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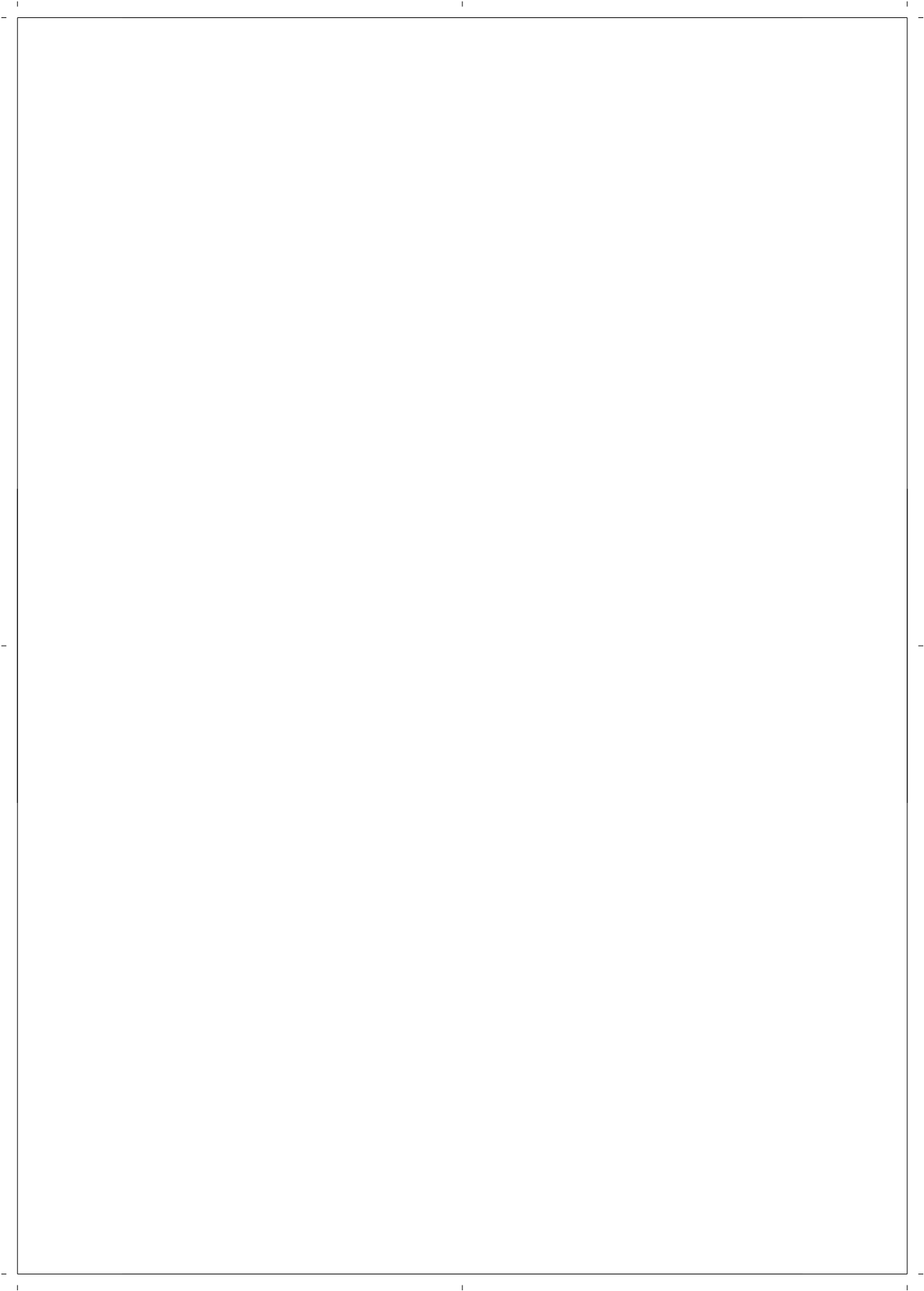
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THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LATE HELLADIC IIIA-B
IVORY HELMETED HEADS*

