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KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ YAYINLARI



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II

(ÖZEL SAYI)
I.CİLT

I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu
Bildirileri

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KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ YAYINLARI - II

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ÖNSÖZ

Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne bağlı olan "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin düzenlemiş olduğu "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu"nın bildirilerini içeren bu kitabın basımını sağlayan Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a teşekkürü borç biliriz.

"I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" 1-4 Haziran 1998 tarihleri arasında Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi (KAAM)" tarafından düzenlenerek Fen ve Edebiyat Fakültesi Konferans salonunda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hergün 9.30 - 18.00 saatleri arasında yapılmış olan konuşmalar, sempozyumun son günü olan 4 Haziran'da Kanlıdivane (Kanytelleis)'ye düzenlenmiş bir gezi ile son bulmuştur.

Prehistorik çağlardan İslami döneme kadar tüm dönemleri kapsayan bildiriler, konularına göre belli günlere bölünmüşlerdi: İlk gün Kilikia Arkeometrisi , Prehistoria ve Protohistoria'sı, ikinci gün Protohistoria'ya devam edilerek Klasik ve Hellenistik Yunan Kilikia Arkeolojisine geçiş, üçüncü gün Hellenistik ve Roma Kilikiası ile numismatik, epigrafik ve filolojik açıdan Kilikia, son gün ise bölgenin Bizans ve İslami dönemleri incelenmiştir.

Bildiriler, bölgede kazı, yüzey araştırması ya da bilimsel veriler ile kütüphane çalışmaları yapan araştırmacıların bu konularda ulaştıkları sonuçları içermiştir. Katılımcıların bizzat kendi araştırmalarında elde ettikleri son buluntularını, bulgularını ya da teorilerini anlatmış oldukları bu sempozyum, konularında söz sahibi olan bilim adamları tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Uluslararası Kilikia Sempozyumu'na onur konuğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölüm Başkanı Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin olmuştur.

Gizemli Kilikia üzerine bilgilerimizi zenginleştirmek için bu sempozyuma katılmış olan tüm meslektaşlarıma teşekkür ederim. Sempozyum'un iki yılda bir tekrar edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Aşağıda adları yazılı bulunan kişi ve kuruluşlara, sempozyum'un gerçekleşmesindeki değerli katkılarından dolayı teşekkür ederim:

Mersin Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dekanı sayın Prof. Dr. Onur Bilge Kula,

Mersin Üniversitesi eski Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Vural Ülkü,

Sempozyum organizasyon komitesi üyeleri Öğr. Gör. Murat Durukan, Öğr. Gör. Ümit Aydınoglu ve Okt. Murat Özyıldırım,

Atlas Dergisi Yazı İşleri Müdürü Özcan Yüksek ve Arkeolog Füsün Arman ,

Martı Otel ve Genel Müdürü sayın Cemal Akın,
Royal Restoran ve Mersin Seyahat İşletmesi.

Sempozyum'da sunulmuş olan bildirilerin kalıcılığını sağlamak ve bu bilgiyi geniş kitlelerle paylaşabilmek amacıyla bunları yayınlamak da, sempozyum'u gerçekleştirmek kadar önem taşımaktadır. "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin "Olba I" adlı (sayın İçel Valisi Şenol Engin ve Vali Yardımcısı sayın Muzaffer Güzelant'ın katkılarıyla ve T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı'nın olanaklarıyla basılmış olan) ilk yayınından sonra "Olba - Özel Sayısı-" başlığı ile yayına girmiş olan bu kitap, "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" nun bildirilerini içermektedir.

