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Remzi YAĞCI*

THE IMPORTANCE OF SOLI IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CILICIA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

For the first time this year an archaeological excavation was initiated at Soli from the 7th until the 15th of June 1999. In the application to the Ministry of Culture in Turkey for the excavation one of the questions under consideration for the project was whether the famous artifacts taken from *Soli* to Berlin at the beginning of this century claimed to be from the Middle Bronze Age in a report entitled "*Soli Depotfund*" by von Luschan in 1902 and in a 1940 article entitled "*Der Depotfund von Soli-Pompeiopolis*" by K. Bittel published in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*¹ were really taken from *Soli* or not. The necessity for investigating under the current guiding principles of archaeology the articles² in question in the project and to investigate the site to uncover *Soli*'s archaeological past under the Hittites in the 2nd millennium B.C. constitutes two of the most important questions for this project. Accordingly, to limit the scope of the subject for this article we will examine these two questions with observations and comments concerning the name of *Soli* and its location**.

There are various meanings with corresponding 'onomastic' concepts implied in the translation of the name of *Soli* as a city in Cilicia.

I. **Terminology** *Soloikismos* (L *solecismus*) with its derivative *Soli* (Gk *Soloi*) enters into western languages with the meaning of a structural language mistake--a misuse of the language. Thus, it originated as a grammatical term³.

II. **Etymology** Two opposing viewpoints are as follows :

1. The name of *Soli* stems from the name of its founder *Solon*. *Solon* founded this city in Cilicia and brought Athenians to live there⁴.

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**) My thanks go to Prof. Veli Sevin and Prof. Ali Dinçol for reading this article and providing much needed advice. The author takes responsibility for any inaccuracies or omissions.

1) 1940 : 183-205.

2) To read more on this discussion see Muscarella 1988 : 396.

3) The fame of *Soli* rests with the people (*soloikizein*) who spoke a corrupt form of the language of the Athenians of that time who came with *Solon*. Özbayoglu 1999 : 209-210.

4) *ibid.* on 210 ; esp. Diogenes Laertios (*Solon* I 51) *Soloi*, a coastal town in the Anatolian region of Cilicia (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, II, 24) ; another coastal city named '*Soli*' is in Cyprus (Herodotus, V, 115).

2. Like Tarsus and Cyprus, *Soli* in meaning is numbered among the cities considered as an economic resource. W. Burkert in the book (1992) *The Orientalizing Revolution* puts forth evidence of two cities with the name *Soloi* (one in Cyprus and the other in Cilicia) both with the meaning "metal ingots"⁵. In both cases the conclusion is reached that like Tarsus (*Tarsa-Tarzi*) and Adana (*Danunim*, 'dn/Adanawa) the name *Soli* did not have continuity⁶ in the preceding classical ages⁷.

In recent years various articles concerning the geography of the Hittites assist us in these studies on the toponymy of the Cilician region by keeping before us the preceding periods in considering the past. In his article "The Annals of Hattusilis III"⁸, O. R. Gurney cites Forrer's *Forschungen* (1926) who suggests on page 31 the name "Sallusa" for the coastal city *Soli*. Gurney points out that Forlanini takes the cities *Nahita*, *Sallusa*, *Sanhata*, and *Surimma* as on the eastern border of the nation of *Lukka* under Hittite rule. In what is called the Bronze Tablet, *Sanhata*, *Surimma*, *Saranduwa* and *Sallusa* are coastal cities stretching to the east to *Perge* (*Parha*) and of these *Sallusa* is listed emphatically as on the border⁹. But Forlanini differs in opinion from Forrer in likening *Sallusa*/*Sallawassa* with the classical city *Sillyon*, located on the east of *Perge* (*Parha*)¹⁰. Mellaart, however, while examining place names of the late Bronze Age that end with 'ss' and 'nd' notes that "Mt. *Salluwanda*" is in the vicinity of the *Lamos* River near *Soli*¹¹.

