is the divine appellation KRNTRYŠ of Baal, which is to be interpreted as \*Κορυνητήριος (i.e. 'mace-bearing').<sup>99</sup> Greek names are also preserved in the Phoenician inscription of Cebel Ires Daği from the second half of the 7th century<sup>100</sup> As Schmitz noted, "(t)hese possible traces of Greek add substance to the suggestion of a Greek linguistic stratum in Iron Age Cilicia."<sup>101</sup>

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AND GREEK TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Greek and Latin texts show a strong link between Mopsos and Cilicia. Pliny mentioned that it was renamed as *Mopsopia* after his migration.<sup>102</sup> The name of Mopsos also survived in two later Cilician place names: *Mopsouhestia* (i.e. Mopsos' hearth)<sup>103</sup> and *Mopsoukrene* (i.e. Mopsos' fountain).<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, the term *Mopsouhestia* is the same as the one used in the Phoenician version of the KARATEPE inscription (*bt mpš*, i.e. House of Mopsos).<sup>105</sup>

Mopsos and Amphilochos are supposed to have been buried in Magarsos, the port of Mallos,<sup>106</sup> but the surviving texts do not explicitly mention that it was founded by them. Later sources attributed to Mopsos the foundation of only one city in Cilicia, Mallos, which he supposedly established together with Amphilochos.<sup>107</sup> Afterwards Amphilochos traveled back to Argos, with the aim of collecting more settlers and then returned to Mallos together with a

<sup>94</sup> Lipinski 2004, 117; Hawkins 2006, 193; Lanfranchi 2009, 128; Novák 2010, 407; Gander 2012, 292–7; Payne and Melchert 2012, 5; Oreshko 2013, 19; Bryce 2016, 69. *contra* Simon 2014; Yakubovich 2015b, 42.

<sup>95</sup> Krahmalkov 2000, 38–9; Lipinski 2004, 120–1; Schmitz 2008, 7; 2009b, 141; Miller 2014, 13; Yakubovich 2015b, 39.

<sup>96</sup> Forlanini 1996, 15; Jasink and Marino 2007, 408–9.

<sup>97</sup> Lipinski 2004, 121–2; Miller 2014, 13; Simon 2014, 95.

<sup>98</sup> Schmitz 2008.

<sup>99</sup> Schmitz 2008, 7; 2009b. This term is mentioned six times in the Phoenician text. In the Hieroglyphic Luwian version of the text the deity is described as (DEUS) TONITRUS-*hu-za-sá* (i.e. Tarḫunzas the highly blessed): Schmitz 2009b, 122.

<sup>100</sup> Schmitz 2017, 122–6.

<sup>101</sup> Schmitz 2009b, 141.

<sup>102</sup> Pl. NH 5.96. Already Sophokles (*apud* Str. 14.5.16) used the names Pamphylia and Cilicia.

<sup>103</sup> Strabo 14.5.19. The city *Mopsouhestia* was located in Παγκικά όρη (τούρκ. Misis dağları). It is probably to be identified with the place name *Pahar*, mentioned in the KARATEPE inscription and the city *Pahri*, which Salmanassar III destroyed in 839: Jasink and Marino 2007, 412.

<sup>104</sup> Scholia of Dionysius Periegetes 850; Eusebius Chr.-Can. p. 60 Helm<sup>2</sup>: Fowler 2013, 549. His name was also included in the name of *Moksupolis* in southern Phrygia.

<sup>105</sup> Bossert 1950, 123; Jasink and Marino 2007, 412.

<sup>106</sup> Strabo 14.5.16. Magarsos may be identified with the Hittite city *Urušša*, which is mentioned in Hieroglyphic Luwian as *Urassa/i*: Dillo 2016, 47–50.

<sup>107</sup> Strabo 14.5.16. Already Hesiod (fr. 279) and Herodotus (3.91) had associated Amphilochos from Argos with Cilicia. The attribution to Mopsos of the foundation of cities is fictitious: Vanschoonwinkel 2014, 89–90.

group of Argives.<sup>108</sup> The later inhabitants of Mallos considered Argos as their Mother City; thus Alexander the Great, who also claimed to be of Argive origin, granted them a tax exemption.<sup>109</sup> So far, there is no archaeological evidence, which could confirm that Mallos was a Greek colony,<sup>110</sup> so it has been proposed that its claim was fictitious and Alexander's decision had ulterior political motives.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, the coin legends in Mallos were written in Greek from the later 5th century,<sup>112</sup> so at least part of its population must have spoken Greek. The archaeological exploration of this site is still very limited, so future excavations will hopefully shed more light to this question.

Archaeological excavations in Cilicia and Pamphylia are still very limited in number and restricted to only a few sites.<sup>113</sup> During the LBA, while this region was an integral part of the Hittite kingdom, only a very limited amount of LH IIA–IIIB pottery was imported, mainly in Mersin, Tarsus and Kazanlı.<sup>114</sup> After the collapse of the Hittite kingdom this situation changed dramatically. Significant quantities of LH IIIC pottery have been discovered in many sites in Cilicia; a substantial percentage of this pottery was produced locally.<sup>115</sup>

As already mentioned, the city of Adana existed already in the beginning of the LBA period and was called *Adanawa* or *Adaniya*.<sup>116</sup> Interestingly, there are no finds of LH IIIC pottery and this city is mentioned not even once in Greek texts until the time of Alexander. It appears that no people from the Aegean settled in that city until, at least, the Hellenistic period. In Kinet Höyük there is no evidence that a cultural change took place during the transition to the EIA.<sup>117</sup> The settlement 13.2 of the Hittite period was destroyed by fire and subsequently the site was re-inhabited by a non-indigenous group of people, who lived in simple dwellings (Period 12a–c); the new inhabitants were pastoralists, who did not exploit the sea or engage in commercial activity; very few metal objects were found and only small quantities of LH IIIC pottery.<sup>118</sup>

Tarsus (Gözlükule) was first excavated by H. Goldman (1934–1938, 1947) and then by A. Özyar (2001 ff). Tarsus existed during the Hittite period and can probably be identified with the city of *Tarša*.<sup>119</sup> In the last layer of the Hittite phase (Layer LB IIa) only Hittite pottery was found.<sup>120</sup> In the beginning of the 12th century the official buildings were destroyed, but no Mycenaean pottery was found in that layer (LB IIb first phase).<sup>121</sup> Subsequently the site was fully destroyed and new buildings were hastily constructed by people who produced local LH IIIC pottery, including cooking pots (LB IIb later phase).<sup>122</sup> An apsidal building in that layer re-

<sup>108</sup> Strabo 14.5.16.

<sup>109</sup> Arr. An. 2.5.9.

<sup>110</sup> Scheer 1993, 226; Ehling *et al.* 2004, 11.

<sup>111</sup> Ehling *et al.* 2004, 17.

<sup>112</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, xix.

<sup>113</sup> For an overview of the archaeological research in Cilicia, see French 2013.

<sup>114</sup> Sherratt and Crouwel 1987, 341; Lehmann 2007, 510; Gates 2010, 69; French 2013, 482; Vanschoonwinkel 2014, 44.

<sup>115</sup> For a catalogue of sites in Cilicia with LH IIIA, IIIB and IIIC pottery: Yakar 1993, 14–8; Jean 1999, 27–31; Lehmann 2007, 498–500; Gür 2014–2015.

<sup>116</sup> See above n. 21.

<sup>117</sup> Jean 2003, 80–1; Gates 2010, 71; 2013, 5.

<sup>118</sup> Gates 2010, 70; 2013, 507.

<sup>119</sup> Desideri and Jasink 1990, 74 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Yalçın 2013, 200.

<sup>121</sup> Slane 2006, 6; Gates 2010, 70.

<sup>122</sup> Goldman 1956, 58; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987, 341; Jean 2003, 82–3; Mountjoy 2005; Lehmann 2007, 497, 510–1; Mommsen *et al.* 2011, 900.

calls similar EIA buildings in the Aegean.<sup>123</sup> The presence of this apsidal building and the large quantity of locally produced LH IIIC pottery, including cooking ware,<sup>124</sup> shows that a group of people from the Aegean settled in Tarsus.<sup>125</sup> Local pottery shapes continue to be produced on site.<sup>126</sup> They were gradually replaced by the so called *Cypro-Cilician Painted Pottery*: during the 10th century<sup>127</sup> Greek Geometric pottery and in the 7th century East Greek pottery was used.<sup>128</sup>

According to later Greek sources, a group of people from Argos settled in Tarsus at a very early age, namely when Triptolemus and the Argives were wandering looking for Io,<sup>129</sup> but it was not claimed that this city was founded by them. There are archaeological finds, which show that a group of Greeks lived in that city during the 8th and 7th centuries,<sup>130</sup> but not enough in order to consider it a Greek colony.<sup>131</sup> The presence of some Greeks in Tarsus during the first half of the 8th century is indicated by an economic text on an Assyrian cuneiform tablet, discovered in the city, which contains a list of six names: two are Luwian, one is possibly Luwian, and three are Greek.<sup>132</sup> By the Classical period there probably was no significant Greek community in the city, since until the 4th century the coin legends in Tarsus were written in Aramaic, not in Greek, and there are no Greek inscriptions earlier than the 1st century BC.<sup>133</sup> Greek became the predominant language in Tarsus, as in many other cities in Cilicia, from the late Hellenistic period onwards.<sup>134</sup>

In the beginning of the 12th century, Soloi (Soli Höyük) was destroyed; LH IIIC pottery was found in the layer that followed the destruction level (Trenches G8, E9, F9).<sup>135</sup> In later layers, Late-Geometric and Archaic pottery also appears (Trenches G7, G8, G9).<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, East-Greek architectural terracottas of the 7th century indicate the presence of a Greek temple in Soloi.<sup>137</sup> According to Herodotus, Amphilochos was killed there, but it was not explicitly mentioned that the city was founded by him.<sup>138</sup> Soloi was settled either by Argives<sup>139</sup> or by Rhodians and Achaeans,<sup>140</sup> at some point prior to the 7th century, since it is mentioned already by Hesiod and Hecataeus.<sup>141</sup> According to a decree of the late 4th century in Argos, the citizens of Soloi and Aspendos had the right to claim citizenship in Argos, since they were considered Argive settlers.<sup>142</sup> It seems that the inhabitants of Soloi continued to speak Greek also in later periods, but the barbarisms in their local dialect became proverbial. The coins of Soloi bore the image of

<sup>123</sup> Yalçın 2013, 200 fig. 5.