Bu yayının gerçekleşmesinde bizzat organizasyonu ile ilgilenen ve maddi kaynak yaratan sayın Rektörümüz Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a bu değerli katkılarından ötürü sonsuz teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Çukurova Üniversitesi Basımevi Müdürü sayın Ergin Ören, Müdür Yardımcısı sayın Mustafa Akray ve bilgisayar operatörü Nur Sema Gültepe'nin basım aşamasındaki yardımları ile "Olba -Özel Sayısı-" oluşturulmuştur. Katkı ve ilgilerinden dolayı ayrıca Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti Ankara Büyükelçiliği, Büyükelçi sayın Dr. Hans-Joachim Vergau ve Kültür Müşaviri sayın Dr. Gudrun Sräga'ya teşekkür ederiz.

Saygılarımla,
Doç. Dr. Serra Durugönül
Arkeoloji Bölüm Başkanı ve
KAAM Müdürü

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THE "GREEKS" IN CILICIA AT THE END OF THE 2ND MILLENIUM
B.C.: CLASSICAL SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE
(Lev.5-6)

* Éric JEAN

My purpose is to see how far we may trust the myths and the legends in order to write history, and therefore to give my opinion about a possible mycenaean colonization of Cilicia during the XIIth and XIth centuries B.C., as it was many times suggested or asserted¹.

The main sources and their implications in history

Greek legends and myths refering to Cilicia are numerous. I shall only give a list of the ones which may support the idea of an early greek presence in Cilicia, and mention the main ancient authors dealing with them².

<u>Myths & Legends</u>	<u>Main Events related to Cilicia</u>	<u>Main Ancient References</u>
KILIX (Europe's Legend)	- The name of "Cilicia"	- Herodotus VII, 91. - Apollodorus III, 1, 2. - Solinus, <i>Geo.</i> 39. - Malalas, <i>Chron.</i> II
TYPHON	- A Cult to Zeus in Korykos	- Homer, <i>Il.</i> II, 780-783. - Hesiodus, <i>Theog.</i> 297-307. - Pindar, <i>Pyth. I.</i> 15-21 ; VIII, 15-18 ; <i>Olymp.</i> IV, 5-7. - Aescylus, <i>Prom.</i> 351-365. - Apollodorus I, 6, 3. - Strabo XIII, 4, 6. - Pom. Méla, <i>Chor.</i> I, 13. - Solinus, <i>Geo.</i> 39.

¹ Éric JEAN, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes - Georges Dumézil (IFÉA) Istanbul/ TÜRKİYE.

¹ See for instance Boardman 1980, 35-36.

² As for the study of the geography of Cilicia, Mutafian provides a good summary of the main greek legends related to Cilicia (Mutafian 1988, 31-109).

SARPEDON	- A City Sarpedon (between Holmi and Soli) - A Cape Sarpedon (near the "Arimes" Mountains) - A Kingdom of Sarpedon - A Cult to a Sarpedonian Artemis - A Cult to a Sarpedonian Apollon - A Demon Sarpedon (rival of Saint Thecla)	- Skylax, <i>Per.</i> 102. - Strabo XIV, 5, 4. - Pliny, <i>Hist. Nat.</i> V, 22. - Pom. Mela, <i>Chor.</i> I, 13. - Pom. Mela, <i>Chor.</i> I, 13. - Strabo XIV, 5, 19. - Diodorus Siculus XXXII, 10, 2. - Zosimus I, 57, 2. - An anonymous Christian, in Dagron 1978, 279, 291.
SANDES	- Foundation of Kelenderis - Foundation of Tarsus	- Apollodorus III, 14, 3. - Amm. Marc. XIV, 8, 8.
TRIPTOLEM (Io's Legend)	- Foundation of Tarsus	- Strabo XIV, 5, 12 ; XVI, 2, 5 ³ .
BELLEROPHON	- Foundation of Tarsus	- Denys Periegetus 866-876.
AJAX son of Teukros	- Foundation of Olba, and of its Sacerdotal Dynasty	- Strabo XIV, 5, 10.
PERSEUS	- Relationship between Aegeae and Argos - Foundation of Tarsus ⁴	- An inscription, in Robert 1977, 122-132. - Lucan, <i>Phars.</i> III, 225-228. - Solinus, <i>Geo.</i> 39. - Amm. Marc. XIV, 8, 3. - Nonnus, <i>Dionys.</i> XVIII, 291-294.
MOPSOS and AMPHILOKOS	- Foundation of : Mallos, Magarsus, Mopsuestia, Mopsukrene. - Some Cilician Oracles	- Theopompus, fr. 111, in Müller 1841 I, 296. - Strabo XIV, 5, 16. - Cicero, <i>De Div.</i> I, 40. - Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> II, 3, 4.

