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Reflections on the Cyclopean Walls of Ilıcatepe in Kuşadası

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Introduction

Ilıca Tepe is within the scope of Mycale surveys. The walls, which can be easily observed in the northern, southern and eastern parts of the 540x315 m hill (Fig. 1-2), were built with massive stones with rough-hewn "Cyclopean" masonry, located right next to the Kuşadası-Davutlar highway, were obtained from the bedrock of the hill (Fig. 3). The walls take advantage of the local topography as much as possible and built along a slight ridge of bedrock. The easiest way to climb the hill is via the stepped south-east slope, but there is no evidence of a gate along the south wall. The only other approach would be from the east, although on much steeper terrain. The eastern wall rises slightly to the north, taking advantage of the local increase in slope, and towards the middle of the eastern wall a gap was left, possibly for a doorway, or an offset, a vertical joint that marks a change in the course of a wall, such as a section of wall not being in line with its neighbour. Offsets are common but not uniform in Mycenaean wall structures.[1] Archaeo-geological studies show that the hill is close to the sea coast and the hill extends towards the sea like a peninsula. In fact, the sea may even be circling almost the entire hill. Perhaps in the eastern part, access from the mainland to the hill was made through a very narrow isthmus. It is quite difficult to follow the walls on the west side facing the sea, as no archaeological excavations have been carried out on the hill. In this case, the easiest and most strategic way to reach the hill should be from the east. Of course, when these geological and strategic advantages combined with the monumental fortifications surrounding the hill, Ilıcatepe was very difficult to capture, but it was like an observation post that could control its immediate surroundings. This strategic location of Ilıcatepe and the fact that there is a very important mound like Kadıkalesi 4km south of it suggests that there must be a relationship between them. Although Kadıkalesi is known for its Byzantine church today, it was actually a very important settlement from the Chalcolithic Age to the Bronze Age. Ilıcatepe and Kadıkalesi were located at the exit point of the strait between Samos Island and the Mykale peninsula. Ships passing through this strait were bound to sail by passing in front of Kadıkalesi and then Ilıcatepe, and Apasa, the capital of Arzawa country, was in the continuation of this sea route.

We can add Çatallar Tepe, which is located on the Arinnanda/Mykale Mountain, 13 km south of Ilıcatepe, to this network of relations. Recent surveys suggest that the settlement at Çatallar Tepe may have been a Late Bronze Age settlement Puranda on the mountain known as Arinnanda (Mykale-Dilek Peninsula),[2] named during the expedition of Murshili II to Arzawa around 1318-1316 BC. After Murshili became the Hittite king, in the third year of his reign, he marched on Arzawa using the excuse of not returning the Hattian refugees who had fled from the Hittite lands

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[1] Wright 2005, 191-199.

[2] Ateşlier – Erön 2022, 79-85.

to the Arzawa Kingdom. At that time, Uhhaziti was the king of the Arzawa.[3] The Hittite army under the command of Murshili followed certain routes and came to the land called Arinnanda Mountain, which was the final destination. Based on the king's statements about this expedition, it is understood that some of the Arzawans fled to the Aegean islands, possibly to the island of Samos, before the Hittite army arrived. It is stated in the records that those who did not flee to the Aegean islands climbed Arinnanda Mountain and took refuge in Puranda, which is understood to be a fortified center, and prepared for war there. The sections in which Murshili narrates the struggle with those who fled to Mount Arinnanda are quite remarkable. In Murshili's annals, he tells "It is difficult to enter the aforementioned Mount Arinnanda. It extends into the sea like a peninsula. It is also very high, has no roads to travel, and is rocky. It is impossible to go up with horse-drawn carriages. The escaped slaves had taken the roads, and the soldiers had all piled up above. Since it was impossible to go up by chariots, I walked on foot to the top of Mount Arinnanda before my great king's army. I forced the slaves to go hungry and thirsty. When the hunger and thirst became intolerable, the slaves began to descend, and fell at my feet, Lord, do not destroy us! Our lord, accept us into slavery and take us to Hattuša!" they begged".[4] If the Puranda siege of Arinnanda Mountain, which is mentioned in Murshili's annals, really took place on Çatallar Tepe in Mykale Mountain, Ilıcatepe, 13km away, must have a part in Murshili's legendary siege story. Because while the Hittite army was approaching, some Arzawa people probably fled to the island of Samos. The escape and return story of the Luwian Prince Tapalazunawali,[5] who probably escaped to Samos Island while the siege continued and then returned to Puranda, to defend the city, could not have taken place without entering the viewpoint of a fortress surrounded by such monumental walls and dominating the sea route between Samos strait and Samos Apasa.

History of Research

R. Meriç suggests that Ilıcatepe is a fortification or settlement of the Late Bronze located in the Arzawa Region.[6] J. Keil mentioned monumental walls,[7] and T. Wiegand noticed.[8] J. Cook was one of the scholars who visited Ilıcatepe and emphasized the cyclopean walls of the hill.[9] A. Bammer describes the superficially visible architectural remains in Büyükkale and Ilıcatepe as a Late Bronze Age, specifically Mycenaean castle or Late Bronze Age settlement.[10] Bammer even suggested that Ilıcatepe might be Apasa.[11] Although J. Yakar also put forward the idea that Ilıcatepe could be Apasa, like A. Bammer, it should be noted that these proposals are indeed very ambitious ideas. It is much more logical that Apasa is located in Ayasuluk.[12] N. M. H. Wardle states that cyclopean walls have been identified at Ilıcatepe, south of Kuşadası, and that it was originally a

[3] Cooper 2012, 84-89.

[4] Ünal 2017, 22-23.

[5] Ünal 2017, 29.

[6] Meriç 1988, 386; 2020, 156.

[7] Keil 1908, 154.

[8] Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 28. Abb. 14.

[9] Cook 1969, 718.

[10] Bammer 1986-87, 23-25. Abb. 10-11; Bammer-Muss 2007, 99.

[11] Bammer 1986-87, 26.

[12] Yakar 2007, 287.

fortress with an estimated diameter of 320 meters, with a preserved tower on the north side and an entrance to the west.[13] He suggests that the hill enclosing an area of about 80,000 square meters was more than four times the area of the fortress at Mycenae. In addition to all the research and ideas mentioned above Gezgin and L. Kutbay dated Ilıcatepe to the 2nd millennium BC.[14]

The Masonry, construction materials, methods, and techniques

The so-called 'Cyclopean',[15] monumental wall architecture encompassing certain late bronze age sites of mainland Greece constitute the most widely recognised aspect of Mycenaean architecture. The use of the term Cyclopean in relation to architecture comes from the legendary, one-eyed Greek giants called the Cyclopes. According to the legend, Proetus, king of Argos and Tiryns, summoned these Cyclopes from Lycia to build the walls of his citadel.[16] Only these giants could be strong enough because each stone was so big and heavy that even a pair of mules could not carry the smallest one.[17] For this reason, the dimensions of the individual blocks and their carriers initially defined the building style as cyclopean. Cyclopean walls which utilizing great blocks of irregular untrimmed stone fitted together without mortar. The roots of the cyclopean wall technique are thought to be in Anatolia.[18] Strabo tells "Tiryns was used as a base of operations by Proetus, and was walled by him through the aid of the Cyclopes, who were seven in number, and were called 'Bellyhands' because they got their food from their handicraft, and they came by invitation from Lycia".[19] Bronze Age walls were elsewhere called Cyclopean, but in Athens, they were identified as the work of the Pelasgians.[20]

Although the existence of cyclopean walls in Western Anatolia is known, they have often not been studied in detail, often overlooked, or dated to the Archaic Period. The question to be asked at this point is why these monumental walls, which are mostly dated to the Late Bronze Age in Greece, the Aegean Islands and Central Anatolia, are dated to the Archaic Period in Western Anatolia. The walls made of huge blocks or with unusual workmanship in Western Anatolia are generally dated to the archaic period by researchers and the walls in question are viewed with suspicion.