<sup>124</sup> Killebrew 1998, 397.

<sup>125</sup> Gates 2010, 70; Gür 2014–2015, 19.

<sup>126</sup> Slane 1987, 84; Yalçın 2013, 198.

<sup>127</sup> Yalçın 2013, 198, 202 fig. 4.

<sup>128</sup> Rollinger 2001, 250; Boardman 2014, 515, 521.

<sup>129</sup> Strabo 14.5.12: “ἡ δὲ Ταρσὸς κεῖται μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ τῶν μετὰ Τριπτολέμου πλανηθέντων Ἀργείων κατὰ ζήτησιν Ἰοῦς.”

<sup>130</sup> Bing 1971, 99–100.

<sup>131</sup> Ehling *et al.* 2004, 11.

<sup>132</sup> Schmitz 2009a, 131.

<sup>133</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, xix.

<sup>134</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, xxi.

<sup>135</sup> Yağcı 2007, 373 figs. 1–8; 2012, 7.

<sup>136</sup> Yağcı 2012, 7.

<sup>137</sup> Yağcı 2012, 10–4.

<sup>138</sup> Hesiod *apud* Str. 14.5.17.

<sup>139</sup> Strabo 14.5.8; Mela I.13 (71); Polyb. 21.24.10; Liv. 37.56.

<sup>140</sup> Strabo 14.5.8; Eust., Dionysius Periegetes, 875. See also Blumenthal 1963, 106, 121; Desideri and Jasink 1990, 27 ff; Ehling *et al.* 2004, 11.

<sup>141</sup> Hesiod *apud* Strabon 14.5.17; Hecataeus *apud* Steph. Byz. s.v. Σολοί.

<sup>142</sup> Stroud 1984, 201–2.

Athena and their legends were written in Greek from the late 5th century onwards.<sup>143</sup> According to Scylax only Soloi and Holmoi in Cilicia could be described as Greek cities at his time.<sup>144</sup>

In Kilise Tepe in the Mersin Province the layers of the early 12th century show a cultural continuity with the previous period, but the living conditions deteriorated (Levels IIa-b).<sup>145</sup> In the subsequent level, the *Stele and East Building* (Level IIc) was destroyed by fire and then a significant quantity of LH IIIC pottery appeared (Level IId).<sup>146</sup> The archaeological evidence points to the existence of a Greek settlement in the area of Mersin at least during the 7th century.<sup>147</sup>

LH IIIC pottery was also found in Kazanlı Höyük (in significant quantities),<sup>148</sup> Yumuktepe/Mersin,<sup>149</sup> Domuztepe,<sup>150</sup> Dağlıbaz Höyük,<sup>151</sup> İslamkadı Çiftlik,<sup>152</sup> Soyalı Höyük,<sup>153</sup> Misis<sup>154</sup> and Sirkeli Höyük.<sup>155</sup> Important quantities of LH IIIC pottery, a large percentage of which was locally produced, was also found in North Syria, namely in Tayinat,<sup>156</sup> Alalakh,<sup>157</sup> Sabuniye<sup>158</sup> and in at least 18 EIA sites in the Amuq plain.<sup>159</sup> In the case of Tayinat, there is substantial evidence, which shows that people from the Aegean migrated there in the early 12th century, since cooking wares and spool-shaped loom weights of Aegean type have been found.<sup>160</sup>

Greek cities were established mainly west of Soloi, in Cilicia Tracheia.<sup>161</sup> The foundation of the city of Olbe was attributed to Aias, son of Teukros, after the Trojan War.<sup>162</sup> Interestingly, until the Roman period all rulers of the city had to assume the name of either Aias or Teukros. Later Greek texts linked the foundation of this city directly with the Achaean migration to Cyprus, since Teukros founded the city of Salamis. During the Archaic period, a group of Samians founded the cities of Nagidos and Kelenderis in Cilicia Tracheia.<sup>163</sup> Three more Greek cities are mentioned in Cilicia Tracheia, namely Anemourion, Aphrodisias and Holmoi, but we know almost nothing about them.

In Pamphylia the foundation of Phaselis was attributed either to Mopsos<sup>164</sup> or to one of

<sup>143</sup> Ehling *et al.* 2004, 14; Balzat *et al.* 2013, xix.

<sup>144</sup> Ps. Scylax 102.

<sup>145</sup> Jean 2003, 84–6; French 2007; 2013, 480–1; Hansen and Postgate 1999, 112–3; Jackson and Postgate 1999, 546; Symington 2001, 169–72; Sherratt 2013, 624.

<sup>146</sup> Postgate 2008, 170–1; Yağcı 2012, 6.

<sup>147</sup> Haider 1996, 84; Rollinger 2001, 250.

<sup>148</sup> Mee 1978, 131, 150; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987; Lehmann 2007, 497–8.

<sup>149</sup> Jean 2003, 83–4.

<sup>150</sup> Goldman 1935, 526; 1938, 54; Seton-Williams 1954, 154.

<sup>151</sup> Killebrew 2006–2007, 250; Lehmann *et al.* 2008, 187.

<sup>152</sup> Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 158; Mee 1978, 129.

<sup>153</sup> Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 169.

<sup>154</sup> Lehmann 2007, 517.

<sup>155</sup> Ahrens *et al.* 2010, 62. Small quantities of LH IIIC pottery were also discovered in a few sites of Central Anatolia: Konya-Çumra, Hatipkale, Dineksaray and Meram-Zoldura (Bahar and Koçak 2008, 13–14 n. 18). The LH IIIC pottery sherds in Fraktin (Özgüç 1948, 264; Drews 1993, 11) may have been imported from Cilicia (Vanschoonwinkel 2014, 72).

<sup>156</sup> Janeway 2011.

<sup>157</sup> Yener and Akar 2011, 6–7.

<sup>158</sup> Pamir and Nishiyama 2010, 301.

<sup>159</sup> Yener *et al.* 2000, 188.

<sup>160</sup> Janeway 2006–2007; 2011; Gates 2010, 70–1. A similar picture is also observed in West Anatolia, as shown by the recent LH IIIC finds in Liman Tepe, Bademgediği and Çine Tepecik (Gür 2014–2015, 17).

<sup>161</sup> Ehling *et al.* 2004, 11.

<sup>162</sup> Strabon 14.5.10.

<sup>163</sup> Blumenthal 1963, 105 ff.; Balzat *et al.* 2013, xvii.

<sup>164</sup> Athenaios, Deipn. Epit. VII 51.

his followers, namely Lakios, who was either from Argos or Rhodes.<sup>165</sup> Callimachus mentioned that, during his migration, Mopsos passed through Aspendos, where he offered a sacrifice in honor of Aphrodite Kastnia, so the city pre-existed.<sup>166</sup> Hellanicus mentions that Aspendos was founded by Deukalion, which shows that it was thought to have been a very ancient city.<sup>167</sup> Its name is not Greek and is probably derived from the ethnonym ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΣ (\*Εστφεδους), which is written on its coins in the 5th century.<sup>168</sup> As in the case of Mallos in Cilicia, people from Argos settled also in Aspendos at some point.<sup>169</sup> The foundation of Selge was attributed to Kalchas, but at some later point also a group of Laconians settled in the city.<sup>170</sup> The city must have been in existence already, since the demonyms of Selge were ΣΤΛΕΓΕΥΣ, ΣΤΛΕΛΙΙΣ and ΕΣΤΛΕΛΙΙΥΣ.<sup>171</sup> Side also has a Pre-Hellenic name, which was preserved even after the settlement of Kymaians.<sup>172</sup> At some point, groups of Aeolians also settled in Pamphylia and founded the cities Tenedos, Lyrnessos and Thebe.<sup>173</sup> In the beginning of the 7th century Rhodians settled in the eastern part of Pamphylia and founded several cities.<sup>174</sup> The name Perge (\*Πρέγᾱ<sup>175</sup>) is derived from the Hittite name of the city *Parha*.<sup>176</sup> During the Roman period the citizens of Perge considered also Mopsos as their oikistes.<sup>177</sup> During the 7th century a significant group of Rhodians migrated into the city, but Luwian-speaking locals lived alongside with them.<sup>178</sup> In Perge, Aspendos and Sillyon a significant part of the population was indigenous until the Hellenistic period.<sup>179</sup> On the other hand, Phaselis and Melanippion retained characteristics expected to be found in Greek cities.<sup>180</sup>

On the Pamphylian coast, there are no archaeological finds from the LBA and the early phase of the EIA. This lack of finds is to be attributed to the limited archaeological research in that area. Recently, LH IIIC pottery was discovered in the acropolis of Perge, but there are still no earlier finds from the LBA.<sup>181</sup> In connection with the LH IIIC pottery a terracotta hearth was unearthed, which is similar to the ones discovered in Mycenaean palaces.<sup>182</sup> According to Recke, these finds in Perge show that there was some historic truth in the legends about Mopsos and the other Greek heroes who established the city.<sup>183</sup> Geometric pottery was also found in Sillyon.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Aristaenetus, FGrHist 771 F 1; Heropythos of Colophon, FGrHist 448 F 1. An inscription of the 1st century BC in the temple of Athena in Lindos mentions that the inhabitants of Phaselis dedicated weapons of the Solymians, who they defeated at the time of the foundation of their city (Higbie 2003, 33, 104).