³ As Triptoleme was not an isolated Heroe but came with a troupe of Greeks, Mutafian thinks they could have been settlers (Mutafian 1988, 67).

⁴ Before the roman period, Tarsus had not been considered as a Perseus foundation. For Aristobulus, according to Strabo, Tarsus was founded by a Sardanapal (Strabo XIV, 5, 9).

About the last cited post-trojan legend related to Cilicia, many scholars saw in the bilingual of Karatepe a historical attestation of the heroe Mopsos. The author of this text dating from the end of the VIIIth century B.C., Azitawada, mentions three times a "House of Mopsos", which would have been the reigning dynasty in Cilicia and whose name would have come from its founder, Mopsos⁵. The mention in the same text of the "Danounians" from the "Country of Adana"⁶ gave the proof, for more audacious researchers, that the Greeks had settled in Cilicia at the end of the Late Bronze age⁷. They associated, indeed, the various mentions of the "Danounians", as the "Denyens" recorded in egyptian sources and belonging to the "Sea People", with the "Danaens", also called "Achaens" or "Argians", it means Greeks, in Homer.

Various obscure passages in ancient texts lead to different interpretations as, for example, the mention of the "Cilicians of Troad" in Homer⁸, and the mention of the "Hypachaens" in Herodotus⁹. They remain enigma and I shall not deal with them here.

Relations between legends and history

The archaeological and historical investigations partly confirmed the existence of cities and cults mentionned in the texts : a cilician cult to Sarpedon, a sacerdotal dynasty in Olba, a cult to a Zeus in Korykos¹⁰ (unless the honoured god was Hermes¹¹). But, even when they are asserted, these confirmations do not prove there was an early greek colonization in Cilicia. To argue I shall go back to one example, the legend of Mopsos.

Different researchers pointed out that the existence of so many anthroponymes "Mopsos", used through the time and in a so wide geographical area, could not be related to one person only. They concluded that these anthroponymes probably concerned personages from different periods¹². The name itself existed in hittite cuneiform texts. In 1958 already, Laroche closed up the problem : "Il n'y a rien de plus ... dans la saga grecque relative au Mopsos de Cilicie que l'affabulation, de type connu, provoqué par l'homonymie de personnages légendaires. On renoncera à l'hypothèse grandiose, mais

⁵ See Bron 1976, 166-170.

⁶ For a complete explanation about the "Danounians" and the "Country of Adana" (= hittite cuneiform *Adaniya* = luwian hieroglyphic *Adanua* = phœnician transcription 'DM) see Laroche 1958, 263-275, Bron 1976, 163-166 and Bunnens 1986.

⁷ See Bérard 1960, 31-32 ; Cook 1962, 61 ; Boardman 1980, 36.

⁸ *Iliad* VI, 392-398..

⁹ Herodotus, VII 91. A short summary of the question is given in Mutafian 1988, 26-27.

¹⁰ As it seems to be asserted by the discovery of a greek inscription in the Korykos cave (cf. Hicks 1891, 225).

¹¹ If we follow Oppian, *Halieut.* III, according to Mutafian 1988, 46.

¹² Vanschoonwinckel sums up very well the situation in Vanschoonwinckel 1990.

fragile, d'une migration hellénique, établissant les Danaens en Cilicie dès le milieu du second millénaire"¹³.