Angelos Papadopoulos

Introduction

Ivory artifacts, produced by the specialized palatial workshops during the Late Helladic IIIA-B (14th-13th century BC) were found in great numbers and in a variety of areas within the Aegean region. A small group of them consists of representations of the head and neck of male individuals that wear the boar's tusk helmet. This type of helmet was a popular iconographic motif in the Aegean iconographic repertoire of the Late Bronze Age. The majority of them was discovered in Crete and the mainland, but two pieces were found in Sardinia and Cyprus (Fig. 1), making the discussion of the distribution of these objects a very interesting subject concerning interconnections, exchange of ideas and the symbolism of these specific imagery. In the scholarship, several studies have dealt with these objects in various publications, but up to this date the only one that focused solely on these objects is the research published by Krzyszkowska in 1991. In this article, the author dealt primarily with the Enkomi warrior head, but also provided a convenient and comprehensive catalogue of all the other heads. In addition, Krzyszkowska dealt with the construction techniques, the nature of the raw material, the dating and finally commented on the processes that could have happened in order for the Enkomi head to get to Tomb 16, where it was discovered.

Since that time a new ivory helmeted head was published recently by Andreadaki-Vlazaki. Although the head is part of an already known group that

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Fig. 1. Distribution of the findspots of the discussed artefacts. With circles are marked the ivory heads. The square marks the island of Delos where the warrior plaque was discovered (Source: author).



Fig. 2. Ivory head from Mycenae, Argolid. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 2468 (Source: author).

was originally mentioned in 1997, it is the first time that a photograph of one of the heads was published and it was only the second face that was shown *en face* rather than in profile (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1997, 1008-1010; 2008, 109).

As a result, and based on the previous publications, the current study deals with the iconographic elements of the objects focusing on the military elements and the greater picture that these heads can provide up to this date. Another objective is to show that these representations were meant to portray and highlight the helmets themselves and that, as they were most likely inlays attached on wooden objects, they were luxurious items used initially by elites; therefore the chosen iconography was not a random one, but the martial character of the inlays and, as an extension of the wooden item, could have been an ideological *koinos topos* between the members of the elite(s) who were very aware of what they had in their possession. In other words, it will be attempted to comment on the possibility of the existence of a certain exchange mechanism used by the elites in the Aegean and beyond, in order to acquire objects of common artistic and symbolic value.

The material

The ivory heads under discussion have been presented in several catalogues and publications¹, so the following list is only a brief encounter of the most important information concerning context, iconographical elements, and chronology².

Aegean-the mainland:

1. Mycenae (Fig. 2)

The best preserved example of a helmeted head comes from Chamber Tomb 27 at Mycenae. It is made of hippopotamus ivory and it shows the profile of a warrior looking to the right and wearing a boar's tusk helmet (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 93: 98 E 2468 pl. 22). The helmet consists of five zones of tusks and a long cheek-piece that reaches the chin; then eight zones of tusks form the cheek piece. The back of the head is protected with an extra three zones of tusks. The helmet ends in a knob on top. The face of the warrior is carefully designed and even the pupil of the eye is clear.

This piece was found together in the same tomb with a variety of ivory objects including figure-of-eight shields and two other warrior heads. The two holes at the back were made in order to attach the head to a wooden surface. Most likely it was a piece of furniture, as was the case for all the ivory artefacts listed here. Sakellariou suggests a more general LH II-III B date, while Krzyszkowska comments that LH III A is plausible (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 353; Krzyszkowska 1991, 119).

¹ Too numerous to list here. One could mention the works of Poursat 1977a and 1977b and the catalogues of The Mycenaean World (Demakopoulou 1988) and the 2008 volume *From the Land of the Labyrinth: Minoan Crete 3000-1100 B.C.*

² For the material, construction techniques, and technical characteristics, see Krzyszkowska 1991.