<sup>166</sup> Iamb 10 of Call (F 200a Pf.). Robert (1960, 177) interpreted the figure of a mounted hunter on coins from Aspendos (420–360 BC) as Mopsos. It is often claimed (e.g. Işık 2008, 571) that Aspendos was founded by Mopsos, but this is not explicitly mentioned in the existing texts.

<sup>167</sup> Hellanicus (4 F 15 Jacoby).

<sup>168</sup> This term is probably related to the name *Azatiwataya*, namely the city that Azatiwatas mentions in his KARA-TEPE inscription (Jasink and Marino 2007, 413).

<sup>169</sup> Strabo 14.4.2: "...Ἄσπενδος πόλις εὐανδροῦσα ἰκανῶς, Ἀργείων κτίσμα."

<sup>170</sup> Strabo 12.7.3.

<sup>171</sup> Machatshek and Schwarz 1989, 12; Nollé and Schindler 1991, 12 n. 8.

<sup>172</sup> Strabo 14.4.2; Arrian, An. 1.26.4; Pseudo-Scylax, Periplus 101.

<sup>173</sup> Adak 2007, 46.

<sup>174</sup> Adak 2007, 42–4; 2013, 65.

<sup>175</sup> Miller 2014, 283.

<sup>176</sup> Oettinger 2008, 64; Sams 2011, 608.

<sup>177</sup> Şahin 1999, 1: nos. 101–7.

<sup>178</sup> Abbasoğlu 2001, 177.

<sup>179</sup> Şahin 1999, 1.

<sup>180</sup> Adak 2007, 43.

<sup>181</sup> Abbasoğlu 2001, 177; 2009, 62; Martini *et al.* 2010, 112 ff; Recke 2011.

<sup>182</sup> Abbasoğlu 2009, 62–3.

<sup>183</sup> Recke 2011, 176.

<sup>184</sup> Özer *et al.* 2011, 211.

## ASSYRIAN SOURCES

Greeks are mentioned in Assyrian texts as Yamnāiu/Yaunāiu (i.e. \*ΙάΦoveς = Ionians).<sup>185</sup> The earliest reference is dated to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC). Ionians (i.e. Greeks) came “from the middle of the sea” and attacked three small towns in the Phoenician coast.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, a <sup>uru</sup>*ia-ú-na* (i.e. city of the ‘Ionians’) is mentioned on the coast of North Syria,<sup>187</sup> possibly to be identified with Ra’s al-Basīt and maybe with Posideion.<sup>188</sup>

During the reign of Sargon II (721–705 BC) it was noted:

*(Sargon) experienced in battles who in the midst of the Sea as a fisher (does) caught the ‘Ionians’ like fish and provided peace for the land of Que and the city of Tyre.*<sup>189</sup>

In another text we read:

*[To subdue the Ionians, whose residences] are in the midst of the Sea, who killed the people of the [city of Ty]re and of the [land] of Que since faraway [days], [interrupted?] the ways(?), out on the Sea I sailed against them [with the ships of...].? and with the weapon stretched on the ground young and old.*<sup>190</sup>

Apparently, piratical raids had been a problem for the area between Cilicia and the city of Tyre “since faraway [days]”.<sup>191</sup> Nevertheless, it is very probable that these texts refer to the revolt in Cilicia Pedias (Que), which received the support of the Phrygian king Mita/Midas, but was successfully suppressed by Sargon II in 715 BC.<sup>192</sup>

In 696, in the time of Sennacherib (704–681 BC), Kirūa incited a revolt in the cities of Illubru, Ingirâ, and Tarsus in the land Hilakku (Cilicia Tracheia). The Assyrian texts explicitly mention that the road to the land of Que (Cilicia Pedias) was blocked, which implies that the latter remained on the Assyrian side.<sup>193</sup> The Assyrians crushed the rebellion, plundered the cities involved, and then transported Kirua to Nineveh, where he was publicly executed. The involvement of ‘Ionians’ (i.e. Greeks) is not explicitly mentioned in the surviving texts. Nevertheless, Sennacherib’s Bull Inscription about the events of his sixth campaign (694 BC) states the following:

*Hittites [i.e. Syrians], plunder of my bows I settled in Nineveh. Mighty ships (after) the workmanship of their land they built dexterously. Sailors –Tyrians, Sidonians and Io[n]ians– captives of my land, I ordered at the bank of the Tigris with them. Downstream to Opis I had them shipped to disembark (there).*<sup>194</sup>

<sup>185</sup> Rollinger 1997; 2011, 267; Lanfranchi 2000, 13.

<sup>186</sup> ND 2370. Saggs 2001, 164–6; Parker 2000; Rollinger 2001, 237; 2009, 33–4; 2011, 272; Yamada 2008, 303–5.

<sup>187</sup> ND 2737. Saggs 2001, 166–7; Yamada 2008, 305–6; Rollinger 2011, 271. In its vicinity was the city <sup>uru</sup>*r[e-š] i-šu-ri*, (Ri’isi-šurri or Rēši-šuri), probably to be identified with Ra’s Ibn Hāni: Na’aman 2004a; 2004b, 70; Yamada 2008, 306; Rollinger 2011, 271.

<sup>188</sup> Rollinger 2011, 272.

<sup>189</sup> Rollinger 2009, 34.

<sup>190</sup> Rollinger 2001, 239–40.

<sup>191</sup> Lanfranchi 2000, 19–22; 2005; 2007; Rollinger 2001, 239–40; 2009, 34; 2011, 273.

<sup>192</sup> Braun 1982, 15; Boardman 2014, 519.

<sup>193</sup> Grayson and Novotny 2012, 15–6.

<sup>194</sup> Rollinger 2001, 242.

It is very probable that these Greek captives were captured during the Assyrian campaign in Hilakku (Cilicia Tracheia) two years earlier. A very strong indication that this was the case comes from the reference to the events of Sennacherib's campaign of 696 BC in Cilicia, in the book *Babyloniaca* of Berossus (3rd century BC), which relied on earlier sources.<sup>195</sup> The book itself is lost, but in the Armenian translation of Eusebius' Chronicle we find two quotations from *Babyloniaca*, copied by Alexander Polyhistor (1st century AD)<sup>196</sup> and Abydenos (2nd century AD)<sup>197</sup> respectively. In Polyhistor's text we read that Sennacherib fought against Ionians in Cilicia and then erected a statue of himself with a "Chaldean inscription" as a memorial of his victory; most probably it is the statue which Alexander's generals saw in 333 BC in Anchiale, and mistakenly attributed to Sardanapalus (i.e. Ashurbanipal or Ashur-uballit II).<sup>198</sup> In Abydenos' account we read that Sennacherib defeated a group of Ionian warships off the Cilician coast;<sup>199</sup> then he dedicated a temple to Athena,<sup>200</sup> and he built (i.e. rebuilt) Tarsus "according to plan and model of Babylon". Anchiale is probably to be identified with the city Ingirâ in Sennacherib's texts.<sup>201</sup>

The Assyrian texts from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II reveal that Greek ships raided the Levantine coast. In the middle of the 8th century, a city of the 'Ionians' was located somewhere on the North Syrian coast, possibly in Ra's al-Basit. Greeks were also involved in two unsuccessful revolts in Cilicia: first, in 715 BC in Cilicia Pedias (Que), probably in cooperation with the Phrygian king Mita/Midas;<sup>202</sup> second, in 696 BC in Hilakku (Cilicia Tracheia). Such a strong involvement in Cilicia shows that at least some of the Greek cities in Cilicia Tracheia and in Pamphylia must have been founded prior to that date. After suppressing two revolts in Cilicia, both with some Greek involvement, the Assyrians kings would not have been inclined to permit the establishment of more Greek cities there. Sennacherib's campaign in 696 BC should be viewed as a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation of the Greek cities in Cilicia.

## THE FOUNDATION DATES OF THE GREEK CITIES

According to the Greek sources, there was not one, but many small migrations to Pamphylia and Cilicia, spread throughout an extended period of time. The first one took place soon after the Trojan War (according to Eratosthenes dated to 1183 BC and by the Parian Marble to 1209 BC). It was not an organized migration of people from a single city: people from different backgrounds in Northwest and West Anatolia took part in it. It is implied that a significant number of people migrated, since various groups settled along the way (in Caria, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia and North Syria), but there was still enough of them left to reach and settle in Askalon. As already mentioned, similar events were also described in the Medinet Habu inscriptions of Ramesses III, dated to approximately 1175 BC, according to which a substantial number of people moved through Anatolia and the Levant, destroying one kingdom after the other: Hatti,

<sup>195</sup> Burstein 1978, 24; Rollinger 2001, 241; Lane Fox 2008, 81; Yağcı 2012, 7; Heller 2015, 337.