Besides, if we know greek religion borrowed elements to Anatolia and in particular to Cilicia, it does not give more proof to an early greek settlement. Watkins definitely proved Typhon's origin came from the hittite Illuyanka and the hurrian Ullikummi from the hittite mythology¹⁴. Another example : Sandes or Sandas, in the luwian context of Kizzuwatna in the XIIIth century B.C., became later on Herakles¹⁵. To sum up, we know the hittite religion from the 2nd millenium ; then we know some results or consequences of it, it means a part of what became greek in the 1st millenium. But we do not know the intermediate links. Going back to Laroche, on one hand, there was not a massive nor a systematic adoption by the Greeks of an asianic pantheon ; on the other hand, the transmission of myths only concerned particular cases, local cults, "sans arrière plan conceptuel"¹⁶.

It seems that most of the quick and erroneous adaptations of legends to history come from the mixing of different types of narrative.

Historians arguing for an early colonization related to the greek legends refer to the heroes back from the Trojan War. And, it is often well established that the "Trojan War" was an historical fact, which happened a short time after 1200 B.C. As a consequence, the mycenaean archaeological finds are interpreted as the evidence of a greek colonization dated as early as the beginning of the XIIth century B.C. But there is no proof which confirms the existence of The Trojan War. If Troy VIIh was perhaps destroyed by an earthquake, the destruction because of fighting seems obvious as far as Troy VIIa is concerned. But a war in Troy does not mean necessarily The Trojan War. According to Mountjoy, since Troy VIIa was destroyed at the time of the fall of the Mainland palaces, in the late LHIII B and early LHIII C, most probably the Mycenaean could not come at the same time to Troy¹⁷.

Before explaining directly the archaeological data through the texts, it is very important to understand the context of the texts : who wrote which text, when and why ? Baurain sums up very well this necessity to differentiate the types of narrative and I shall follow him¹⁸. An epic narrative is not a modern historical narrative. To begin with, epic poems are much older than the first awareness of history, which dates from the Vth century B.C. On the other part, neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odysseus* give a direct allusion to a greek expansionism towards Orient. "La poésie homérique ... était d'essence

¹³ Laroche 1958, 275.

¹⁴ Watkins 1992.

¹⁵ See Laroche 1984, 4.

¹⁶ Laroche 1984, 3.

¹⁷ Mountjoy 1993, 24. "LH" must be read as "Late Helladic".

¹⁸ Baurain 1994.

intemporelle."¹⁹ About later texts and their references to the Trojan War, Baurain explains that the Ancients could date the old past by refering to the heroes, who lived in a pre-historic time compared to the Ancients'one. On the other hand, the reference to an ancestor list and as far as possible to an heroic ascendance was used to legetimate an authority and to make propaganda. The epic poems provided the material used later on, with "self-interest", in oder to write history.

Myths and legends had particular functions. Besides, even when we do understand some transmissions from Anatolians to Greeks, we cannot date with precision the "intermediate times". To sum up, we must avoid the *a priori* and unfounded postulats ... and look more at the available material.

The main data : the archaeological evidence

The first criterion used to reveal a greek presence is mycenaean pottery. Elisabeth French pointed out six different areas where mycenaean pottery was discovered in Anatolia²⁰ (Fig. 1) : 1- Beshiktepe - Troy. 2- The Aegean coast situated south from Troy and north from Miletus, a region which was belonging to the Late Bronze age occidental anatolian culture, but revealing contacts with Mycenaean. 3- The real mycenaeanized area from Miletus to Rhodos. 4- The south coast of Turkey with very few Bronze age material, but where the discovery of two wrecks (at Cap Gelidonya and Ulu Burun) showed the existence of a coastal trade. 5- Cilicia. 6- In Central Anatolia, only isolated mycenaean sherds were found. According now to the mycenaean pottery found in Cilicia, I shall precise seven points.

1- When David French surveyed the Göksu Valley, in *Cilicia Tracheia*, he found no evidence of mycenaean pottery²¹ (the closest site with such evidence was Hüdüde höyük, number 9 in fig. 1). A new excavated site, Kilisetepe, provided some LHIIIB sherds, but coming from a pit.

