

GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHWEST ANATOLIA: NOTES TO GANDER 2010
A review article

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On the basis of consultation of Gander 2010, I have assembled the following list of identifications of place-names from cuneiform Hittite and Luwian hieroglyphic sources concerning the southwest corner of Anatolia. For the Hittite toponyms and river names, cf. del Monte/Tischler 1978 and del Monte 1992, for the classical equivalents of the toponyms, cf. Zgusta 1984.

	Hittite/Luwian	Lycian	Greek	
I.			Παμφυλία	“Pamphylia”
a.	<i>Kaštaraya</i>		Κεστρός	“Kestros river”
1.	<i>Parḫa</i>		Πέργη	“Perge”
II.	<i>Lukka</i>	<i>Tr̃mis-</i>	Λυκία	“Lycia”
2.	<i>Kuwalapašša</i>		Κόλβασα	“Kolbasa”
3.	<i>Zumarri</i>	<i>Zēmure</i>	Λίμυρα	“Limyra”
4.	<i>Ḫinduwa</i>	<i>Xākbi</i>	Κάνδυβα	“Kandyba”
b.	<i>Šiyanta</i>		Ξάνθος	“Xanthos river”
5.	<i>Wiyanawanda</i>		Οινόανδα	“Oinoanda”
6.	<i>Talawa, Talwa</i>	<i>Tlawa</i>	Τλώς	“Tlōs”
7.	<i>Pina, Pinatī</i>	<i>Pinale</i>	Πίναρα	“Pinarā”
8.	<i>Awarna</i>	<i>Arñna</i>	Ἄρνα, Ξάνθος	“Xanthos”
9.	<i>Patar</i>	<i>Pttara</i>	Πάταρα	“Patarā”
III.				Indus valley
c.	<i>ḫapir utna</i>		Ἰνδός	“Indus river”
10.	<i>Luwata</i>		Λοανδα	“Loanda”
11.	<i>Ḫwalatarna</i>	<i>Xbide</i>	Καῦνος	“Kaunos”
IV.	“Šeḫa river land”		Καρία	“Caria”
d.	<i>Šeḫa</i>		Μαίανδρος	“Meander river”
12.	<i>Šallapa</i>		Σάλβακος	“Salbacus Mons”

	Hittite/Luwian	Greek	
13.	<i>Wallarimma</i>	Ἰλλάριμα	“Hyllarima”
14.	<i>Waliwanda</i>	Ἰλάβανδα	“Alabanda”
e.		Μαρσύας	“Marsyas river”
15.	<i>Appawiya, Aba[wiya]</i>	(land along the Marsyas river)	
16.	<i>Iyalanda</i>	Ἰάλινδα	“Alinda”
17.	<i>Atriya</i>	Ἰδριάς	“Idrias”
18.	<i>Utima</i>	Ἰδυμα	“Idyma”
19.	<i>Mutamutašša</i>	Μύλασα	“Mylasa”
20.	<i>Millawanda, Milawata</i>	Μίλητος	“Miletos”
21.	<i>Ḫuršanašša</i>	Ἰαλικαρνασσός	“Halikarnassos”
22.	<i>Attarim(m)a, Titarma</i>	(unspecified location in Karia)	

POSITION OF GANDER 2010

(1) The author takes the identification of *Parḫa* along the *Kaštaraya* with classical *Perge* along the *Kestros* along the western border of the Hittite province of *Tarḫuntašša* as certain.

(2) The same verdict also applies to the locations situated in the valley of the Xanthos river in Lycia as recorded in close association for the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription from Yalburt (*Wiyawanda, Talawa, Pina* or *Pinatí*, and *Awarna*).

(3) The qualification “less certain, but still plausible” is applied to the identification of *Millawanda* with classical *Miletos* along the Aegean coast and that of *Ḫinduwa* with classical *Kandyba* in eastern Lycia.

(4) Further identifications concerning the province of *Seḫa*, in my opinion rightly situated in the Meander valley (pp. 179; 208; cf. Woudhuizen 2004, 124-128; so also Freu 2008, 112) and therefore by and large corresponding to classical *Caria* without the region of *Miletos*, are considered problematic and rejected on the basis of the long distances between associated places these would entail (p. 198: Karte 1; p. 207: Karte 2).

COMMENTS

(1) I consider the long distances involving the identifications of *Kuwalapašša, Talawa*, and *Iyalanda* with *Kolbasa* in eastern Lycia, *Tlōs* in the Xanthos valley, and *Alinda* in Caria, respectively, as visualized in Gander’s Karte 1 by no means implausible, certainly not for the time of the reign of Ḫattusilis III (1264-1239 BC) to which the text in question, KUB 23.83, is assigned, viz. before the conquest of the Xanthos valley in Lycia by his son and successor Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC).