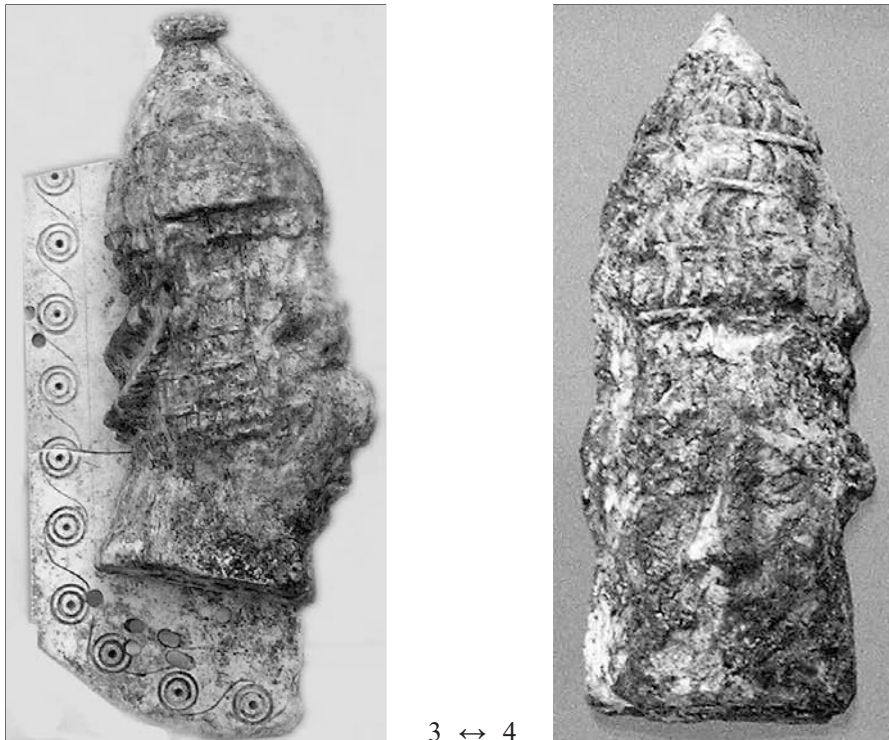


Fig. 3. Ivory head from Mycenae, Argolid. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 2469 (Source: author).

Fig. 4. Ivory head from Mycenae, Argolid. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 2470 (Source: author).

2. Mycenae (Fig. 3)

From the same grave comes another helmeted head, but in this case the head is attached to a plaque and the face of an individual looking to the right is destroyed. Some holes that are on the plaque could have been random (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 93: 98 E 2469 pl. 22). It was made of hippopotamus ivory and it belongs to the same period as no. 1.

3. Mycenae (Fig. 4)

A third head with a helmet comes from the same tomb but it is poorly preserved (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 93: 98 E 2470 pl. 23). It is one of the two carvings (together with no. 8) that show the individual *en face*. The helmet has five rows of tusks, cheek-pieces, and the top is pointy. It is also made of ivory from hippopotamus. Same date as no. 1.



5 ↔ 6



Fig. 5. Ivory head from Mycenae, Argolid. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 7937 (Source: author).

Fig. 6. Ivory head from Spata, Attica. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 2055 (Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Copyright: Ministry of Culture/Archaeological Receipt Fund).

4. Mycenae (Fig. 5)

Another head of hippopotamus ivory that was found in very good condition comes from the House of Shields at Mycenae in the burnt house deposit. This one has zones of tusks and it seems to be a knob on its top. The head was rendered in profile looking to the left. The two holes in the back would help to attach the object to a flat surface with pegs (Tournavitou 1995, 153, pl. 20a). It is dated to the middle of LH IIIB (Krzyszkowska 1991, 119).

At Mycenae, together with the head, ten cut-out incised inlays also depicting heads wearing boar's tusk helmets in profile were found. They are considered to be finished products, ready to be used (Tournavitou 1995, 153). In addition, a number of cut-out helmets in relief and cut-out incised inlay pieces were discovered in the same house (Tournavitou 1995, 154, pl. 20b). Apart from the helmets,



Fig. 7. Ivory head from Archanes Fourni, Herakleion. Herakleion Archaeological Museum, Athens. Inv. no. 391- 399 (Source: author. Copyright: Ministry of Culture/Archaeological Receipt Fund).

a number of ivory figure-of-eight shields of two types (in high relief and flat cut-out inlays) were unearthed (Tournavitou 1995, 157- 9, pls. 20c, 21a- d).

5. Spata (Fig. 6)

This helmeted head from Spata, Attica, probably dates to LH IIIB (Krzyszkowska 1991, 107-120, Fig. 3c). Despite the fact that the tomb was plundered, 419 ivories were found. These include four figure-of-eight shields; additionally three more were discovered that are not considered as inlays because they are carved on both sides (Grammenos 1992, 47). The individual that wears the boar's tusk helmet is shown in profile looking to the left. The four zones of tusks and the knob at the top are clearly visible. It has been suggested that the piercing on the helmet hints to a crest that could be attached there, but Krzyszkowska disagrees and comments that it could be just a damage and repair or even evidence for secondary use (Krzyszkowska 1991, 119).