2- As far as I know, a total of 25 sites provided mycenaean sherds²² ; it means a little bit more than one third of the total of the Late Bronze age sites in Cilicia. Among these 25 sites, only 4 were or are excavated : Gözlü Kule - Tarsus, Yumuktepe - Mersin, Kazanlı and Kilisetepe.

3- Several sites gave only a very few sherds, sometimes one unique sherd (Gavurköy, Hüdüde).

4- In every case, the proportions of mycenaean sherds were very inferior to the ones of the hittite and traditionnal anatolian ware.

¹⁹ Baurain 1994, 42.

²⁰ In French E. 1993.

²¹ See French D. 1965.

²² After looking at the results of the surveys made by Gjerstad (Gjerstad 1934) and Seton-Williams (Seton-Williams 1954), the studies and summaries of the situation by Mee (Mee 1978), French (French E. 1993) and Vanschoowinkel (Vanschoowinkel 1990, 190), and adding the site of Kilisetepe.

5- An important part of the "mycenaean" ceramic from the surveyed sites and most of the Tarsus'one were local imitation ("hellado-cilician" ware). Only 15 sites (the excavated ones and 11 surveyed sites) furnished original pottery.

6- Apart from the LHIIA sherd found in Kazanlı (first half of the XVth century B.C.) and the pieces belonging to the LHIIIA2 and LHIIIB (XIVth and XIIIth centuries B.C.), most of the pottery belonged to the LHIIC, and above all to the early LHIIC (XIIth century B.C.).

7- By restudying the Late Bronze age architecture and pottery of Tarsus, the richest site, in her Ph.D. Thesis, Dorothy Slane made some important remarks²³. "The Tarsus Middle and Late Bronze Age architecture has been restudied, producing a detailed progression of levels from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age at Tarsus to the resettlement after the destruction of the site by the 'Sea Peoples'. The accompanying ceramic sequence indicates clearly that there was a continuity from one level to the next at all times"²⁴. Dealing with the last Late Bronze age level, level X, which corresponds, after one to three meters of debris, to the resettlement after the destruction, she specifies : "... They continued to make pottery as they had allways made it. In higher levels, however, a new element was introduced - Mycenaean IIC1 pottery - whether by trade or settlement of strangers is not within the scope of this study"²⁵.

Slane does not tackle about the question of "settlement of strangers", nevertheless, if mycenaean pottery occurred in Cilicia mainly after the destructions by the "Sea Peoples", its appearance does not lead to any discontinuity in the material. No cultural change accompanies the arriving of the mycenaean pottery.

The main data : the textual evidence

A look at the anthroponymes indicates an apparent continuity in the ethnic composition of Cilicia from the Late Bronze age to the Iron age. It is well known that Kizzuwatna, during the XVth, XIVth and XIIIth centuries B.C., was mostly composed of luwian but also hurrian populations. By his study based on the akkadian tablets from Ras Shamra - Ugarit (XIIIth century B.C.), the neo-assyrian sources (IXth and VIIIth centuries B.C.), the inscriptions (mainly the ones from Karatepe, VIIIth century B.C.), the cuneiform tablets from Tarsus (VIIth century B.C.) and an aramean papyrus from Egypt (Vth

²³ Slane 1987.

²⁴ Slane 1987, 466.

²⁵ Slane 1987, 84. Goldman already pointed out the "continued use of the monochrome Hittite type of pottery", but by explaining that the Sea People, who conquered the city and brought the mycenaean Granary Style pottery, "could not have come in sufficient numbers to replace the old inhabitants ..." (Goldman 1956, 350-351).

century B.C.), Goetze showed that at the beginning of the first millenium, the cilician population was mainly luwian, apparently at some moment governed by a hurrian dynasty²⁶.