(2) The long distances visualized in Gander’s Karte 2 are in my opinion partly the result of a misinterpretation. According to the evidence of the Milawata-letter as

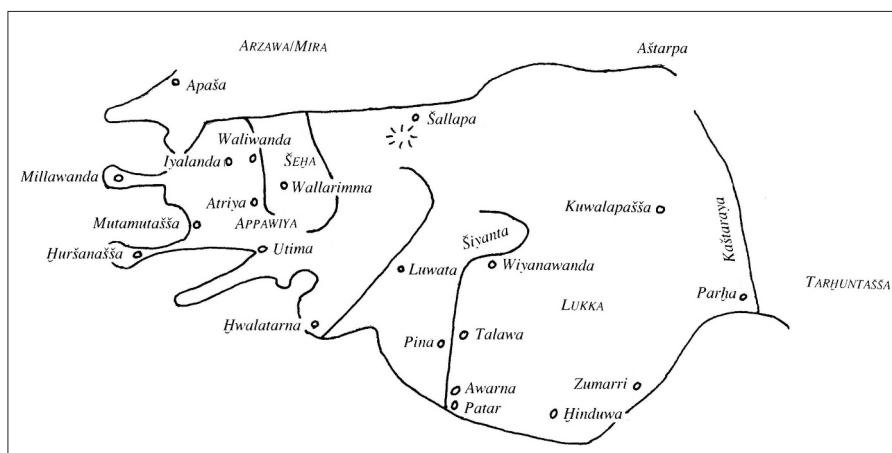


Fig. 1. Map of southwest Anatolia.

I understand it the Hittite great king Tudḫaliyas IV handed over hostages from *Pina* and *Awarna* to the father of the recipient of the letter, presumably the governor of *Millawanda*, who himself failed to fulfill his promise to hand over hostages from *Atriya* and *Utima* in return, and not *vice versa* (Woudhuizen 2005, 115). The rationale behind this all is self-evident: Tudḫaliyas IV had just conquered the Xanthos valley in Lycia, as recorded in the Yalbur text, so that handing over hostages from locations in this region (*Pinara* and *Tlōs*) did not harm him much politically, whereas *Atriya* and *Utima* in accordance with their identification with *Idrias* and *Idyma* may reasonably be argued to be border towns of *Millawanda* (so also Freu 2010, 135), so that the political costs for the ruler of *Millawanda* were also minimal (though still more painful than Tudḫaliyas IV's "cigar from another man's box").

(3) The identification of *Atriya* and *Utima* as border towns of *Millawanda* may receive further emphasis from the fact that in the Yalbur text the conquest of the Xanthos valley, which Tudḫaliyas IV proudly proclaims to be an accomplishment which his forefathers did not achieve, is preceded by a campaign in the valley of the Indus river. In this latter region, which is specified as being *reconquered* and therefore must be assumed to be already an integral part of the Hittite empire, are situated the places *Luwata* (note that the preceding *ḫwaḫwa* is not part of this toponym, but an indefinite form of the relative also present in Köylütolu § 7: *hwā hwā titarma*^{UMINA} "whatever (belongs to) Attarim(m)ma") and *Hwalatarna*¹,

¹ Note that this place-name, against the backdrop of the lenition [k] > [h], is analyzable as a compound of Luwian *ku(wa)lana-* "army" with *tarna-* "camp"; for the second element, cf. the Lydian TN *Tarnē* and Lycian *tere-* or *tere-*.

which can positively be identified with classical *Loanda* and Lycian *Xbide* “Kaunos” (see Woudhuizen 2004, 27-31). If we realize, then, that classical Kaunos borders on classical Idyma, it necessarily follows that already early in the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV the Hittite empire effectively shared a border with the territory of Millawanda in this southern corner of western Asia Minor.

(4) In the case of *Wiluša* we simply have to acknowledge that, notwithstanding the close political ties as recorded for the Milawata-letter, it is located at a distance from *Millawanda*. The political relations of the vassal states in the west are fundamentally different in the later part of the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV and that of his son and successor, Suppiluliumas II (1205-1190? BC), from the ones as established by Mursilis II (1321-1295 BC). The last two vassal kings of Mira, Tarku(ntimu)was and Parḫuittas, can be shown to have reached the preeminent position of great king thanks to the recently discovered fragmentarily preserved stele from Torbalı (Gander 2010, 73, note 300) and a likewise fragmentarily preserved cuneiform letter by Suppiluliumas II (KBo XVIII 18) in which the addressee is greeted by an extensive formula only reserved for great kings. To this comes that according to the Luwian hieroglyphic rock inscription from Latmos the region of Miletos was ruled by a great prince with a *Kupanta*-name characteristic for the royal house of Mira. The latter country name even appears in another Luwian hieroglyphic rock inscription from Latmos, so that it may reasonably be argued, especially if we realize that a great prince presupposes subordination to a great king, that *Millawanda* or *Miletos*, back in the Hittite fold since an advanced part of the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (Woudhuizen 2005, 114-117), fell at the time of these inscriptions under the supervision of the great king of Mira (Woudhuizen 2005, 117-118). If so, it is by no means implausible to assume that the Troad, where *Wilusa* or *Ilion* was situated, in its turn fell under the supervision of a great prince of Millawanda, and that its ruler Walmus, when faced with fierce opposition, took refuge to the seat of his superior in Millawanda. As a side remark, it may be relevant to note in this connection that the Assuwan league of the latter half of the 15th century BC confronts us with a coalition of forces in western Anatolia from the Troad in the north to Lycia in the south, headed by the royal house of Arzawa.