There is a possibility that *Soli* is located within the borders of the *Kizzuwatna* region in the geography of the Hittite period. Moreover, Goetze makes it clear that the *Kizzuwatna* region's western border was the *Lamos* River¹². It's also possible that in the neo-Babylonian period it was the border between the *Pirindu* (Ass. *Hilakku*) and the *Hume* (Ass. *Que*) regions¹³. The *Lamos* River is the natural border between *Cilicia Trakheia* (L *Cilicia Aspera*, rugged ; mountainous) and *Cilicia Pedias* (L *Cilicia Campestris*, plain) in well-known classical records such as in Strabo's *Geography*¹⁴. *Soli* in

5) *Solos* = "metal ingots". In the same way, *Cyprus-Chalkis* = "bronze home" ; *Tarshish* = "foundry". See Burkert 1992 : 12, 39, 159 note 13.

6) Mellink 1995 : 187-188.

7) As Strabo (64 B.C.- 20 A.D.) notes, the name *Soli* was first used by *Hesiod*. Özbayoğlu 1999 : 210. According to Mela (1,71) *Soli* was a colony of the Rhodians and Argos. Strabo (XIV. V, 8), however, notes the Achaeans and Rhodians (from Lindos) as the founders of the city.

8) Gurney 1997 : 132 note 11.

9) *ibid.* 137 ; Houwink ten Cate 1992 : 256 ; for Kelenderis, in addition to Gurney, R. Beal, in his 1992 publication, submits *Ura* for *Saranduwa*.

10) Forlanini 1998 : 219. The assembling of the kings of Arzawa for a summit meeting of the powers-that-be was held at *Sallawassa* or at *Apasa*.

11) Mellaart 1958 : 23 and plate I, map 3.

12) Goetze 1940 : 1958 ; Houwink ten Cate 1992 : 252.

13) Houwink ten Cate 1992 : 252.

14) In Strabo (XIV.V.I and XIV.V) *Soli* is designated as the border between two districts.

this location is close to *Kizzuwatna*'s western neighbor, the region of *Tarhuntassa*¹⁵. According to what has been gleaned from the archives of Ugarit, the Hittites suffered through a famine at the end of the late Bronze Age. For the Hittites in the region of *Tarhuntassa*, which was of vital importance, the harbor town *Ura*¹⁶ west of the *Lamiya* (*Lamos*) River in the "Hulaya River Land" must of necessity be not far from *Soli*. Again, phonetically, Cornelius suggests the Greek city of *Holmoi* (Strabo XIV. V. IV) is paired with *Walma* which is located at the mouth of the river *Hulaya* (*Calycadnus* ?) with *Zallara* and they are considered as coastal (border) cities close to *Soli*¹⁷. These cities were founded in places suitable for coastal trade during the Hittite period¹⁸.

In a treaty signed by the Hittite King Suppiluliuma I (1350-1320 B.C.) and the *Kizzuwatna* King Sunassura, it is clear that *Lamiya* belonged to the Hittite king whereas *Pitura* belonged to Sunassura.¹⁹ The corresponding name for *Lamiya* is thought to be *Pitura* and must be a port city. In this case, *Pitura* is thought to be one of the settlements along the coast in the environs of Mersin (Yumuktepe ?, Tömük ?)²⁰ or maybe even *Soli* ? According to the order of geographical names that appear in writing, another suggested equivalent for *Soli* is *Ellipra*²¹. *Ellipra* is considered after *Kummanna*,

15) According to the Bronze Tablet found at "Sphinxtor" Boğazkoy (Hattusa), the border was written up in a treaty between the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV and the *Tarhuntassa* king Kurunta (his cousin) ; the southwestern border of this kingdom stretched all the way in the south to classical Perge. The *Hatip* rock relief of Kurunta in the vicinity of Konya gives an idea about the northern borders of *Tarhuntassa*. It is possible that *Tarhuntassa* was in the environs of Karaman, the southernmost point of the Konya plain. During the Iron Age, Kelenderis, identified as the capital city of *Pirindu*, was assimilated into *Tarhuntassa*, close to Meydancikkale (Gülner). Bryce 1974 : 109 ; Beal 1992 : 73 ; Gurney 1997 : 135 ; Postgate 1998 : 137.