Cultual permanences between the hittite imperial period and the beginning of the first millenium B.C. have been also pointed out by Lebrun²⁷. For example, the heart of the local pantheons of the second millenium B.C. survived in some cilician cults of the first millenium B.C., with DINGIR U, the Storm God, usually with his luwian name Tarhunt, and his Lady, sometimes Kubaba, DINGIR Son (Sarruma), DINGIR Sun of the Heavens, one DINGIR KAL, one DINGIR War, the Moon (astral), the Mountain, the Spring²⁸.

According to the historical geography, between the XIVth - XIIIth centuries B.C. and at least the end of the VIIIth century B.C., the general geopolitical boundaries seem to remain unchanged. The treaty between Suppiluliuma, "Great King of Hatti", and Sunassura, king of Kizzuwatna, gives the occidental limit of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna : the city of Lamija - Lamas (classical Lamos), which belonged to Hatti whereas Pitura - Mersin (?) was situated in Kizzuwatna²⁹. From this division, the oriental part, Kizzuwatna, became Que under neo-assyrian control. Later on, after the fall of Assyria, according to the neo-babylonian terminology, Que became Hume. If the evolution of the situation in the occidental part appears more complicated (mostly because of the definition of Hilakku), the frontier between the later *Cilicia Aspera* and *Cilicia Campestris* remain the same.

Some remarks related to the data

A ceramic evidence does not inevitably lead to a better understanding of a political or economical reality. From the presence of mycenaean pottery, before coming to the conclusion that there was a mycenaean trading colony, it would be helpful to look for other clues, such as the use of specific technics, technologies and know-how. Actually, to take this notion used by some researchers, there is no evidence of a mycenaean "identity card" in Cilicia, which could give other signs than the alone ceramic, such as figurines, seals, monuments or funeral practices³⁰. The material gathered in order to make an "identity card" would not systematically define an ethnical identity, of course. Whatever, in Cilicia there is nothing but ceramic. And as wrote Farnoux, the map of the diffusion of a supposed homogenous mycenaean pottery does not so easily show the spread of a supposed mycenaean empire

²⁶ Goetze 1962, followed by Bron 1976, 165-166 and Vanschoonwinckel 1990, 196-197.

²⁷ Lebrun 1986 about Cilicia in particular, and Lebrun 1995 about Anatolia in general.

²⁸ Lebrun 1986, 300.

²⁹ See Freu 1980, 202 and Garstang 1953, 241 and note 3.

³⁰ About a mycenaean "identity card", see Farnoux 1994, 98.

with its colonies³¹. It is also true that a political domination does not necessary leave signs in the daily life (such as the hittite domination in North Syria, or the ottoman rule, etc.), and that processus of acculturation may exist. Even the Mycenaean would have been "minoized" at the beginning of LHIIB (XVth century B.C.)³². But, would have been greek settlers totally absorbed by the local populations in Cilicia ; would they have been "luwianized" ?

The religious transmission processus, from Hittite - Anatolians to Greeks, was very long and supposed indirect contacts. As pointed out by Laroche, during the hittite empire, there was an official and "organic" religion, and on the other hand, a magic one, opened to the individual interventions of the gods³³. A "popular" religion (from the countryside and the villages) appears through this magy. The Greeks received parts only of that "non organic" religion, different from one place to the other one. But such contacts did most probably occur centuries after the fall of the hittite empire, after the cultural permanences began to get far away from their hittite origins ; certainly after the neo-hittite kingdoms, I would say not before the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th centuries B.C.

The available informations, given by both archaeological and textual data, do not show any greek political domination neither signs of greek trading colonies. During the whole 2nd millenium and most probably during, at least, the three first centuries of the 1st millenium B.C., Cilicia was for Greeks more a land of passage than a land of settlement. The clues show the existence of movement, exchanges, importations and influences. It is most than possible that local craftsmen were inspired by foreign models. Of course, isolated foreign settlements may have existed ; but if so, they would have not led to important historical consequences. Before the troubles which occurred during the XIIth century B.C., the Greeks, very probably, used Cilicia first of all as a relay on the way to Syria, the East and Egypt. After 1200 B.C., if some groups of people came to Cilicia, I have the feeling, though I cannot prove it, they came from Cyprus³⁴.