<sup>196</sup> Alexander Polyhistor, FgrHist 680 F 7c (31).

<sup>197</sup> Abydenos, FgrHist 685 F 5 (6).

<sup>198</sup> Callisthenes, FCrH 124 F 34; Aristobulus, FGrH 139 F 9; B 8: Braun 1982, 19; Lanfranchi 2013, 66. Sardanapalos supposedly also built Anchiale: Strabo 14.5.9; Arrian, Anabasis 2.5.2-4; Athenaeus 12.529 E.

<sup>199</sup> This account of the sea battle could actually refer to Sargon's naval battle against Greeks in Cilicia: Lanfranchi 2013, 68.

<sup>200</sup> The text mentions a "temple of Athenians", which is obviously a mistake made by the Armenian translator of Eusebius' text: Lane Fox 2008, 82.

<sup>201</sup> Lane Fox 2008, 81; Lanfranchi 2013, 66. According to Braun (1982, 18), Illubru recalls the Greek name Olymbrus, the brother of Adanus.

<sup>202</sup> Braun 1982, 15; Boardman 2014, 519.



Alashia (i.e. Cyprus), Arzawa (i.e. West Anatolia), Qode (i.e. Cilicia), Carchemish and Amurru.<sup>203</sup> They supposedly attacked Egypt itself, but in the end several groups of them settled in Philistia. The upheavals of that time are evident also in the archaeological record, since many sites in Anatolia and the Levant were either deserted or destroyed, and there is evidence for the movement of various groups of people.<sup>204</sup> Such a disorganized and desperate migration of people, as the one described by both the Egyptian and the later Greek sources, must have been necessitated by a calamity,<sup>205</sup> or maybe what may at the time have seemed an opportunity. We know that the Hittite kings forcibly relocated tens of thousands of people from West and South Anatolia to the central and northern part of their kingdom, often to dangerous border regions.<sup>206</sup> After the collapse of the Hittite kingdom in the early 12th century, at least some of the deportees could have opted to leave and either return to their homelands, where they would not have necessarily been welcomed, or go on to new destinations, where they thought that they would have a better life. Such a disorganized migration of groups of people agrees with the information provided by the Greek sources about Mopsos and his followers. The followers of Mopsos were able to occupy a part of Cilicia and to establish there a kingdom, later known as Hiyawa in Luwian and *Qw/'dn/dnnyim* in Phoenician. Later rulers of *Hiyawa* acknowledged *Muksas/mpš* as the founder of their royal dynasty.

In Cilicia and Pamphylia a second migration is attested, not long after the first one. It is mentioned that, after Mopsos and Amphilochos founded the city of Mallos in Cilicia, the latter traveled to Argos, where he persuaded some of its residents to travel with him back to Mallos and settle there.<sup>207</sup> According to the later Greek texts, groups of Argives settled also in Tarsus<sup>208</sup> and Soloi in Cilicia, as well as in Aspendos in Pamphylia.<sup>209</sup> The mythical tradition places the foundation of Olbe in the same context, since it was attributed to Aias, the son of Teukros;<sup>210</sup> the cases of Soloi and Olbe show that, according to the later Greek authors, the migration to Cilicia and Pamphylia was linked to the one to Cyprus. Interestingly, during the EIA, pottery in Cilicia shows a strong affinity with Cypriot pottery, not with any Anatolian or Syrian styles.<sup>211</sup>

The archaeological evidence offers a similar picture. At the beginning of the 12th century, some sites in Cilicia were destroyed (Tarsus, Kilise Tepe, Kinet Höyük). In some cases they were soon afterwards re-settled (Tarsus, Tille Höyük, Kilise Tepe); in the early phase of the new settlements, there is usually a change in pottery production. During the 12th and 11th centuries, locally produced LH IIIC pottery appears in several Cilician sites. This pottery is not directly connected with destruction levels (Tarsus, Soli Höyük, Tayinat). As Lehmann noted, the "*LH IIIC pottery and its derivative styles characterize most of the decorated pottery in Cilicia during the early Iron Age, approximately the 12th and 11th century BCE. This pottery style was widely distributed in the plain... This substantial impact of Late Helladic ceramic styles on the material culture of Cilicia is comparable only to the Land of the Philistines and the Amuq plain.*"<sup>212</sup> Some of the local pottery types do not cease to be produced, so it seems that at least part of the previous population continued to live there.

---

<sup>203</sup> See above n. 90.

<sup>204</sup> For an overview, see Killebrew and Lehmann 2013; Cline 2014.

<sup>205</sup> For a detailed discussion and further references, see Knapp and Manning 2016.

<sup>206</sup> Altman and Gan 2008, 380.

<sup>207</sup> Strabo 14.5.16.

<sup>208</sup> Strabo 14.5.12.

<sup>209</sup> Stroud 1984, 201–2.

<sup>210</sup> Strabon 14.5.10.

<sup>211</sup> Novák 2010, 408; Recke 2011, 176.

<sup>212</sup> Lehmann 2007, 512.

With no exceptions, the later Greek sources place the migration of Mopsos and the Argives soon after the Trojan War, but modern scholars are divided on the matter: some date the founding of the Argive colonies in the 12th century,<sup>213</sup> while others place it in the period between the 9th–6th centuries.<sup>214</sup> The later date is mainly based on the fact that the Pamphylian dialect includes also Doric elements.<sup>215</sup> Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the occurrence of Doric elements simply proves that Greeks continued to migrate to Cilicia and Pamphylia at least until the 7th century.<sup>216</sup> The earlier date for the foundation of the Argive colonies (12th–11th centuries) is supported by the fact that the Pamphylian dialect shows a strong affinity with the Arcadocypriot dialect and preserves many elements of the Mycenaean Greek.<sup>217</sup> As Miller noted, "*Pamphylian is thus possibly the substratum remnant of a Mycenaean colony.*"<sup>218</sup> This is indeed a strong indication that a wave of Achaean settlers arrived in Pamphylia at a very early age, during the 12th and the 11th centuries, during the time that Achaean settlers started to migrate to Cyprus.<sup>219</sup> There is also evidence for the survival of Mycenaean cults in later periods in Pamphylia: first, the cult of *Diwia*, mentioned in a 4th century inscription from Sillyon;<sup>220</sup> she was originally the wife of Zeus, but had been replaced by Hera already at some point of the LBA.<sup>221</sup> Second, the cult of *Favάσσᾱ Πρευᾱς* (i.e. the lady/goddess of \*Prega), whose epithet is derived from the Mycenaean period and was also used for Aphrodite in the Cypriot dialect.<sup>222</sup>

Further waves of migration took place at different times of the EIA, when Rhodians, Kymaians, Lacedaemonians and possibly also Aeolians settled in pre-existing or in new towns and cities in Cilicia (mainly in Cilicia Tracheia) and in Pamphylia.<sup>223</sup> The existence of Arcadocypriot, Doric and Aeolian elements in the Pamphylian dialect shows that there was not a single, but several waves of migration between the 12th and the 7th centuries, which is also in accordance with the ancient sources.<sup>224</sup> This is also in line with the fact that significant amounts of Greek pottery were imported in Cilicia and Pamphylia from the 8th century onwards, in particular Rhodian and East Ionian.<sup>225</sup>

The indigenous languages had a significant influence on the Pamphylian dialect. The case of the Kymaian settlers in Side is characteristic: soon after they had settled in Side, they began to speak a mixed language under the influence of the indigenous population.<sup>226</sup> Nevertheless, in Cilicia and Pamphylia, there are no Luwian inscriptions from the Archaic period onwards, contrary to the situation in Lycia, Caria and Lydia;<sup>227</sup> the surviving texts were written in Phoenician, Aramaic and Greek. This means that the migration to Cilicia and Pamphylia was a protracted and gradual process. This corresponds with the evidence from modern anthropological

<sup>213</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44–50; Barnett 1975; Jasink and Marino 2007, 413; Grainger 2009, 1–14.

<sup>214</sup> Brixhe 1976, 191–4; Jones and Habicht 1989, 338.

<sup>215</sup> Brixhe 1976; Scheer 1993, 213–6; Adak 2007, 41; Colvin 2010, 209.

<sup>216</sup> e.g. in the case of Soloi, see Jones 1971, 194.

<sup>217</sup> Egetmeyer 2010; Ramón 2010, 227 ff. Generally about the Pamphylian dialect: Brixhe 1976; Παναγιώτου 2001; Balzat *et al.* 2013, xxv.

<sup>218</sup> Miller 2014, 282; see also Brixhe 2002, 50ff.

<sup>219</sup> About the arrival of the Achaeans on Cyprus, see Iakovou 2014, 234.

<sup>220</sup> Brixhe 2002.

<sup>221</sup> Bremmer and Erskine 2010, 5; Miller 2014, 291–2.

<sup>222</sup> Miller 2014, 283–5.

<sup>223</sup> Adak 2007, 47; Brixhe 2010, 228.

<sup>224</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, xxv.

<sup>225</sup> Forsberg 1995, 51 ff; Ehling *et al.* 2004, 10–1.

<sup>226</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 1.26.4.