16) Astour 1965 : 255 ; It is understood from written records that there were ships which carried grain from Egypt and the Canaanite land since the time of Hattusilis III. And, again, grain was sent by the Ugarit merchants from the Ugarit neighbor *Mukiš* to the Hittite harbor town *Ura* at the end of the 13th century B.C. Bryce 1998 : 356, 364-365. It is debatable whether *Ura* is in the Silifke *Calycadnus* (Göksu) river valley or is Kelenderis. See Beal 1992 : 53-65 ; "Hulaya River Land" seems to be the border of the *Tarhuntassa* district. Gurney 1992 : 217 ; for a discussion see Bryce 1998 : 252. Ünal suggests that *Ura* is possibly localized in Yumuktepe. Ünal 1999 : 65

17) Cornelius 1958 : 381 ; Cornelius 1979 : 339 ; Gurney 1997 : 133-134 for a different perspective, associating the 'Hulaya River' with Beyşehir Çayı (cl. *Caralis*) or Çarsamba Suyu and placing *Walma* as a site inside the 'Hulaya River Land' near to Çay on its the N.W. For those who are of this opinion see Houwink ten Cate 1992 : 252 ff. ; Hawkins 1995 : 56 note 199 ; Gurney 1997 : 133, 136, 137.

18) Gurney 1997 : 134, 138.

19) "Toward the sea *Lamiya* belongs the *Sun* (and) *Pitura* belongs to *Sunassura* ; They will measure out of the territory together and divide (it). The *Sun* will not fortify *Lamiya*. *Aruna* belongs to the *Sun*. Toward *Pitura* they will measure out the territory and divide (it) themselves. The *Sun* must not fortify *Aruna*." Goetze 1940 : 51

20) In Forlanini 1988 : 144 ; Desideri-Jasink 1990 : 83 ; (*KBo* I 5 IV 40 and 43) the name ^{URU}*pi-i-tu-ra* ^{KI} is linked by Goetze and Garstang with Mersin ; by Cornelius with *Soli* ? ; by Garstang & Gurney, however, with Yumuktepe. See del Monte & Tischler 1978 : 320.

21) Forlanini and Freu put forward the hypothesis of the possibility of *Soli* being *Ellipra* at the International Round Table in Istanbul on Nov. 2-5, 1999 when this paper was presented under the name "Cilician Sites and Local Powers". In addition, see Forlanini 1988 : 133-147 and del Monte 1992 : 50. Laroche and Goetze associate Namrun (= Lampron/Namrun) in the northern regions of Mersin with ^{URU}*el-li-ip-ra* (= ass. *Illubru*). See Monte & Tischler 1978 : 139. The name "^{URU}*el-li-ip-ra*" appears in connection with *Manuzziya* 'The Storm God' as a festival (*KUB* XX 52+*KBo* IX 123 I 26). According to information obtained from Prof. Dr. Ali Dinçol, *jip--ra* appears in "*KUB* XX 52 and Sommer's *Indogermanische Forschungen* 55 : 274 note 2 as a whole word *Kikkipra*. Later in Goetze (1940 : 54-55) accepted this reasoning. But in the 1957 work *KBo* IX 123 along with *KUB* XX 52 the pronunciation of this place name "^{URU}*El-li-ip-ru*" became definite. Because of this *Zunnahara*, *Adaniya*, *Tarsa*, *Ellipra* also in turn became clear.

Zunnahara, Adaniya, and Tarsa. In this case, the name of *Soli* in the *Kizzuwatna* period can only be determined as a result of archaeological excavations along with written documents.

The Hittite king Muwattali transferred the entire capital city to *Tarhuntassa* for military expeditions to Syria and in accordance with this, *Soli*'s location was along the route taken by the army²². *Soli* must, like *Ura*, have been a depot for import-export trade of various metals (gold, silver, copper, etc.) or a harbor for Hittite trading ships which brought to *Soli* goods such as cloth, furniture, grains, horses, jewelry, and raw or manufactured materials which were either greatly damaged or no longer exist²³. In spite of no sufficient proof found in the excavations, *The Soli Treasure Trove* brings this to mind. As is well-known, in those times these goods were sent to ports (*Karum*) as a gift-exchange, tribute, or cargo²⁴.