About Cilicia and Cyprus

During the XIVth and XIIIth centuries B.C., there were close contacts between Central Anatolia and Cyprus, most probably through the luwian Cilicia. Besides political relationships between the hittite empire and Alasya - Cyprus, some parallels seem to occur in the ceramic, as pointed out by E. French³⁵. Moreover, the famous Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware, with its

³¹ Farnoux 1994, 97-98.

³² According to Driessen 1994, 74.

³³ Laroche 1984, 6.

³⁴ This does not dismiss the possibility that other groups left Cilicia and went to Cyprus.

³⁵ In French E. 1975.

spindle bottles, pilgrim flasks, arm-shaped vessels, etc., widespread in Anatolia, North Syria and as far as Egypt, and particularly appreciated by Hittites, would be, according to Eriksson³⁶, native from Cyprus. Though her research should be confirmed by the study of the clays, and on the other hand, should be completed by showing more sites where this Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware was found, I am tempted to accept her thesis. Looking now at the map of Anatolia (once more though incomplete. See Fig. 2), Cilicia, and above all the Göksu Valley, appears like a bridge between Cyprus and Central Anatolia in the processus of exportation of the Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware.

According to the XIIIth century B.C. archaeological material, the most important foreign technical influences detected in the Island were clearly eastern influences³⁷. The presence of mycenaean pottery does not seem to have been continued by western influences. Following Baurain³⁸, living in some cities and harbours as merchants, Mycenaean Greeks would have cohabited with the inhabitants of Cyprus, but would have not colonized the Island. Apparently, Alasya - Cyprus was politically independant, so that the Greeks living in Cyprus were under the Cypriot's supervision, trusteeship.

If the chronology of the XIIth century B.C. depends first of all on the "IIC Mycenaean style", on one part, it was a mixing between different traditions (the Aegean IIC, the Cypriot and the Eastern wares) which led to this new Mycenaean IIC1 style, which name differs from the Late Helladic's one ; on the other part, besides the ceramic evidence, there is no other material signs of western influence or presence³⁹. At that time, as suggested by Baurain⁴⁰, the Mycenaean did not colonized Cyprus because they were already living in the Island ; I would say these Mycenaean were "local Mycenaean". As a result of these periods of destructions and insecurity, the Cypriots would have lost the economical and political control of the Island, so that at the latest during the XIth century B.C., the mycenaean collectivities took in charge their own future, expressing their greek character, and the one of part of the Island, other areas of it, like Amathonte, having been kept by the "Eteo-Cypriots". The apparent small quantity of these last quoted "local-local" inhabitants could give to understand, on one hand, there was a fusion between the "local Mycenaean", the Cypriot and the Eastern's peoples and traditions, leading as far as ceramic is concerned to the last Cypriot Late

³⁶ Eriksson 1993.

³⁷ See Cadogan 1993, 93.

³⁸ Baurain 1994, 45-47.

³⁹ See Cadogan 1993, 95.

⁴⁰ Baurain 1994, 45-47.

Bronze age pottery : the Proto White Painted ware⁴¹. On the other hand, other inhabitants from Cyprus could have left the Island, and could have try to take refuge in nearby regions, also close by relations, as East or Cilicia ; but, until now, no material evidence confirms this idea. Anyway, it is worthy to underline the difference between the evolution of Cyprus and the one of Cilicia from the XIVth and XIIIth to the XIIth and XIth centuries B.C. : in Cilicia, there was not such a mycenaean presence like in Cyprus as soon as the XIIIth or the XIVth centuries B.C. ; and during the very end of the 2nd millenium B.C., there was not such a merger of traditions which would have included the mycenaean's one, even a "local mycenaean"'s one.