Since the wall was built along the slope of the hill, which is approximately 50m high, it also acts as a terrace that expands the existing usage area. The stones used in the monumental terrace-fortification wall in Ilıcatepe were generally worked in different sizes. The masters who used the bedrock on which the hill is located as a quarry must have chosen this way in order to lay the stone blocks faster and more comfortably. The stonemasons rationally used limestone, the bedrock of the hill, on the walls. Some of the limestone blocks used in the wall are 3.10-4m long, 1.75m wide and 1.70m deep (Figs. 4, 6, 8). The spaces between the overlapping blocks were filled

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[13] Wardle 2004, 396.

[14] Gezgin-Kutbay 2000, 83.

[15] Scranton 1941, 6; René-Martin 1985, 97. 22. 1; Naumann 1991, 69-71.

[16] Apollod. 2.2.1.

[17] Paus. 2.25.8.

[18] Maner 2012, 56.

[19] Strab. 8. 6. 11.

[20] FGrH 4 frg. 4 (Hellanicus); Hdt. 6.137; Thuc. 2.17.2.

with small stones (Figs. 4, 9, 11). This practice was common in the Late Bronze Age because it allows the blocks to sit more smoothly on each other and to build a stronger wall. Another important factor that ensures the strength of the walls is that the slightly inward-sloping cyclopean wall encloses the hill and thus provides resistance against the slope (Figs. 5, 6, 7).

The massive wall was roughly cut from the limestone of the hill itself, which was apparently also used as a quarry, and assembled without mortar. However, small stones were placed as much as possible in the gaps between these rough stones. The outer faces of the stones were also roughly worked, making it possible to utilise the hard and brittle limestone more economically. The back part of the wall was usually a dense fill of earth and Stones (Fig. 10). However, the wall may also have been constructed in this way because of the resources available, the number of labourers involved in the construction process, and differences in local preferences. For example, the workmanship of the cyclopean walls found near the ancient city of Alinda in Caria differs because the local bedrock is gneiss and almost the entire region is covered with this bedrock. This type of masonry must have been preferred due to the monumental appearance and strength of the massive blocks. The megalithic-rubble wall structure found during the surveys in Alinda in northern Caria can be compared with the examples from eastern Crete (Fig. 8, 12).[21]

Numerous centres with similar masonry and stonework can be found on the Greek mainland. The workmanship of the cyclopean walls at Isthmos is similar to that at Ilıcatepe,[22] and it should be emphasised that walls with this and similar masonry can be found especially in rural and mountainous areas of Western Anatolia. Cyclopean masonry of the outer wall of Tilmen Höyük can be compared with the cyclopean masonry of Ilıcatepe.[23] The massive stone walls with rough-cut cyclopean masonry at Desfina-Kastrouli in the southern Phokis region of central Greece is the just one of these examples.[24] The masonry technique of Ilıcatepe is almost the same as that used on the Mycenaean Late Bronze Age walls at Kalamianos[25] and Sitiri[26] in the south-eastern Corinthia. The Middle Bronze Age fortifications on the Aspis hill in Argos have similar cyclopean walls. The irregular shapes of the large stone blocks, their support by leaning against each other to make the wall more stable, the difference in the size of the stones and the filling of the gaps with smaller stones placed between the stones are also remarkable elements at Ilıcatepe.[27] Excavations at the Torbalı-Bademgediği resulted in the discovery of a 750 m long Late Bronze Age cyclopean wall.[28] The Bademgediği probably relates to the relief orthostat found at Torbalı Karakuyu,[29] on which there is a hieroglyph mentioning the king of Mira, Taskasnawa. The absence of regularly spaced

[21] Vokotopoulos 2011, 144-145. Fig. 13. 5.

[22] Broneer 1966, 350. Fig. 2; Pl. 82a.

[23] Maner 2020, Fig. 5. 7; Duru 2003, Pl. 14. 2.

[24] Koh – Birney – Roy – Liritzis 2020, 60, Fig. 19a; 63, Fig. 23.

[25] Tartaron 2011, 585, Fig. 18; 597. Fig. 27; Tartaron 2015b, 28. Fig. 2. 4.

[26] Tartaron 2015a, 399. Fig. 11.

[27] Philippa-Touchais 2016, 651-653, Figs. 8, 10.

[28] Greaves-Helwing 2001, 506.

[29] Işık – Atıcı – Tekelioğlu 2011.

bastions and towers in the Late Bronze Age stone fortification walls of Torbalı-Bademgediği, Pergamon and Larisa[30] should be considered in light of the topography of the area and whether the walls were located on a strategic line. It is stated that the placement of towers or bastions at regular intervals in the defence walls of Çine-Tepecik and Miletos was used by the Hittites and is not unique to Western Anatolian defence systems.[31]

In addition to the relationship between Cyclopean stonemasonry and Lycia, recent studies have begun to reveal artisanal relationships between Anatolia and mainland Greece. The most concrete example of this interaction is the presence of Anatolian influences in the construction of the lion gate relief at Mycenae.[32] The prospect that the lion gate relief was fashioned by Anatolian masons was alluded to by Sandars, who noted offhand that the high relief and monumentality of the Mycenae monument compares favorably with Hittite sculpture[33]. It is clear that the high relief and monumentality of the Mycenaean monument were heavily influenced by comparison with the Hittite statue. Stone working methods were common in Anatolia and Argolid. How this similarity in Hittite and Mycenaean technology evolved remains hypothetical.[34] F. Işık compared the relief of the lion gate in Mycenae with the Hittite monumental gates and also stated that the use of corbeled vaulting and also the cyclopean masony in Mycenaean architecture are Hittite influences.[35]

Niki C. Scoufopoulos notes that the Cyclopean masonry that suddenly appeared at Tiryns, Mycenae, and other sites during the Late Helladic Period may have been inspired by Hittite fortifications, and that the direct-entry gate type of Mycenae has a predecessor in the gate near the postern passage of Büyükkale, as well as the galleries and underground spring passages at Tiryns and Mycenae have a wide distribution and origin in Anatolia (in the postern passages of Alisar, Boğazköy and Alaca Höyük)[36].