<sup>227</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, xvi.

studies, which confirm that people do not migrate to unfamiliar places, but to the ones which they already know of, especially to the ones where they have relatives and friends.<sup>228</sup> A very interesting analogy can be found in the case of the 19th century AD city of Mersin: within a period of two or three generations, small groups of Greeks gradually migrated into the city from the Aegean, with the aim of finding better economic prospects and co-existed there peacefully with several other ethnic groups.<sup>229</sup> In the case of the 19th century AD migration to Mersin, the whole process was decentralized and involved only a few families at a time.

## CONCLUSIONS

There is still no definite evidence that people started to migrate from the Aegean to Cilicia during the 12th century. Nevertheless, there is a lot of circumstantial evidence: the Luwian inscriptions about the *Hiyawa/dnnyim* in EIA Cilicia, the claim of its rulers that they belonged to the royal dynasty Mopsos (*Muksas/mpš*), the testimony of Herodotus about the Hypachaeans of Cilicia, the legends about Mopsos and the migration people from West and Northwest Anatolia to Cilicia, the appearance of significant quantities of locally produced LH IIIC pottery in many sites, the Arcadocypriot and Mycenaean elements in the Greek Pamphylian dialect, the Assyrian sources, which link the Greeks to the affairs of Cilicia during the 8th and 7th centuries.

If we view this evidence *in corpore*, then we can safely draw the conclusion that small groups of Aegean immigrants had begun to arrive in Cilicia and Pamphylia already in the 12th century. They were soon amalgamated with the indigenous population and created mixed communities. Until the late 8th century a part of Cilicia belonged to the kingdom of *Hiyawa*, whose rulers acknowledged Mopsos as their progenitor. As in the case of the Aegean migrants in Philistia and in Amuq, the *Hiyawa* people in Cilicia were gradually assimilated into the indigenous population.<sup>230</sup> These were the *Hypachaeans* of Cilicia, mentioned by Herodotus, which were the descendants of Achaeans, but were neither Greeks nor Cilicians. Further waves of Aegean immigrants continued to arrive, mainly in Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia, at least until the 7th century. These later migrants also amalgamated with the indigenous population and their local vernacular became heavily influenced by the local Luwian dialects.<sup>231</sup> Nevertheless, some of their cities could retain some of the characteristics of a Greek *polis*. In the case of Cilicia Pedias, the assimilation process was more intensive. Prior to the Hellenistic period, Soloi was the only city which could be characterized as Greek.<sup>232</sup> There are no Greek inscriptions or place names in Cilicia Pedias prior to the Hellenistic period.<sup>233</sup> After the conquest of Alexander, this process was reversed: the local population gradually adopted the Greek language not only in writing, but also in everyday life. During the Roman period, the Greek language gradually replaced the native Luwian dialects, which then disappeared.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>228</sup> Anthony 1990, 900.

<sup>229</sup> Toksöz 2010.

<sup>230</sup> Malkin 2015; 2016, 298.

<sup>231</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 1.26.4; Grainger 2009, 12–4; Adak 2013, 63. Luwian personal names were still in use until the Roman period, see Balzat *et al.* 2013, xvii.

<sup>232</sup> Haider 1996, 79 ff.; Casabonne 2004, 75, 92; Ehling *et al.* 2004, 16; Balzat *et al.* 2013, xix.

<sup>233</sup> Novák 2010, 407–8.

<sup>234</sup> Balzat *et al.* 2013, 19–20.

## WORKS CITED

- Abbasoğlu, H. 2001. "The Founding of Perge and its Development in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods." In *Urbanism of Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, edited by D. Parrish, 172–88. Prorstmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "Perge 2008." *Anmed* 7:61–9.
- Adak, M. 2007. "Die dorische und äolische Kolonisation des lykisch-pamphyliischen Grenzraumes im Lichte der Epigraphik und der historischen Geographie." In *Griechische Epigraphik in Lykien. Eine Zwischenbilanz: Akten des int. Kolloquiums München, 24.–26. Februar 2005*, edited by C. Schuler, 41–50. Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 25. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "Names, Ethnicity and Acculturation in the Pamphylian/Lycian Borderland." In *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, edited by R. Parker, 63–78. Proceedings of the British Academy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ahrens, A., E. Kozal, and M. Novák. 2010. "Sirkeli Höyük in Smooth Cilicia. A General Overview from the 4th to the 1st Millennium BC." In *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, May 5th-10th 2008, «Sapienza» - Università di Roma*, Vol. 2, *Excavations, Surveys and Restorations: Reports on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro, and N. Marchetti, 55–74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Altman, A., and R. Gan. 2008. "Hittite Imperialism in Perspective: the Hittite and Roman Treatment of Subordinate States Compared." In *Hattuša-Boğazköy: Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Altens Orients. 6. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 22.-24. März 2006, Würzburg*, edited by G. Wilhelm, 377–96. CDOG 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Anthony, D.W. 1990. "Migration in Archeology: The Baby and the Bathwater." *American Anthropologist, New Series* 92(4):895–914.
- Astour, M.C. 1967. *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill.
- Bahar, H., and Ö. Koçak. 2008. "The Transition from Bronze to Iron Age in Lyconia and its Vicinity." In *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East: 29 March–3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin*, edited by H. Kühne, R.M. Czichon, F.J. Kreppner, 9–20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Balzat, J.-S., R.W.V. Catling, É. Chiricat, and F. Marchand. Eds. 2013. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Vol. V, B, Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barnett, R.D. 1953. "Mopsos." *JHS* 73:140–3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1975. "Mopsos and the Dnym." *CAH2* II.2:363–6.
- Barnett, R.D., J. Leveen, and C. Moss. 1948. "A Phoenician Inscription from Eastern Cilicia." *Iraq* 10:56–71.
- Beal, R.H. 2011. "Hittite Anatolia: A Political History." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia, 10,000-323 B.C.E.*, edited by S.R. Steadman, and J.G. McMahon, 579–603. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beckman, G.M., T.R. Bryce, and E.H. Cline. 2011. *The Ahhiyawa Texts. Writings from the Ancient World*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Bing, J.D. 1971. "Tarsus. A Forgotten Colony of Lindos." *JNES* 30(2):99–109.
- Blumenthal, E. 1963. *Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südküste Kleinasiens*. Tübinger geographische Studien 10. Tübingen: Geographisches Institut der Universität Tübingen.
- Boardman, J. 2014. "Greeks in the East Mediterranean (South Anatolia, Syria, Egypt)." In *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Vol. 1, edited by G.R. Tsteskhladze, 507–34. Leiden & Boston. Brill.
- Bossert, H.T. 1950. "Reisen in Kilikien." *Orientalia NS* 19(1):122–5.
- Braun, T.F.R.G. 1982. "The Greeks in the Near East." *CAH2* III(2):1-31.
- Bremmer, J.N., and A. Erskine. 2010. *The Gods of Ancient Greece Identities and Transformations*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Brixhe, C. 1976. *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire*. Paris: Maisonneuve.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. "Achéens et Phrygiens en Asie Mineure: approche comparative de quelques données lexicales." In *Novalis Indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag*, edited by F. Matthias, and S. Zeilfelder, 49–73. Grazer Vergleichende Arbeiten 17. Graz: Leykam.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "Origins of the Linguistic Situation in the Imperial Period." In *A Companion to the*

- Greek Language*, edited by E.J. Bakker, 228-52. Malden, MA. Blackwell.
- Bron, F. 1979. *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. Hautes études orientales 11. Geneva: Droz.
- Brown, B. 2008. "The Kilamuwa Relief: Ethnicity, Class and Power in Iron Age North Syria." In *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on the Archeology of the Ancient Near East. Madrid, April 3-8 2006*, edited by J. Córdoba, M. Molist, C. Pérez, I. Rubio, and S. Martínez, 341-55. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Bryce, T.R. 2005. *The Kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "The Hittite Deal with the Hiyawa-Men." In *Pax Hethitica: Studies on the Hittites and Their Neighbours in Honour of Itamar Singer*, edited by Y. Cohen, A. Gilan, and J.L. Miller, 47-53. *StBoT* 51. Wiesbaden. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2016. "The Land of Hiyawa (Que) Revisited." *AnatSt* 66:67-79.
- Burstein, S.M. 1978. *The Babyloniaca of Berossos*. *SANE* 1/5. Malibu, CA.
- Çambel, H., W. Röllig, and J.D. Hawkins. 1999. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. 2, Karatepe, Aslantaş*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Casabonne, O. 2004. *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*. Paris.
- Cline, E.H. 2014. *1177 B.C. the Year Civilization Collapsed*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Colvin, S. 2010. "Greek Dialects in the Archaic and Classical Ages." In *A companion to the Greek language*, edited by E.J. Bakker, 200-12. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Danek, G. 2015. "Nostoi." In *The Greek Epic Cycle and its ancient reception. A companion*, edited by M. Fantuzzi, and C. Tsagalis, 354-79. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Desideri, P., and A.M. Jasink. 1990. *Cilicia: dall'eta di Kizzuwatna alia conquista Macedone*. Turin: Casa editrice le lettere.
- Dillo, M. 2016. "The Location and Erection of the Storm-God Stelae from Arsuz. Deciphering the Unreadable Luwian City Name in Cilicia as the Port of Urassa/i." *BibO* 73(1-2):40-61.
- Dinçol, B., A. Dinçol, J.D. Hawkins, H. Peker, A. Öztan, and Ö. Çelik. 2015. "Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and 2." *AnatSt* 65:59-77.
- Dodd, L.S. 2012. "Squeezing Blood from a Stone: the Archaeological Context of the Incirli Inscription." In *Puzzling out the Past. Studies in the Northwest Semitic Languages and Literature in honor of Bruce Zuckerman*, edited by M.J. Lundberg, St. Fine, W.Th. Pitard, 213-34. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Drews, R. 1993. *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Edel, E. 1994. *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköy in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Eder, B., and R. Jung. 2015. "»Unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno«: The Mycenaean Palace System." In *Tradition and Innovation in the Mycenaean Palatial Polities. Proceedings of an International Symposium Held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Oriental and European Archaeology, Aegean and Anatolia Department, Vienna, 1-2 March, 2013*, edited by J. Weilhartner, and F. Ruppenstein, 113-40. *Mykenische Studien* 34. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Egetmeyer, M. 2010. *Le dialecte grec ancien de Chypre, Vol. 1, Grammaire*. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- Ehling, K., D. Pohl, and M.H. Sayar. 2004. *Kulturbegrenzung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien*. *Asia Minor Studien* 53. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Emanuel, J.P. 2017. *Black Ships and Sea Raiders. The Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Context of Odysseus' Second Cretan Lie*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Fales, F.M. 1979. "Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power." *Die Welt des Orients* 10:6-22.
- Finkelberg, M. 2005. *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Ino-Leukothea Between East And West." *JANER* 6:105-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Meta-Cyclic Epic and Homeric Poetry." In *The Greek Epic Cycle and its Ancient Reception. A Companion*, edited by M. Fantuzzi, and C. Tsagalis, 126-38. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Forlanini, M. 1988. "La regione del Tauro nei testi hittiti." *Vicino Oriente* 7:129-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. "Awariku, un nom dynastique dans le mythe et l'histoire." *Hethitica* 13:13-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "Un peuple, plusieurs noms: le