The Hittites controlled the Cilician plain (*Kizzuwatna*) and northern Syria in the Age of Emperors (14th-13th century B.C.). During the reign of *Suppiluliuma I* (1345-1320 B.C.) close ties were established with the Ugarit commercial center of the eastern Mediterranean. The Ugarit ships unloaded at *Ura*. There is a strong possibility that *Ura*, like *Kazanlı*²⁵ and along with *Soli*, is located within the region of coastal towns of Plain Cilicia because these settlements are located along the fixed trading routes of ships coming from Ugarit and had a well-organized trade. In the seventh level which has been uncovered at *Yumuktepe* (which is about 12 km from *Soli*) the fortifications resemble the defense system at *Boğazköy*²⁶ and show that it was, thusly, an outpost. In this case, *Yumuktepe*'s commercial interests must be considered as a normal course to be as great as that of its military importance in the western region of Plain Cilicia.²⁷ *Yumuktepe*, being the center of a triangle made up of *Soli* and *Kazanlı* on the coast as well as being inland on a more secure site, was easier to defend.

Among the 'prestigious' objects of in the near East in the 13th century B.C. were Mycenaean ceramics which were imported through Cilicia by Hittites²⁸. The Hittites²⁹ were said to have placed an economic and political embargo on this region and/or to have hindered the Mycenaeans from living in Cilicia. The Mycenaean ceramics during the phases of LH IIA-IIIC (15th - 12th century B.C.) in Cilicia

22) Bing 1968 : 18 ; Bryce 1998 : 253.

23) Cline 1994 : 70.

24) Mining sources were rarely discussed in Hittite written documents. It has been ascertained from religious inscriptions that silver was mined from *Kuzza*, gold from *urPirindu(m)eya*, and copper and bronze were brought from *Alasiya* and *Mt. Taggata*. Again in another Hittite inscription (of the epic variety) from *urUra*, the established regional trading colony of the Hittites of the 13th century BC *urZallara* traders were mentioned. These merchants stockpiled a great deal of bronze, copper and tin. These metals were brought in by the Ugarit and *Alasia*. Yakar 1976 : 120 ; *Zallara* and *Ura* together are located in Lower *Calycadnus*. Gurney 1997 : 134.

25) For ideas concerning the placement of *Ura* see Beal 1992 : 65-73 ; Hawkins 1995 : 56, note 202.

26) Garstang 1953 : 237 ; Gurney 1981.

27) In Bing 1968 : 24 it is claimed that these Hittite walls were erected (1500 B.C.) to protect them from attacks by the Hurrian people. This opinion aptly shows Mitanni King Šutarna's vassal Alalah King Idrimi's campaigns against various coastal towns on the Gulf of Iskenderun.

28) Cline 1994 : 72-73 ; in addition, see Bing 1968 : 20

29) It states in T. Özguç 1982 : 31 that the *Maşahöyük* (*Mycenaean IIIB*) and *Fraktin* (*Mycenaean IIIC*) cups were brought in by NW Syrian and Çukurova traders.

were found at Yumuktepe, Kazanlı, Tarsus, and in and around *Soli*. Finds at the surface level at *Soli* named "Hellado-Cilician" are examples of locally-produced products. The same kind of ceramics have been found in excavations at Yumuktepe (IV. Level), Kazanlı (25% of 33 pieces), and Tömük (4 pieces) mounds as those found at *Soli*³⁰. It is supposed that these two kinds of ceramics were used side-by-side after Mycenaean trade began in Cilicia. Mycenaean bowls were probably made in Cyprus. We don't know yet about a specific production center for local bowls³¹.

According to Astour, Mycenaean bowls were dispersed by Ugarit merchants and trading ships from *Kaphtor* to their own harbors and from there to all of Syria³². Cline states that Mycenaean traders followed a route clockwise or counter-clockwise around the Mediterranean sea-sailing to Egypt and Syria-Palestine, stopping in Cyprus and returning to the Aegean Sea³³.