Similar and parallel practices between Hittite and Mycenaean fortification architecture and construction techniques have been discussed by many archaeologists.[37] The construction and form of Late Helladic Mycenaean fortifications at Argolis and Boiotia in mainland Greece, similarities between various building units, such as towers or back gates, monumental gate reliefs, masonry, as well as the application of materials, are similar to Late Bronze Age Hittite fortification architecture in Anatolia.[38] Western Anatolia has not yet been included in these discussions. The main reason for this is that the Late Bronze Age centres in Western Anatolia were submerged under the large ancient cities. For this reason, the cyclopean walls found in rural areas should be carefully analysed. In recent years, especially during the surveys conducted in Caria, monumental walls

[30] Maner 2015, 844.

[31] Maner 2015, 844; 2019, 128-129. Taf. 20.1; 207.

[32] Blackwell 2014.

[33] Sandars 1978, 64-65.

[34] Blackwell 2014, 483.

[35] Işık 2006, 441.

[36] Scoufopoulos 1971, 101-106.

[37] Loader 1995; Zielinski 1998; Wardle 2004; Wright 2005; Aslan – Rose 2013; Blackwell 2014; Pavúk 2015; Brysbeart 2015; Liko 2012; Maner 2019.

[38] Maner 2019, 128-129, 207.

that do not conform to the masonry of the Archaic Period were found and analysed by the author. The cyclopean walls found in the mountainous parts of Caria, which has gneiss bedrock masses, were used together with the bedrock and the walls surrounding a defence area were built in the bedrock cavities, thus making more rational use of the difficult terrain topography.

The main reason why the cyclopean walls found in Caria utilised the gaps between the dense gneiss bedrock masses is that they did not build a wall bed on the bedrock. However, the Archaic or Classical fortification walls in Caria were definitely built on wall beds cut on gneiss bedrock. In order to place a monumental block on a bedrock bed, the stone block must be cut and its lower surface levelled. This is the logic of the masons of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods, whereas the Late Bronze Age masons of mountainous Caria solved this problem by placing small stones underneath and between the monumental blocks they crudely carved, using the weight of the blocks in tonnes and the force of gravity.

Although the workmanship of the stone blocks at the foundation level cannot be seen very clearly since no archaeological excavation has been carried out at Ilıcatepe yet, the foundation workmanship can be seen since the soil flowing down the slope in the southern part of the hill exposes the foundation level of some blocks. The gaps of the rough worked blocks placed on the limestone bedrock of the hill were filled with smaller stones.

There are both pros and cons to choosing cyclopean masonry. The heavy blocks are difficult to move and place, but the size of the blocks placed to form the wall allows the wall to span a longer distance with fewer stones. The most important advantages are the strength of the monumental blocks, their indestructibility, their resistance to sieges and their monumental appearance, which is recognisable even from a distance and demoralises the enemy.

The construction techniques of the fortifications of the Hittites and Mycenaeans are quite different. They used different materials as well as different construction techniques. Stone was used in the foundations of the Hittite city wall to support the mudbrick and wooden superstructure. The adobe walls were covered with earthen plaster against weather conditions. This tradition continued in the Lydian and Western Anatolian Archaic Period fortifications. The Mycenaeans were building massive cyclopean fortifications from large stone boulders, and the spaces between the rocks were filled with small stones. The massive stonework is similar in both civilizations, but the Mycenaeans used much larger rocks for their fortification. There is no information about how the walls were built. The Hittites were building their walls over the city walls, while the Mycenaean fortifications were embedded in the natural stone floor. Mycenaean and Hittite workers used bronze hammers and chisels to shape the stones, but hard stone hammers must have been used in the final shaping phase of the stones. The stones used in the Hittite fortifications have dowel holes for tenoning the timber. In Boğazköy and Alaca Höyük, there are various indications of drill holes in the stones on the doors and door statues. Recent research has shown that drills were also used in the Mycenae lion gate. However, boreholes have not yet been found on the rocks of the cyclopean fortifications. In fact, they did not need it, as they did not have a superstructure made of adobe and wood. In connection with the fortification it was used to drill holes on the lion relief, cut the edges, and also to drill holes in the door jambs. Parallels can be observed in the door architecture. The order of construction of the statue is understood from the tool marks found in the lion gate relief at Mycenae. Shortly after the relief was completed, it was found to have been damaged and had undergone several repairs. In embossing, the use of two special tools stands out, the first is the tubular drill and the other is the use of a short convex saw.[39] Although not the actual employment of Hittite craftsmen, it reminds us of Hittite stonemasonry traditions suggesting Anatolian influence. Strabo's mention of Lycian (Lukkan) stonemasons working on the cyclopean walls of the Tiryns citadel[40] and Anatolian influences on the relief of the lioned gate in Tiryns' neighbor in Argolis, Mycenae, increase the possibilities for the transfer of technology and skilled craftsmanship in the 13th century BC.

Recent research has revealed that the Mycenaeans and Hittites shared salient architectural features that indicate an exchange of craft ideas and technology. Thrust-vaulted galleries at Boğazköy-Hattusa and Tiryns are regularly mentioned, but similar use of wooden frames to form wall sections is noted in Anatolian architecture and some Mycenaean palaces. Some of the walls in Pylos Nestor's Palace were built using removable wooden frames. Individual piers or pillars were constructed by pouring a mixture of rubble and mortar inside a wooden frame. After the mixture dries, the timber is removed, leaving vertical gaps or marks in the wall. The gaps left by the wooden frames were then filled with lime mortar, except when the wood could not be removed. The fact that this technique is seen in Kültepe, Hattusa, Tarsus, and Maşat Höyük reveals this network of relations. Considering all these connections, it is not surprising that Anatolian stonemasonry techniques are present in the relief of the Mycenaean lion gate.[41] In other words, the Mycenaean relief shows evidence of Anatolian stonework techniques, although the final product does not resemble canonical Hittite depictions. As the tool marks on the relief indicate, there must have been much more artistic communication and transfer of stonemasons between Mycenae and Anatolia than was thought.

It should also be noted that Lydian and Ionian stonemasons and even relief masters worked in Iran during the Late Archaic Period or were taken to Pasargadae, Susa, and Persepolis to be employed by the Persians.[42] The most important reason for this transfer of artists was, of course, the fact that the masters of Western Anatolia were skilled and qualified artists. Mastery in architecture cannot emerge in a short period of time. Craftsmanship is the product of a tradition handed down from grandfather to grandchild, from master to apprentice, from stonemason's tools to the techniques used in architecture and relief.

The stone used in the construction of the walls is brought from a region as close to the construction site as possible. The hard and porous limestone, which forms the bedrock of Ilıcatepe, was preferred because it is both economical and easier to transport and shape to the construction site. The building stone was probably quarried directly from the construction site. It is a logical choice not to use mudbrick in the construction of the wall because mudbrick walls need to be very thick to be strong and durable. Although the wall made of monumental blocks is thinner, it forms a much more rational defense system. The transportation of building material from a quarry far away from the construction site is very labor intensive.[43] The monumental limestone blocks were probably cut from the bedrock along the route of the fortification wall on the hill slope. Thus, an

[39] Blackwell 2014, 452.

[40] Strab. 8. 6. 11.

[41] Blackwell 2014, 477.