(5) The route description in the Tawagalawas-letter is, within the frame of the current identifications, highly plausible. The Hittite king first heads for *Šallapa*, the military head quarters for campaigns in the west likely to be situated in the region of Laodikeia near *Salbacus Mons*. Then he goes to *Waliwanda* or *Alabanda* along the lower Marsyas river, and subsequently penetrates into enemy territory by marching on *Iyalanda*, situated west of the Marsyas river if identical with *Alinda*. Next, the Hittite king addresses centers of resistance along the upper *Marsyas*, southeast of *Iyalanda*, namely *Atriya* or *Idrias*, situated at classical Stratonikeia, the fortress of which he does not succeed in destroying, and *Aba[wiya]*, a region which, concerning the fact that its name is based on PIE

**h₂eb^h*- “river” (Woudhuizen 2010, 98)², is likely named after the river it is associated with (cf. Freu 2008, 113). No doubt, his intentions were to prevent an attack in his back when proceeding to Millawanda. After this interlude, then, the Hittite king goes on to *Millawanda* or *Miletos* along the Aegean coast.

(6) Gandar 2010, 107 in my opinion unjustifiably denies the identification of cuneiform Hittite *Attarim(m)a* with Luwian hieroglyphic *Titarma* as first put forward by Emilia Masson (1980, 111). The latter form is recorded for the Köylütolu text, which is set up by a brother of the Hittite great king Tudḫaliyas IV, Sauska(ku)runtiyas, in commemoration of the capture of an as yet unspecified location presumably to be situated geographically in the hinterland of Millawanda (note in this connection that according to the Tawagalawas-letter after an attack on Attarim(m)a by the Aḫḫiyawan, *i.e.* Akhaian or Mycenaean Greek, dignitary Tawagalawas the Lukka, who formerly supported the latter, made an appeal to the Hittite great king for military assistance) and temporally in the course of the war against Tarḫundaradus of Seḫa (Woudhuizen 2005, 114-117). As a side remark, it deserves attention that the Luwian hieroglyphic form *Titarma* provides us with an analogy case for the aphaeresis in the Luwian hieroglyphic variant of Hittite *Aḫḫiya* or *Aḫḫiyawa* “Akhaia”, *Hiāwa* or *Ḫiyawa*, as recorded for the Luwian hieroglyphic text from Çineköy and, most recently, for some Late Bronze Age cuneiform texts from Ugarit (see Gander 2010, 48-49). As the association of Luwian hieroglyphic *Hiāwa* with the royal name *Muksas* “Mopsos” in the Çineköy-text guarantees the Mycenaean Greek affiliations of the branch of Sea Peoples’ settlers in question (cf. Woudhuizen 2006, 77), the Late Bronze Age evidence for a similar toponym in form of *Ḫiya[wa]* or *Qa-a-[ú]-e* (= Assyrian *Que*) likewise attested for the region of Adana (Gander 2010, 53-55) may well be the result of an accidental case of homonymy, or, in billiard-terms, a fluke³.

² For other “Old Indo-European” or “proto-Celtic” toponyms in the region, cf. *Parḫa*, which is a lenited (*[g^h] > [ḫ]) variant of Hittite *parku-* “high” < PIE *b^hrǵ^h(i)-*, *Ḫursanašša*, which is a lenited ([ḡ] > [ḫ]) and assibilated ([t] > [š]) variant of *Gurtanašša* < PIE **g^hord^h*- as recorded for the province of Tarḫuntašša, and *Seḫa* < PIE **seḫ^w*- also by means of lenition of *[k] into [ḫ] (see Whatmough 1963, 68 in connection with the Celtic river name *Sequana* “Seine”).

³ Breyer 2010, 101-103 argues that this toponym is already attested in Egyptian hieroglyphic for the Middle Bronze Age Sinuhe text in the derived form *Kw_L*, corresponding to the Luwian hieroglyphic ethnic adjective *Kawazā-* “Quean”. The author even suggests that the root *Kawa-* might be a reflex of PIE **ekwo-* “horse” — an animal with which the region in question is associated in the times of Solomon according to biblical evidence (1 Kings 10:28). The problem with this scenario, however, is that the epigraphically correct reading of the Egyptian place-name in question is *K_Lw*, which merely seems to confronts us with a shorthand variant of *K_Ld 3w33 dn* “Kizzuwatna”. The fact remains, though, that owing to its association with *ḫnt 3iḡwš*, which is the Egyptian rendering of Luwian *ḫantawat-* “king”, reference is clearly made to a *Luwian* territorial entity in southeast Anatolia.

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