In this case, the foundation of Cilician commercial activities was composed of land and sea trade under the Ugarit in the Hittite Period along with limited sea trade by the Mycenaeans in the Late Bronze Age. And included in these enterprises were grain and trading metals which were of vital importance to the Hittites. It is possible that goods associated with this type of international business will come to light in the 2nd millennium B.C. levels.

Turning to the archaeological literature of the early 1900's, *Soli* was a city of merit and activity in maritime trading dating from the second millennium B.C. (if the famous *SoliPompepolis Treasure Trove* in Berlin was really taken from there)³⁴. If the recently begun excavations result in unearthing archaeological data, this activity will once again need to be looked at, evaluated, and discussed in the following respects :

- 1) the importance of *Soli* as a port city in the eastern Mediterranean ;
- 2) the historical role, ethnically, in the relations between the Hittites-Luwians by reason of the fact that from among the finds in Berlin an inscribed stamp seal is one of the oldest examples of hieroglyphics³⁵ ;
- 3) the place in the eastern Mediterranean trading routes of one of the *Kizzuwatna* ports which remain obscure ;
- 4) the translation for *Soli* as *Sallusa* or *Ellipra* in the *Kizzuwatna* city names which appear in written Hittite documents.

30) These kind of examples of the earliest phase *LH IIA* were found in Kazanlı. French 1974 : 73-74 ; Mee 1978 : 131, 133, 145, 150. In about 25 Bronze Age mounds in Cilicia Mycenaean ceramics were recovered. This amount is more than one-third of the total number of the mounds and only four of them have been excavated : 1) Tarsus-Gözlükule 2) Mersin - Yumuktepe 3) Kazanlı ? 4) Kilisetepe. Jean 1999 : 31.

31) French 1974 : 73 ; Mee 1978 : 150.

32) Ugarit was a multi-national commercial center. Traders who came from Egypt, Assyria, Cyprus, and Cilicia continued doing business in this city. Ugarit did business with Phoenicia, Hattusas, Crete, and possibly Mycenae, Pylos, and Thebes. Astour 1965 : 253.

33) Cline 1994 : 91 ff. ; Yağcı 1999 : 23.

34) For a discussion on this see Muscarella 1988 : 396.

35) Goetze dates this stamp seal in accordance with its written characteristics as 1800 B.C. and possibly even earlier 'vielleicht noch älter'. Muscarella 1988 : 396 ; Akurgal 1995 : 21. In response to this, Przeworski dates this seal to the 14th-13th century B.C. Bittel, however, lends his weight behind Goetze's argument. Bittel 1940 : 199 ff.

If the hoard of arms which are said to have been taken into possession as a whole at *Soli* is true, then who is the rightful owner of this treasure trove ?

At the same time, doesn't it raise the question as to who the owner of the inscribed stamp seal with hieroglyphics was ? Was this person who was doing business in the eastern Mediterranean a Luwian merchant ?³⁶

The resemblance between the bronze weapons in the *Soli* treasures to those found in Ugarit, Byblos, Cyprus, Crete, Troy, and mainland Greece³⁷. Consequently, wherever these weapons were produced, for the purposes of *Soli*, being from among the Cilician ports, they were circulated as commercial goods in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. in a rather wide area between east and west.

Soli, especially from the standpoint of the concept of "power and location", in the context of extensive business contacts, is an important port city. *Soli*'s traditional role as a port city might have been in existence since the Middle Bronze Age. We hope to find answers to these questions which have been touched upon in the excavations which were started this year (1999).

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36) We looked at *Olba II* : 19 to answer this question. Hittite hieroglyphics have been in evidence in Cilicia since the 1500's B.C. Pariyawatri's son, the Great King Ispatalsu's seal was found in Beycesultan (with his contemporary Telipinu) and similar seals which are dated in the 2nd millennium B.C. "Hittite Hieroglyphics" or as in general parlance nowadays "Hieroglyphic Luwian" and this type of native writing is unmistakably SW Anatolian. McQueen 1986 : 24-26 ; Beal 1986 : 426-427 ; Desideri-Jasink : 1990 : 60 ff.

37) Bittel 1940 : 183-205 ; Bing 1968 : 15 ; Muscarella claims conversely that it is possible that these weapons were brought from the Kızılırmak river basin.

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