[42] Nylander 1975; 1977.

[43] Boswinkel 2021, 53-54.

uneven ground was provided on the slope for the foundation, and the blocks were leaned back to reinforce the strength of the wall.

The fortification wall of the lower citadel of Tiryns, by the way it was built and the way it was constructed, fulfilled the purpose of preventive defence. It may have created or fostered a sense of community belonging by involving many people in this "Cyclopean" task, but it also had the power to intimidate.[44]

Overview and Conclusion

Cyclopean masonry, with a few exceptions in its application in Argolis, begins after the substitution of limestone ashlars. The first appearance of Cyclopean masonry in mainland Greece dates to the late Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic periods in Messenia. The earliest known examples from Argolis are the massive terrace walls built at Mycenae and Tiryns, dating to the LH IIIA:1 period. This practice became so widespread throughout Greece by the LH IIIB period that it was explained by the spread of Mycenaean culture itself.[45] Cyclopean masonry is actually a symbol of power. The gigantic walls must have mesmerised the enemy approaching the fortification. One might think, as Fitzsimons emphasises, that the change in construction methods signalled a corresponding increase in technical competence.[46] The author points out that in reality the opposite is the case and that, in terms of technical skill, Cyclopean masonry actually represents a major reduction in the level of expertise required for its execution. Despite the impression created by the enormous size of the stones used in the masonry, Cyclopean masonry is, in fact, rubble masonry on a large scale. Although the blocks were often roughly hewn with hammers or similar tools, there was no need to work the individual boulders to any degree of accuracy either to allow their laying or to ensure basic stability. Unlike cut stones, whose structural integrity depended on the precise execution of a series of highly exacting features, such as the cutting and laying of horizontal faces, the uniformity of row height, the bonding of cut facades to rubble interiors, and the strength of their corners, the factors contributing to the stability of cyclopean structures were of a more primitive nature, namely the friction produced by the mass of individual stones, the thickness of the walls, and the insertion of small stones into the gaps between larger boulders. Thus, in essence, these walls were built in the same way that rubble walls have been built for thousands of years. Furthermore, the stones used in these walls were largely cut from local sources, probably from the massive bedrock protruding from the hills on which the settlements were built, as at Ilıcatepe. Thus, there was no need to quarry the blocks or transport them long distances.

I believe that the reason why the Late Bronze Age settlements and defence systems in Western Anatolia are very few compared to the Greek mainland[47] is the lack of research and the fact that the Bronze Age settlements were buried under the ancient cities where life continued until Roman, even Byzantine and modern times. The backfill of the terrace-defence built on the slope seems to be rubble stones and soil obtained from the construction.[48]

[44] Brysbeart 2015, 102.

[45] Fitzsimons 2006, 297-298.

[46] Fitzsimons 2006, 297-299.

[47] Gauß 2019, 69-70. Figs. 17-18.

[48] Krause 2019, 4. Fig. 1d.

In the Mycenaean period, the term cyclopean is preferred for fortifications or terrace walls built with monumental stones in mainland Greece. In Western Anatolia, similar practices are found, although often with skepticism. This skepticism has led to the dating of walls with unusual workmanship in Western Anatolia to the Archaic Period. Was the Late Bronze Age cyclopean masonry found in Central Anatolia, mainland Greece, Crete and the Aegean islands never used in Western Anatolia? Or was it not preferred at all? It just does not seem likely to have happened. The difficulties encountered by the Hittite kings in their campaigns in Western Anatolia can only be explained by the resistance of defensive centers. This resistance would never have been possible without strong walls.

The term cyclopean is still used in relation to the size of the blocks. However, it is generally preferred for wall structures that are rough-hewn and use small rubble stones to fill the gaps between the blocks. But should we call every wall where large stones are used cyclopean? The term cyclopean usually implies that the wall belongs to the Bronze Age, whereas in the Archaic Period we also find walls built with monumental stones. The definition of cyclopean leaves a lot of room for personal interpretation. The biggest difference between their use in Western Anatolia and Mycenae is the careful addition of small stones between the large stones. Since the small stones placed between and under the blocks compensate for even the smallest irregularities between the large blocks, it should be noted that this practice was done for technical reasons. It is therefore necessary to make sure that the load of these larger, heavier stones is well distributed when creating the strongest possible wall. It would be more accurate to say that it is a technical invention to ensure that the wall is firmly in place and to counteract the weight of the blocks in the wall.

Although it is known that gigantic blocks were used from time to time in the Archaic Period, the details in the processing and joining of the stones reveal that there are practices that are not encountered in the stonemasonry of the Archaic Period. Archaic stonemasons used harder stonemason's tools such as iron, and when joining the blocks together, they tried to shave the stone joint surfaces better and try to leave no gaps between them as much as possible. Known examples from mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, Crete and central Anatolia suggest that the walls of Ilıcatepe may date to the Late Bronze Age. Although very well shaved block joints are occasionally encountered in the Late Bronze Age, it is never possible to see Archaic Period details.

The simplest difference between the Archaic masons and the Late Bronze Age masons can be explained as follows: In the Archaic Period, the master may sometimes surround a stone with small stones, which is mostly due to the desire to add visual richness to the wall, while in Cyclopian craftsmanship, it usually wastes time by working the stone joint surfaces smoothly. In order to eliminate it and to ensure that the heavy stones overlap stably, the strength of the wall is reinforced by placing small stones between the stones.

The Ilıcatepe cyclopean wall probably dates back to earlier than the Archaic Period due to the roughness of the surface workmanship, the balancing of the large stones with small stones placed between them, and the fact that it does not bear any traces of the use of any of the stonemasons' tools that we are accustomed to see in Archaic stonemasonry.

The fact that Ilıcatepe is in the immediate vicinity of the Mykale/Arinnanda[49] Mountain should not be ignored. Homer describes Mykale Mountain and its surroundings as the homeland of the

[49] Hawkins 1998, 23; Herda 2006, Abb. 2; Bryce 2009, 63; Ünal 2017.

Carias in his Iliad.[50] This information given by Homer shows that there must have been settlements in Mykale/Arinnanda Mountain in the Late Bronze Age, and the siege of Puranda[51] on Arinnanda Mountain by the Hittite King Murshili II during his military campaign against Arzawa, and the escape of the local people and rulers who resisted this closure to the island of Samos and their search for shelter in safe centres in the vicinity also show that Ilıcatepe and its immediate surroundings witnessed the events during this turmoil.