- problème des ethniques au Proche Orient ancien. Cas connus, cas à découvrir." In *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1–4 July 2002*, edited by W.H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and D. Katz, 111–9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "The Historical Geography of Western Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age: Still an Open Question." *Orientalia NS* 81:133–40.
- Forrer, E. 1924. "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi." *MDOG* 63:1–22.
- Forsberg, S. 1995. *Near Eastern Destruction Datings as Sources for Greek and Near Eastern Iron Age Chronology. Archaeological and Historical Studies. The Case of Samaria (722 B.C.) and Tarsus (696 B.C.)*. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Fowler, R.L. 2013. *Early Greek Mythography*, Vol. 2, *Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- French, E. 2007. "The Mycenaean Pottery." In *Excavations at Kilise Tepe, 1994–98: From Bronze Age to Byzantine in Western Cilicia*, edited by J.N. Postgate, 373–6. McDonald Institute Monographs; British Institute of Archaeology 30. London & Cambridge: British Institute at Ankara & McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "Cilicia." In *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, edited by A.E. Killebrew, and G. Lehmann, 479–84. *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Gander, M. 2010. *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "Aḥḥiyawa - Ḥiyawa - Que: Gibt es Evidenz für die Anwesenheit von Griechen in Kilikien am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit?" *SMEA* 54:281–309.
- Gates, M.-H. 2010. "Potters and Consumers in Cilicia and the Amuq during the 'Age of Transformations' (13th–10th Centuries BC)." In *Societies in Transition, Evolutionary Processes in the Northern Levant Between Late Bronze Age II and Early Iron Age, Papers Presented on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the New Excavations in Tell Afis, Bologna, 15th November 2007*, edited by F. Venturi, 65–81. *Studi e testi orientali* 9. Bologna: CLUEB.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "Early Iron Age Newcomers at Kinet Höyük, Eastern Cilicia." In *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, edited by A.E. Killebrew, and G. Lehmann, 485–508. *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Goldman, H. 1935. "Preliminary Expedition to Cilicia, 1934, and Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus." *AJA* 39(4):526–49.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1938. "Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1937." *AJA* 42(1):30–54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1956. *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. 2, *From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Grainger, J.D. 2009. *The Cities of Pamphylia*. Oxford & Oakville, CT: Oxbow Books.
- Grayson, A.K., and J.R. Novotny. 2012. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*. The Royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Gür, B. 2014–2015. "An Overview of the Late Helladic IIIC Period in Anatolia." *TALANTA* 44–46:7–26.
- Haider, P.W. 1996. "Griechen im Vorderen Orient und in Ägypten bis ca. 590 v. Chr." In *Wege zur Genese griechischer Identität: Die Bedeutung der früharchaischen Zeit*, edited by C. Ulf, 59–115. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hajnal, I. 2003. *Troia aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht: Die Struktur einer Argumentation*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen, Abteilung Sprachwissenschaft.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "Namen und ihre Etymologien - als Beweisstücke nur bedingt tauglich?" In *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*, edited by C. Ulf, and R. Rollinger, 241–63. Darmstadt: WBG.
- Hansen, C.K., and J.N. Postgate. 1999. "The Bronze to Iron Age Transition at Kilise Tepe." *AnatSt* 49:111–21.
- Hard, R., and H.J. Rose. 2004. *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology Based on H.J. Rose's "Handbook of Greek mythology"*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1979. "Some Historical Problems of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions." *AnatSt* 29:153–67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, Vol. 1. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Que (A)." *REA* 11:191–5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo: New light in a Dark Age." *NEA* 72:164–73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Addendum to 'Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia' by Ilya Yakubovich." *AnatSt* 65:54–5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2016. "Adana(wa) vs. Ahhiyawa: a Rejoinder to R. Oreshko, NABU 2015/3 (74)." *NABU*(1):26–7.
- Heller, A. 2015. "Why the Greeks Know so Little about Assyrian and Babylonian History." In

- Mesopotamia in the Ancient World Impact, Continuities, Parallels: Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project Held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4–8, 2013*, edited by R. Rollinger, and E. van Dongen, 331–48. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Higbie, C. 2003. *The Lidian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of their Past*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Houwink ten Cate, P. 1961. *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*. Leiden: Brill.
- Iakovou, M. 2014. "Cyprus: From Migration to Hellenisation." In *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Vol. 2, edited by G.R. Tsteskhladze, 219–88. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Işık, F. 2008. "Mopsos Mitosu ve Bilimsel Gerçekler Perge ve Karatepe'nin Kuruluşu üzerine." In *Euergetes. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by İ. Delemen, S. Çokay-Kepçe, and A. Özdizbay, 571–85. Antalya: Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Jackson, M., and J. Postgate. 1999. "Kilise Tepe 1997: A Summary of the Principal Results." *20. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1:541–55.
- Janeway, B. 2006–2007. "Aegean Contact at Tell Ta'ayinat and Vicinity in the Early Iron Age: Evidence of the Sea Peoples?" *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28:123–46.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "Mycenean Bowls at 12th/11th BC Tell Tayinat (Amuq valley)." In *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions. An International Archaeological Symposium Held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th, 2010*, edited by V. Karageorghis, and O. Kouka, 167–85. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Jasink, A.M., and M. Marino. 2007. "The West-Anatolian Origins of the Que Kingdom Dynasty." In *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Ittologia. Roma, 5–9 settembre 2005*, edited by A. Archi, and R. Francia, 407–26. Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 49. Roma: Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente.
- Jean, E. 2003. "From Bronze Age to Iron Age Cilicia: The Pottery in its Stratigraphic Context." In *Identifying Changes. The Transition from Bronze and Iron Ages in Anatolia and its Neighbouring Regions: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Istanbul, November 8–9, 2002*, edited by B. Fischer, H. Genz, E. Jean, and K. Köroğlu, 79–91. Beyoğlu-Istanbul: Türk Eskiçağ Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1971. *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, C.P., and C. Habicht. 1989. "A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia." *Phoenix* 43(4):317–46.
- Kaufman, S.A. 2007. "The Phoenician Inscription of the Incirli Trilingual: A Tentative Reconstruction and Translation." *MAARAV* 14(2):7–26.
- Kelder, J.M. 2012. "Ahhiyawa and the World of the Great Kings: A Re-Evaluation of Mycenaean Political Structures." *TALANTA* 44:41–52.
- Killebrew, A.E. 1998. "Ceramic Typology and Technology of the Bronze II and Iron I Assemblage from Tel Miqne- Ekron: The Transition from Canaanite to Philistine Culture." In *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, edited by S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern, 379–405. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006–2007. "The Philistines in Context: The Transmission and Appropriation of Mycenaean-Style Culture in the East Aegean, Southeastern Coastal Anatolia and the Levant." *Scripta Mediterranea* 27–28:245–66.
- Killebrew, A.E., and G. Lehmann. Eds. 2013. *The Philistines and Other "Sea Peoples" in Text and Archaeology*. Archaeology and biblical studies 15. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Knapp, A.B., and S.W. Manning. 2016. "Crisis in Context. The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean." *AJA* 120(1):99–149.
- Kopanias, K. 2008. "The Late Bronze Age Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from Thebes (Greece) and their Historical Implications." *AM* 123:39–96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015a. "From the Mythical Atreus to the Ruler Attarissiya. Aegean Kingship in the Late Bronze Age through the Prism of Near Eastern Texts." In *Ein Minoer im Exil. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier*, edited by I. Kaiser, O. Kouka, and D. Panagiotopoulos, 211–22. Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie. Bonn: Habelt.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015b. "The Mushki/Phrygian Problem from the Near Eastern Point of View." In *NOSTOI. Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Istanbul 31/3/11–3/4/11*, edited by N. Stampolidis, C. Maner, and K. Kopanias, 211–26. Istanbul: Koç University Press.
- Krahmalkov, C.R. 2000. *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. OLA 90. Leuven: Peeters.