To conclude

Today, it seems to me impossible to claim a greek colonization in Cilicia as early as the end of the 2nd millenium B.C. With Baurain⁴², I shall emphasize the fact that without explicite documentation, the reconstruction of the history of that period (XIIth and XIth centuries B.C.) in East Mediterranea, and in Cilicia in particular, will remain hypothetical. If some day the feeling I expressed above is confirmed, it may mean I shall have to think again of the "Hypachaeans" and the Teukros' epic, etc. Therefore, I shall have to go back to the legends, trying not to use them improperly. Anyhow, these legends will keep on feeding our curiosity, our motivations for understanding the Ancients' spirit ... and our pleasure.

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1. Sites with Mycenaean remains in Turkey (from French E. 1993, 156 and Mee 1978, 122-123).

Fig. 2. Sites with Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware in Turkey (from Eriksson 1993, 130).

⁴¹ For Cadogan, the Mycenaean's of such a fusion would be the descendants of immigrants who would have come "from the mid-13th century and definitely from the 12th" (Cadogan 1993, 95).

⁴² Baurain 1994, 47-48.

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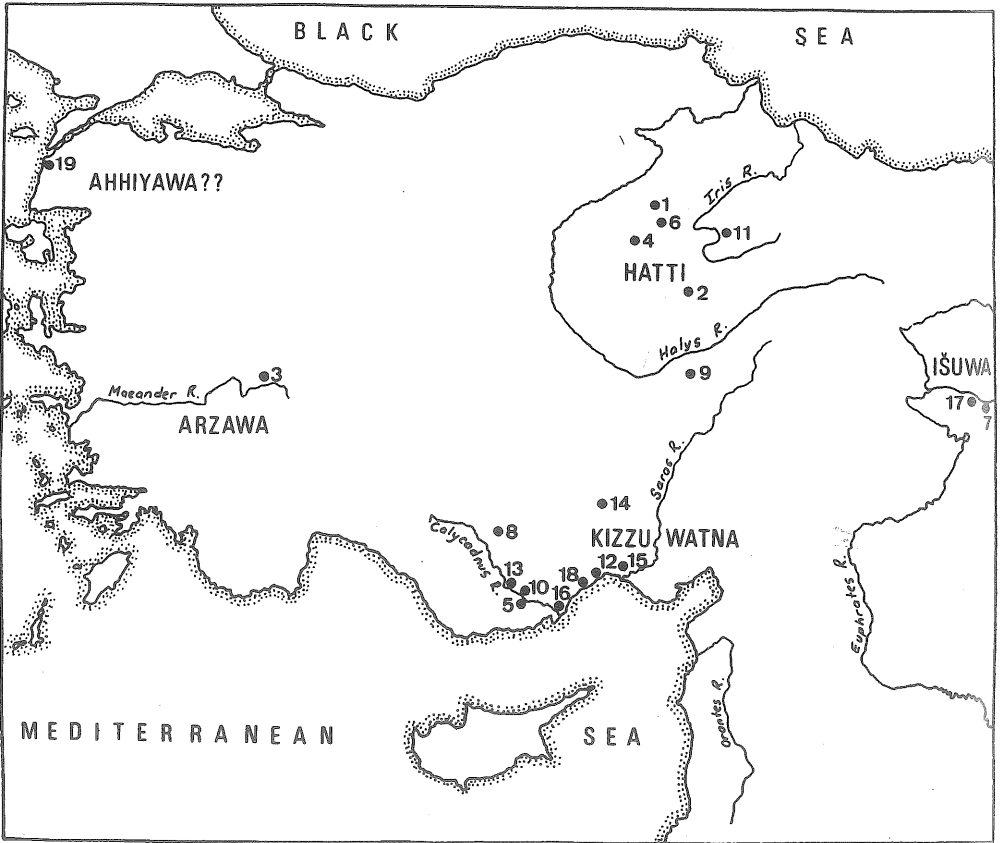


Fig. 2