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Kuşadası'ndaki Ilıcatepe'nin Kiklopik Duvarları Üzerine Düşünceler

Özet

Kuşadası-Davutlar modern kara yolunun hemen kenarında yer alan Ilıcatepe 540x315 metrelik bir alanı kaplayan, yaklaşık 50 metre yüksekliğe sahip kireçtaşı anakayadan oluşan tepenin etrafı kendi anakayasından kesilerek yapıldığı anlaşılan kiklopik taş işçiliğiyle inşa edilmiş bir duvar ile çevrelenmektedir. Batı Anadolu'da görmeye pek de alışık olunmayan bu duvar örgüsü tepeye gelen araştırmacıların da dikkatini çekmiş ve kimi araştırmacılar duvarın MÖ 2. bin yıla ait olabileceği görüşünü ileri sürmüşlerdir. Günümüzde birçok araştırmacının Arinnanda olarak kabul ettiği Mykale'nin yakınında yer alan ve Kadıkalesi'ne 4 km mesafede olan bu tepenin stratejik önemi göz ardı edilemez. Batı Anadolu'da anıtsal taşlar ile inşa edilen duvarlara genellikle şüphe ile yaklaşılsa da son yıllarda Karia'da yapılan araştırmalardaki bulgular da dikkate alındığında, Yunanistan ana karası, Girit, Ege Adaları ve Orta Anadolu'da varlığı bilinen benzer duvar örgülerine Batı Anadolu'da da rastlanılması son derece doğaldır. Batı Anadolu'da Arkaik Dönem'de anıtsal taşlarla örülen duvarlar bilinmekle birlikte, taşların birbirlerine yanaştırılmaları, taşlar arasındaki boşlukların doldurulması ve kullanılan taşçı aletlerinin cins ve malzeme farklılıkları duvarların tarihlenmesi için yardımcı olurlar. Ilıcatepe'nin yakın çevresinde gelişen tarihi olaylar tepenin stratejik önemini artırmaktadır. Hitit kralı II. Murşili'nin (MÖ 1322-1298) Batı Anadolu coğrafyasında yer alan Arzawa Ülkesi üzerine düzenlediği sefer bölge coğrafyasını tanımamız açısından oldukça önemlidir. II. Murşili Hitit kralı olduktan sonra saltanatının üçüncü yılında, Hitit topraklarından Arzawa Krallığı'na kaçan Hattili mültecilerin geri verilmeyişini bahane ederek Arzawa üzerine yürümüştür. O tarihte Arzawa Krallığı'nın başında Uhhaziti bulunmaktaydı. II. Murşili'nin söz konusu sefer sırasındaki güzergahı Hatti diyarından başlamış, Arzawa ülkesi ve Ege sahillerinde son bulmuştur. II. Murşili komutasındaki Hitit ordusu belirli güzergahları takip ederek son varış noktası olan Arinnanda Dağı olarak isimlendirilen araziye gelmiştir. Kralın bu sefer ile ilgili anlatımlarından yola çıkarak Arzawalıların bir bölümünün Hitit ordusu gelmeden Ege adalarına kaçtığı anlaşılmaktadır. Kayıtlarda Ege adalarına kaçmayanların Arinnanda Dağı'na çıkarak, tahkimli bir merkez olduğu anlaşılan Puranda'ya sığınarak burada savaş hazırlığı yaptıkları ifade edilmektedir. II. Murşili'nin Arinnanda Dağı'na kaçanlar ile giriştiği mücadeleyi anlattığı bölümler oldukça dikkat çekicidir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Batı Anadolu; kiklopik taş işçiliği; savunma duvarı; Kuşadası; Geç Bronz Çağı.

Reflections on the Cyclopean Walls of Ilıcatepe in Kuşadası

Abstract

Ilıcatepe, located right on the edge of the Kuşadası-Davutlar modern highway, covers an area of 540x315 meters and consists of limestone bedrock with a height of about 50 meters, and is surrounded by a wall built with Cyclopic stonework, which is understood to have been cut from its own bedrock. This masonry, which is not very common to see in Western Anatolia, attracted the attention of researchers who came to the hill, and some researchers suggested that the wall may belong to the 2nd millennium BC. The strategic importance of this hill, which is located on the slope of Mykale, which is considered by many researchers as Arinnanda, and 4 km away from Kadıkalesi, cannot be ignored. Although the walls built with monumental stones in Western Anatolia are generally approached with suspicion, considering the findings in the researches made in Caria in recent years, similar masonry known to exist in mainland Greece, Crete, Aegean Islands and Central Anatolia can be found in Western Anatolia. It is very natural to come across.

Although the walls built with monumental stones in the Archaic Period are known in Western Anatolia, the juxtaposition of the stones, the filling of the gaps between the stones, and the differences in the type and material of the masonry tools used help in the dating of the walls. Historical events in the immediate vicinity of Ilıcatepe increase the strategic importance of the hill. The expedition organised by the Hittite king Murshili II (1322-1298 BC) against the Arzawa Country in Western Anatolia is very important in terms of our knowledge of the geography of the region. In the third year of his reign after becoming the Hittite king, Murshili II marched on Arzawa on the pretext of the non-return of the Hattian refugees who fled from the Hittite lands to the Arzawa Kingdom. At that time, Uhhaziti was at the head of the Arzawa Kingdom. The route of Murshili II during the said campaign started from the land of Hatti and ended in the country of Arzawa and the Aegean coast. The Hittite army under the command of Murshili II followed certain routes and arrived at its final destination, Mount Arinnanda. Based on the king's account of this campaign, it is understood that some of the Arzawans fled to the Aegean islands before the Hittite army arrived. The records indicate that those who did not flee to the Aegean islands ascended Mount Arinnanda, took refuge in Puranda, which is understood to be a fortified centre, and prepared for war there. The passages in which Murshili II describes his struggle with those who fled to Mount Arinnanda are quite remarkable.

Keywords: Western Anatolia; cyclopean masonry; fortification wall; Kuşadası; Late Bronze Age.