- Kretschmer, P. 1933. "Die Hypachäer." *Glotta* 21: 213–57.
- Kümmel, H.M. 1976–1980. "Kizzuwatna." *REA* 5: 628–9.
- Lackenbacher, S., and F. Malbran-Labat. 2005. "Ugarit et les Hittites dans les archives de la Maison d'Urtenu." *SMEA* 47:227–40.
- Lane Fox, R. 2008. *Travelling Heroes: Greeks and their Myths in the Epic Age of Homer*. London & New York: Vintage Books.
- Lanfranchi, G.B. 2000. "The Ideological and Political Impact of the Assyrian Imperial Expansion into the Greek World in the 8th and 7th Centuries." In *The Heirs of Assyria. Proceedings of the Opening Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Heritage Project, Held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8–11, 1998*, edited by S. Aro, and R. Whiting, 7–34. Melammu Symposia 1. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2005. "The Luwian-Phoenician Bilingual of Çineköy and the Annexation of Cilicia to the Assyrian Empire." In *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift für M. Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, edited by R. Rollinger, 481–96. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 325. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. "The Luwian-Phoenician Bilingual of Çineköy: an Ideological Dialogue." In *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der Alten Welt*, edited by R. Rollinger, A. Luther, and J. Wiesehöfer, 179–217. *Oikumene. Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte* 2. Frankfurt a.M.: Rheinland-Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "A Happy Son of the King of Assyria: Warikas and the Çineköy Bilingual (Cilicia)." In *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, edited by M. Luukko, and S. Parpola, 127–50. *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "Babyloniaca, Book 3. Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians." In *The World of Berossos: Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on "The Ancient Near East Between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions", Hatfield College, Durham 7th–9th July 2010*, edited by J. Haubold, G.B. Lanfranchi, R. Rollinger, and J.M. Steele, 61–74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Laroche, E. 1958. "Adana et les Danouniens." *Syria* 35:263–75.
- Lebrun, R., and J. de Vos. 2006. "A propos de l'inscription bilingue de l'ensemble sculptural de Çineköy." *Anatolia* 14:45–64.
- Lehmann, G. 2007. "Decorated Pottery Styles in the Northern Levant During the Early Iron Age and their Relationship with Cyprus and the Aegean." *UgaritF* 39:487–550.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "North Syria and Cilicia, c.1200 – 330 BCE." In *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*, edited by C. Sagona, 205–46. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement* 28. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lehmann, G., A. Killebrew, and M.H. Gates. 2008. "Summary of the 2006 Cilicia Survey (İskenderun Bay Region)." In *25. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 3.cilt*, edited by F. Bayram, A. Özme, and B. Koral, 171–88. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü.
- Lemaire, A. 1983. "L'inscription phénicienne de Hasan-Beyli reconsidérée." *RStFen* 11(1):9–19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "La maison de Mopsos en Cilicie et en Pamphylie à l'époque du Fer (XIIe– VIe s. av. J.-C.)." *Res Antiquae* 3:99–107.
- Liebhart, R.F., and C. Brixhe. 2009. "The Recently Discovered Inscriptions from Tumulus MM at Gordion. A Preliminary Report." *Kadmos* 48:141–56.
- Lipiński, E. 2004. *Itineraria Phoenicia*. Leuven & Paris: Peeters.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Liverani, M. 1995. "Le Royaume d'Ougarit." In *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Actes du Colloque International. Paris, 28 juin – 1er juillet 1993*, edited by M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, 47–54. *Ras Shamra - Ougarit* 11. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.
- López-Ruiz, C. 2009. "Mopsos and Cultural Exchange Between Greeks and Locals in Cilicia." In *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen, Konstruktionen (Fritz Graf Festschrift)*, edited by U. Dill, and C. Walde, 382–96. Berlin & NY: de Gruyter.
- Machatshek, A., and M. Schwarz. 1989. *Bauforschungen in Selge*. *Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris* 9. Wien: Akad.
- Malkin, I. 2015. "Philistines and Phokaians: Comparative Hinterlands and Middle Grounds." In *Contacts et acculturations en Méditerranée occidentale – Hommages à Michel Bats. Actes du colloque d'Hyères, 15–18 septembre 2011*, edited by R. Roure, 131–42. *Bibliothèque d'archéologie méditerranéenne et africaine* 15. Paris & Aix-en-Provence: Errance & Centre Camille Jullian.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2016. "Migration and Colonization: Turbulence, Continuity, and the Practice of Medi-



- terranean Space (11th–5th centuries BCE).” In *New Horizons. Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century*, edited by M. Dabag, D. Haller, N. Jaspert, and A. Lichtenberger, 285–308. Mittelmeerstudien 10. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, Ferdinand Schöningh.
- Martini, W., N. Eschbach, and M. Recke. 2010. “Perge in Pamphylien: neue Evidenz für Parha am Kastraja. Bericht über die Grabungskampagne 2008.” *AA*(2):97–122.
- Mee, C. 1978. “Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.” *AnatSt* 28:121–56.
- Melchert, H.C. 2013. “Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luwian *arha* ‘away’. Common Inheritance or Borrowing?” *Journal of Language Contact* 6(2):300–12.
- Miller, D.G. 2014. *Ancient Greek Dialects and Early Authors. Introduction to the Dialect Mixture in Homer, with Notes on Lyric and Herodotus*. Boston: de Gruyter.
- Mommsen, H., P.A. Mountjoy, and A. Özyar. 2011. “Provenance Determination of Mycenaean IIC Vessels from the 1934–1939 Excavations at Tarsus-Gözlükule by Neutron Activation Analysis.” *Archaeometry* 53(5):900–15.
- Mosca, P.G., and J. Russell. 1987. “A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı in Rough Cilicia.” *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9:1–28.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 2005. “The Mycenaean Pottery from the 1934–1939 Excavations at Tarsus.” In *Field Seasons 2001–2003 of the Tarsus-Gözlükule Interdisciplinary Research Project*, edited by A. Özyar, 83–134. İstanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Na’aman, N. 2004a. “Ra’shu, Re’si-şuri, and the Ancient Names of Ras Ibn Hani.” *BASOR* 334:33–9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2004b. “Re’si-şuri and Yauna in a Neo-Assyrian letter (ND 2737).” *NABU* 68(3):69–70.
- Nollé, J., and F. Schindler. 1991. *Die Inschriften von Selge*. Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 37. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Novák, M. 2010. “Kizzuwatna - Hiyawa - Quwe. Ein Abriss der Kulturgeschichte des Ebenen Kilikien.” In *Kulturlandschaft Syrien. Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalke Meyer*, edited by J. Becker, R. Hempelmann, and E. Rehm, 397–422. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 371. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Oettinger, N. 2008. “The Seer Mopsos (Muksas) As a Historical Figure.” In *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks, and their Neighbours: Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17–19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*, edited by B.J. Collins, M.R. Bachvarova, and I. Rutherford, 63–6. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. “Invasion und Assimilation von Griechen in Kilikien: Konsequenzen aus den Berichten über Mopsos/Muksas.” In *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas. Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit*, edited by H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger, and S. Schröder, 127–33. Philippika 42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Oreshko, R. 2013. “‘The Achaean Hides, Caged in Yonder Beams’. The Value of Hieroglyphic Luwian Sign \*429 Reconsidered and a New Light on the Cilician Ahhiyawa.” *Kadmos* 52(1):19–33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. “Once again on the Reading of Hieroglyphic Luwian Sign \*429: the Evidence of the Newly Published ARSUZ Inscriptions.” *NABU*(3):123–5.
- Özer, E., A. Deveci, and M. Taşkıran. 2011. “Surveys in and around Sillyon in 2010.” *News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 9:209–13.
- Özgüç, T. 1948. “Excavations at Firakdin Near Develi and Researches in Anti-Taurus Region.” *Belleten* 12:260–7.
- Pamir, H., and S. Nishiyama. 2010. “2008–2009 Yılı Sabuniye Höyüğü Kazıları.” *32. Kazı Sonuçları* 4:299–314.
- Παναγιώτου, Ά. 2001. “Παμφυλιακή.” In *Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας: από τις αρχές έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα*, edited by Α.-Φ. Χριστίδης, 315–8. Θεσσαλονίκη: Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας & Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών.
- Parker, J.B. 2000. “The Earliest Known Reference to the Ionians in the Cuneiform Sources.” *Ancient History Bulletin* 14(3):69–77.
- Payne, A., and H.C. Melchert. 2012. *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Postgate, J.N. 2008. “The Chronology of the Iron Age Seen from Kilise Tepe.” *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 45:166–87.
- Radner, K. 2010. “The Stele of Sargon II of Assyria in Kition: A Focus for an Emerging Cypriot Identity?” In *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*, edited by R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang, and I. Madreiter, 429–50. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Rainey, A.F. 1996. “Who Is a Canaanite? A Review of the Textual Evidence.” *BASOR* 304:1–15.
- Rainey, A.F., and W.M. Schniedewind. 2015. *The El-Amarna Correspondence. A New Edition*