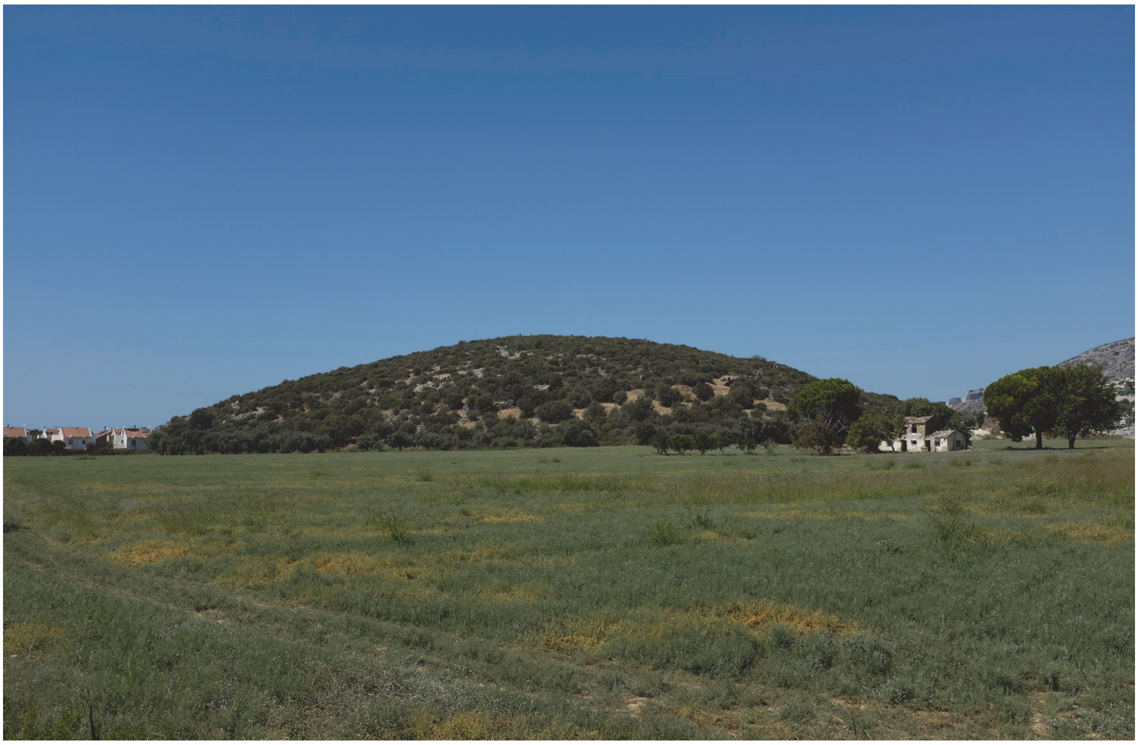

Fig. 1) *View of the hill from the southeast*

Fig. 2) *Aerial view of Ilıcatepe*

Fig. 3) *Aerial view of east wall and possible entrance gate*

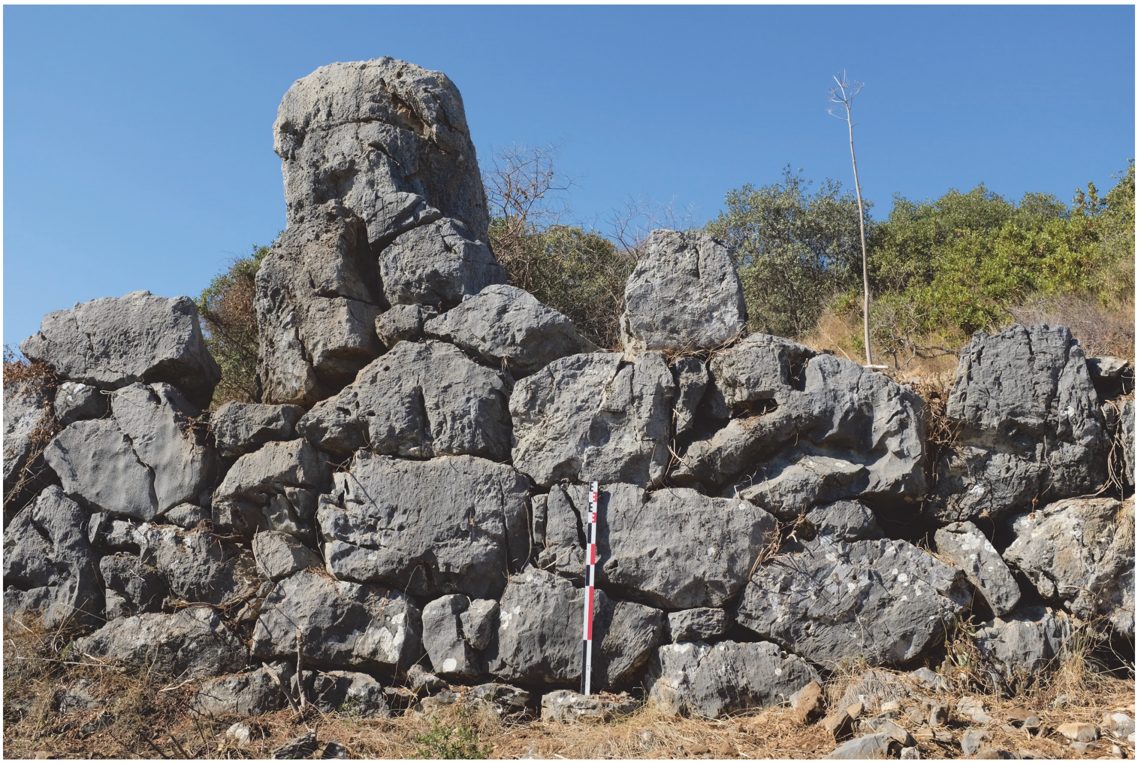

Fig. 4) *Cyclopean wall facing east*

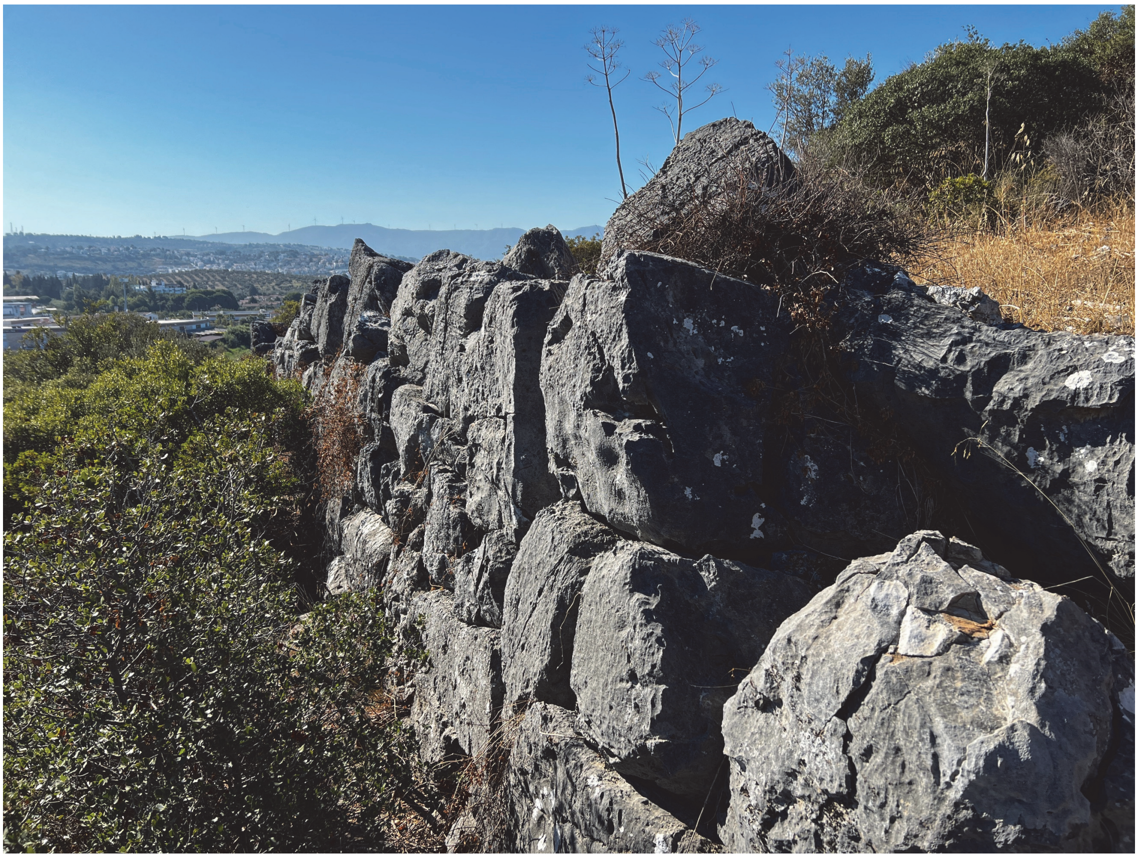

Fig. 5) *Cyclopean wall sloping slightly inward facing east*

Fig. 6) *Cyclopean wall sloping slightly inward facing south*

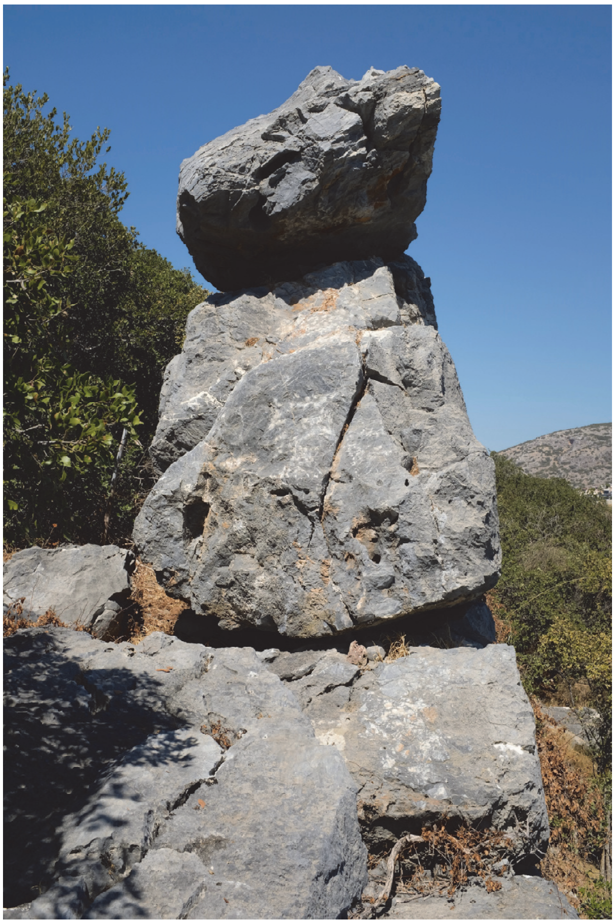

Fig. 7) *Cyclopean wall sloping slightly inward*

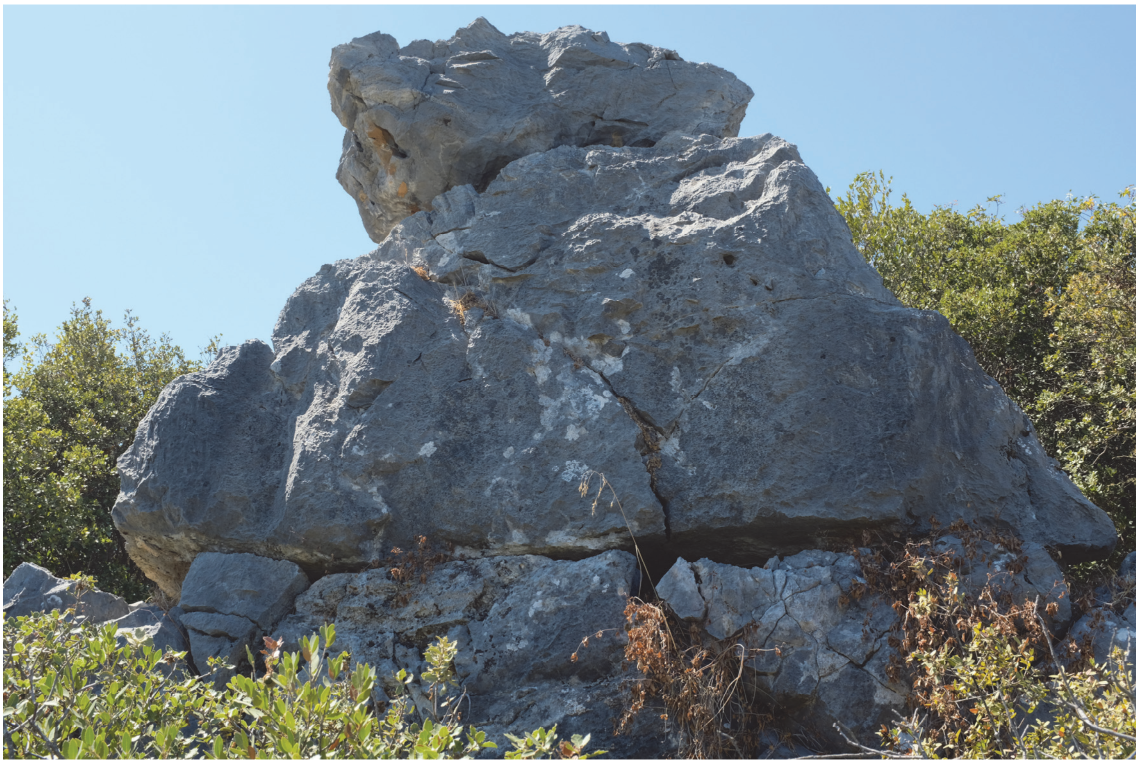

Fig. 8) *Megalithic stone in the wall facing east*