- of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of all Extant Tablets. Handbook of Oriental Studies 110. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Ramón, J.L.G. 2005. "Update on 'Die historischen Personennamen des Mykenischen.'" *IESB* 11:24–33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. "On the Genetic Classification of Ancient Greek Dialects: Comparative Reconstruction versus Hypercriticism and Atomism at Work." In *Studies in Greek Linguistics 30. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, School of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki May 2–3, 2009*, edited by C. Tzitzilis, T.-S. Pavlidou, and G. Papanastasiou, 219–39. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Recke, M. 2011. "Pamphylien zwischen Ost und West. Die Ausgrabungen von Perge als Fallbeispiel." In *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas. Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit*, edited by H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger, and S. Schröder, 167–76. Philippika 42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Redford, D.B. 2007. "Some Toponyms and Personal Names Relating to the Sea Peoples." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, edited by Z.A. Hawass, and J. Richards, 299–302. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 36. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
- Robert, L. 1960. "Monnaies et divinités d'Aspendos." *Hellenica* 11–12:177–88.
- Röllig, W. 2008. "Zur phönizischen Inschrift von Cebelreis Daği." In *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*, edited by C. Roche, and P. Bordreuil, 51–6. *Orient & Méditerranée* 2. Paris: De Boccard.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "»Und ich baute starke Festungen an allen Enden auf den Grenzen ...«. Zur Bedeutung der Inschriften und Reliefs vom Karatepe-Aslantaş." In *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*, edited by C. Ulf, and R. Rollinger, 115–33. Darmstadt: WBG.
- Rollinger, R. 1997. "Zur Bezeichnung von 'Griechen' in Keilschrifttexten." *RA* 91:167–72.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001. "The Ancient Greeks and the Impact of the Ancient Near East: Textual Evidence and Historical Perspective." In *Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences: Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Paris, France, Oct. 4–7, 1999*, edited by R.M. Whiting, 233–64. *Melammu Symposia* 2. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009. "Near Eastern Perspectives on the Greeks." In *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, edited by B. Graziosi, P. Vasunia, and G.R. Boys-Stones, 32–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "Der Blick aus dem Osten: 'Griechen' in vorderasiatischen Quellen des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. - eine Zusammenschau." In *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas. Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit*, edited by H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger, and S. Schröder, 267–82. Philippika 42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Saggs, H.W.F. 2001. *The Nimrud Letters, 1952. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud* 5. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Şahin, S. 1999. *Die Inschriften von Perge. Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 54. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Sams, G.K. 2011. "Anatolia: The First Millennium B.C.E. in Historical Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia, 10,000–323 B.C.E.*, edited by S.R. Steadman, and J.G. McMahon, 604–22. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Scheer, T.S. 1993. *Mythische Vorväter. Zur Bedeutung griechischer Heroenmythen im Selbstverständnis kleinasiatischer Städte*. Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte 7. München: Ed. Maris.
- Schmitz, P.C. 2008. "Archaic Greek Words in Phoenician Script from Karatepe." *American Society of Greek and Latin Epigraphy Newsletter* 12(2):5–9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009a. "Archaic Greek Names in a Neo-Assyrian Cuneiform Tablet from Tarsus." *JCS* 61:127–31.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2009b. "Phoenician KRNTYŠ, Archaic Greek \*KOPYNHTHPIOΣ, and the Storm God of Aleppo." *KUSATU* 10:119–60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2017. "Lexical Notes on the Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Daği (KAI 287)." In *"His Word Soars Above Him" Biblical and North-West Semitic Studies Presented to Professor Charles R. Krahmalkov*, edited by R.M. Kerr, R. Miller II, and P.C. Schmitz, 121–31. Ann Arbor: R.M. Kerr; R. Miller; Ph.C. Schmitz.
- Schneider, T. 2002. "Sinuhes Notiz über die Könige: Syrisch-anatolische Herrschertitel in ägyptischer Überlieferung." *Egypt and the Levant* 12:257–72.
- Seton-Williams, M.V. 1954. "Cilician Survey." *AnatSt* 4:121–74.

- Sherratt, S. 2013. "The Ceramic Phenomenon of the "Sea-Peoples": an Overview." In *The Philistines and Other "Sea peoples" in Text and Archaeology*, edited by A.E. Killebrew, and G. Lehmann, 619–44. *Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 15. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Sherratt, S., and J.H. Crouwel. 1987. "Mycenaean Pottery from Cilicia in Oxford." *OJA* 6(3):325–52.
- Simon, Z. 2011. "The Identification of Qode. Reconsidering the Evidence." In *Egypt and the Near East - the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, edited by J. Mynářová, 249–69. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Awarikus und Warikas: Zwei Könige von Hiwaya." *ZA* 104(1):91–103.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015. "Where did the Kings of Danuna of EA 151 Rule?" In *There and Back Again. The Crossroads II: Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014*, edited by J. Mynářová, P. Onderka, and P. Pavúk, 391–408. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts.
- Singer, I. 2006. "Ships Bound for Lukka: A New Interpretation of the Companion Letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523." *AoF* 33:242–62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "The Philistines in the North and the Kingdom of Taita." In *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE. Culture and History: Proceedings of the International Conference, Held at the University of Haifa, 2–5 May, 2010*, edited by G. Galil, A. Levinzon-Gilbo'a, A.M. Maeir, and D.e. Kahn, 451–72. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 392. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2013. "'Old Country' Ethnonyms in 'New Countries' of the 'Sea Peoples' Diaspora." In *AMILLA: The Quest for Excellence. Studies Presented to Guenter Kopcke in Celebration of His 75th Birthday*, edited by R.B. Koehl, 321–34. *Prehistory Monographs* 43. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Slane, D. 1987. "Middle and Late Bronze Age Architecture and Pottery in Gözlü Kule Tarsus: A New Analysis." Ph.D. Ann Arbor, MI.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Middle and Late Bronze Age Architecture And Pottery In Gözlü Kule Tarsus: A New Analysis." *ÇÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Cilt 15, Sayı 3*:1–10.
- Stroud, R.S. 1984. "An Argive Decree from Nemea Concerning Aspendos." *Hesperia* 53:193–216.
- Symington, D. 2001. "Hittites at Kilise Tepe." In *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux (IIe millénaire av. J.-C.–IVe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 2–5 novembre 1999*, edited by E. Jean, A.M. Dinçol, and S. Durugönül, 167–84. *Varia Anatolica* 13. Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes-Georges Dumézil.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006. "Que (B)." *REA* 11:195–201.
- Tekoğlu, R., A. Lemaire, I. Ipek, and T.A. Kasim. 2000. "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy." *CRAI* 144(3):961–1007.
- Toksöz, M. 2010. *Nomads, Migrants and Cotton in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Making of the Adana-Mersin Region 1850–1908*. The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy 45. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Tropper, J. 1993. *Die Inschriften von Zincirli. New edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'alischen und aramäischen Textkorpus*. *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas* 6. 2nd ed. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. 1990. "Mopsos: légendes et réalité." *Hethitica* 10:185–211.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2014. "Mycenaean Expansion." In *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, Vol. 1, edited by G.R. Tsteskhladze, 41–114. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Weeden, M. 2015. "The Land of Walastin at Tell Tayinat." *NABU*(2):65–6.
- Winter, I. 1979. "On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and their Context." *AnatSt* 29:115–51.
- Woudhuizen, F.C. 2015. "The Sea Peoples: Superior on Land and at Sea." *Dacia* 49:215–26.
- Yağcı, R. 2007. "Soli (Kilikia) Miken IIIC Kapları." In *Patronus, Coşkun Özgünele'ye 65. Yaş Armağanı*, edited by E. Öztepe, and M. Kadioğlu, 367–76. İstanbul: Homerkitabevi.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "Problematising Greek Colonization in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries BC." In *Rough Cilicia. New Historical and Archaeological Approaches*, edited by M.C. Hoff, and R.F. Townsend, 6–15. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Yakar, J. 1993. "Anatolian Civilizations Following the Disintegration of the Hittite Empire: An Archaeological Appraisal." *TelAvivJA* 20:3–28.
- Yakubovich, I. 2010. *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian language*. *Brill's studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics* 2. Leiden & Boston: Brill.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 2011. "Luwian and the Luwians." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia, 10,000–323 B.C.E.*, edited by S.R. Steadman, and J.G. McMahon, 534–47. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015a. "Adanawa or Ahhiyawa? Reply to the Addendum by J.D. Hawkins." *AnatSt* 65:56–8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2015b. "Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia." *AnatSt* 65:35–53.
- Yalçın, S. 2013. "A Re-evaluation of the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Transitional Period: Stratigraphic Sequence and Plain Ware of Tarsus-Gözlükule." In *Across the Border. Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010*, edited by K.A. Yener, 195–212. Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Suppl. 42. Leuven & Walpole, MA: Peeters.
- Yamada, S. 2008. "Qurdi-Assur-lamur: His Letters and Career." In *Treasures on Camels' Humps. Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*, edited by M. Cogan, and D'e. Kahn, 296–311. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press.
- Yasur-Landau, A. 2003. "One If by Sea ... Two If by Land: How Did the Philistines Get to Canaan? Two: By Land—the Trek through Anatolia Followed a Well-Trod Route." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29(2):34–39, 66–67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2010. *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2012. "The 'Feathered Helmets of the Sea Peoples: Joining the Iconographic and Archaeological Evidence." *TALANTA* 44:27–40.
- Yener, K.A., and M. Akar. 2011. "Alalakh Kenti 2010 Yılı Çalışmaları." 33. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 3:1–15.
- Yener, K.A., C. Edens, T.P. Harrison, J. Verstraete, and T.J. Wilkinson. 2000. "The Amuq Valley Regional Project 1995–1998." *AJA* 104(2):163–220.