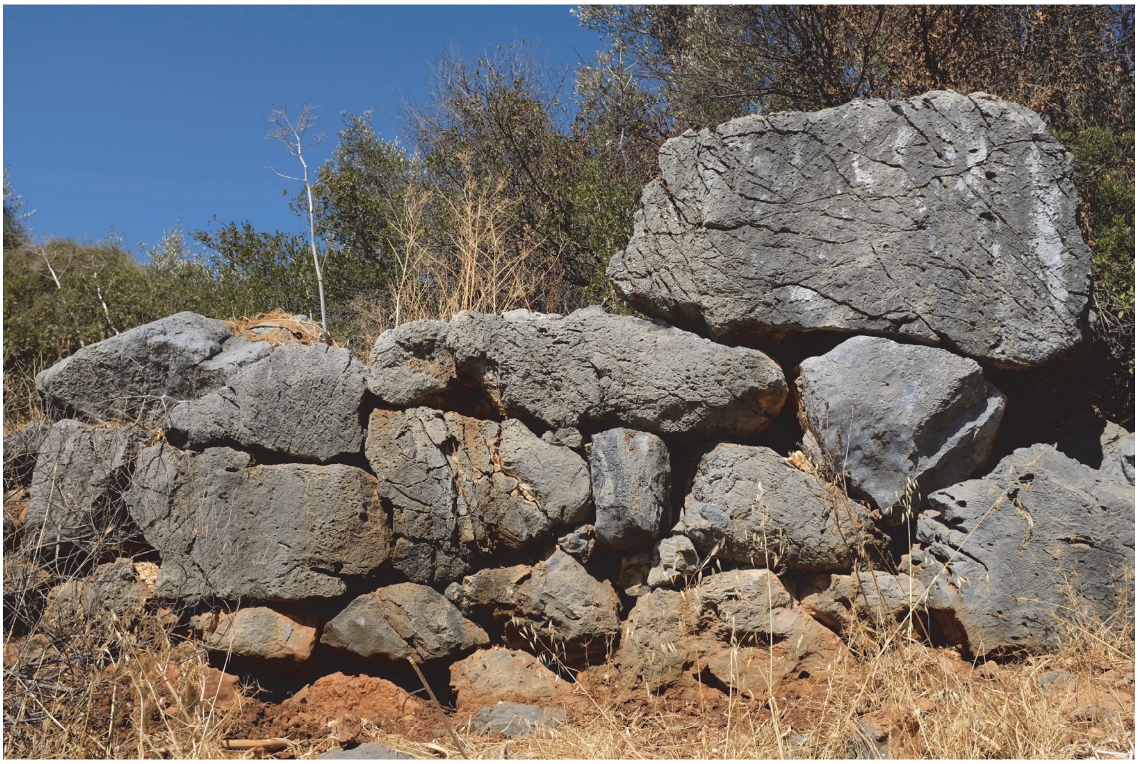

Fig. 9) *Cyclopean wall facing south*

Fig. 10) *East-facing wall and rear part*

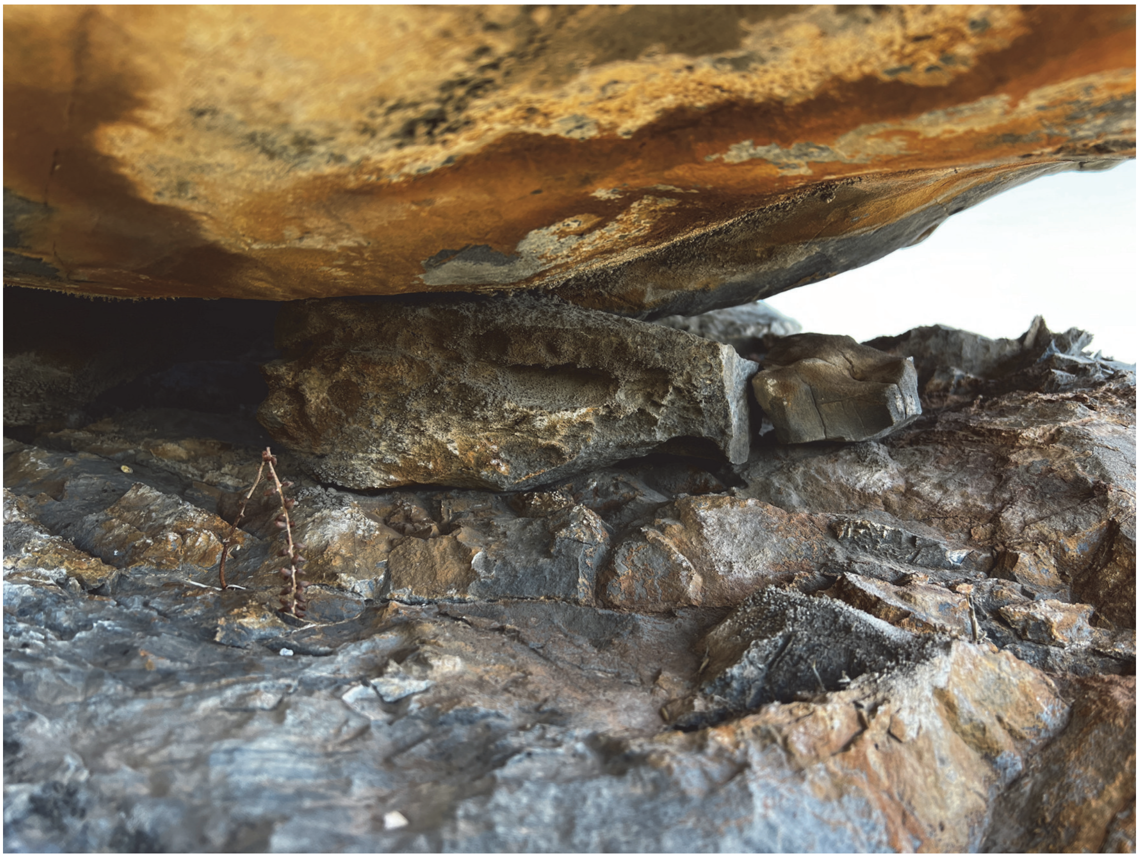

Fig. 11) *Small stones filling the gaps between overlapping blocks*

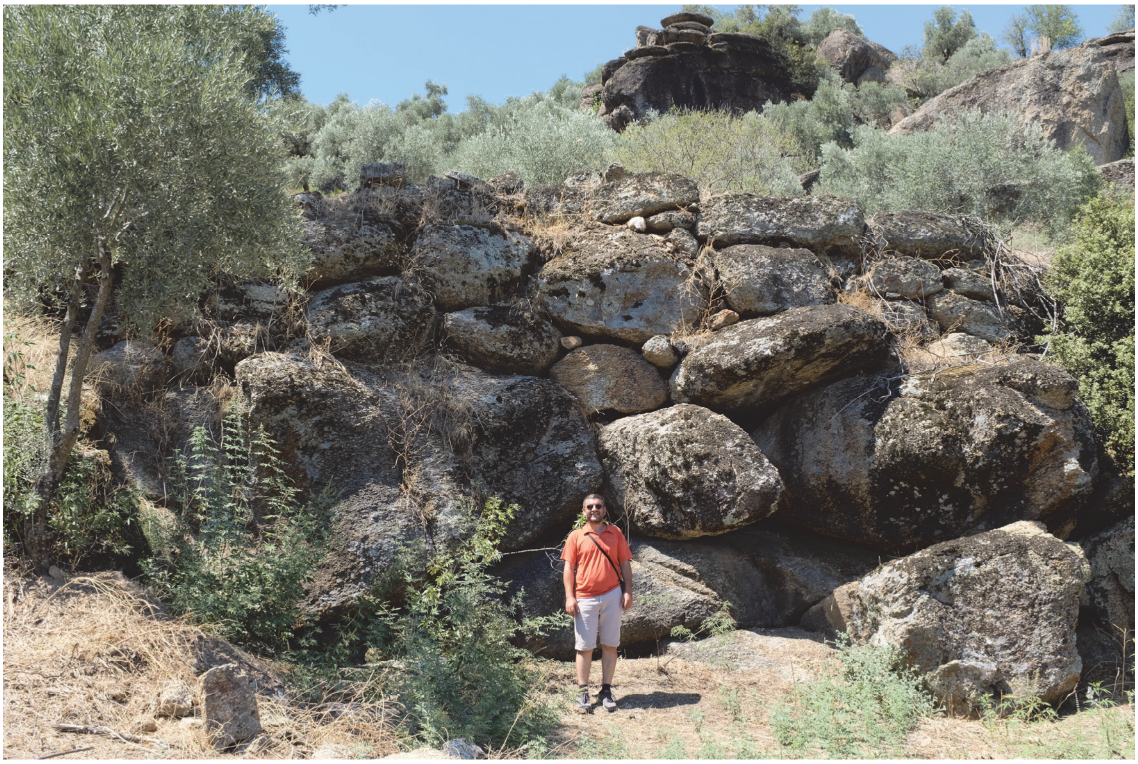

Fig. 12) *Megalithic-rubble wall near Alinda*