Aegean-Crete:

6. Archanes (Fig. 7)

A burial of LM IIIA date in the cemetery of Phourni at Archanes has produced a unique combination of various sizes of figure-of-eight shields and a pair of helmeted heads³. These include 87 different pieces of hippopotamus ivory from a composition that was most likely the decoration of a footstool. Three larger



Fig. 8. Ivory head from Phylaki Apokoronou, Chania. Chania Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. K29 (From Vlasaki in Demakopoulou 1988: 148, no. 104).

Fig. 9. Ivory head from Kydonia, Chania. Chania Archaeological Museum. Inv. no. K114 (From Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2007: 109).

shields are shown together with six groups of three smaller shields; the two helmeted figures are shown facing each other on either side of the composition. All these reliefs are carved on plaques. Various other inlays complete the decoration that was attached to the wood with ivory pins.

The heads are shown in profile (looking to the left and to the right) and wear their boar's tusk helmets with long cheek-pieces; the horizontal rows of tusks cover part of the neck, giving a total of seven rows. The cheek-pieces are shown with eight rows.

7. Chania, Phylaki Apokoronou (Fig. 8)

Two heads are mentioned to come from a plundered tholos tomb in the district of Chania, but only one is widely illustrated and discussed (Krzyszowska 1991, 118; list nos. 8(-9)). The face of the warrior is depicted in profile looking to the left. His helmet has two (or three) horizontal rows of tusks ending in a knob. There are no cheek-pieces and it seems that the back of the head is also unprotected, as only the hair is shown. Two dowel holes at the back of the figure suggest that the head was attached to a piece of furniture, possibly together with other

³ Sakellarakis/Sakellaraki 1997, 721-729, figs. 836-847. For the purposes of this study they are considered as a pair and not as two separate heads.

ivory plaques. The chronology given to this tholos tomb is LM IIIA according to the excavator, but Andreadaki-Vlazaki in her most recent publication considers it as LM IIIA2-B1 (Vlazaki in Demakopoulou 1988, 148, no. 104; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2008, 110). This piece has been compared with the Delos warrior (see below) and the helmet has been the basis for the identification of the helmet from Sardinia (see no. 10).

8. Chania, Kydonia cemetery (Fig. 9)

Various plaques made from hippopotamus and elephant tusks were found in a LM IIIA/B looted chamber tomb (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, 1008-1010). They portray lions, figure-of-eight shields and heads of individuals wearing boar's tusk helmets. It is thought that these pieces were attached to a small wooden box, similar to those from Archanes and Phylaki. This box initially must have been placed in the side chamber, but during the looting of the tomb its remains were spread around. The finds are now exhibited in the Chania Museum. Despite the looting of the tomb, the wealth of the deceased is indicated by the wealth of the few graves goods that survived the looters. At the same time, Kydonia's contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean during the 14th and 13th century BC has also been highlighted.

Most of these heads are not published yet, but for the purposes of this study it is enough to acknowledge the fact that these pieces were discovered there and place them on the distribution map. Andreadaki-Vlazaki mentions that in the majority the plaques (portraying female figures, rosettes, columns, heraldic lions, etc.) are made of hippopotamus tusk and that there are further helmeted heads, shown in profile (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2008, 109).

However, recently one of the inlays was published portraying a young beardless male shown *en face* wearing a boar's tusk helmet with two or three rows of tusks and a big knob on the top. The face is rather finely carved and at the back there are two holes for the rivets.

Cyprus:

9. Enkomi (Fig. 10)

Tomb 16 of the 1896 British Museum excavations at the site of Enkomi at the eastern part Cyprus has produced a number of artefacts showing the wealth of the deceased, such as stone sculpture, a pair of golden earrings, a gold finger-ring, fragments of an ivory handle, bronze spear heads and knives, pottery, bronze and stone vessels (Murray *et alii* 1900, 32, 51, pl. II; Krzyszkowska 1991, 107-120; Tatton-Brown 2003: 16). Amongst these finds there was an ivory head portraying an individual in profile looking to the right wearing a boar's tusk helmet consisting of four rows of tusks. A cheek-piece is quite visible and although the head has been damaged, it is evident that it is an object of high quality and skill. It should be assigned to the general LH IIIA-B period as it is not possible to determine its exact time of manufacture. Concerning its origin though, an Aegean source is most likely.



10 ↔ 11



Fig. 10. Ivory head from Enkomi. British Museum, London. Inv. no. 1897,0401.1340 (<http://www.britishmuseum.org>).

Fig. 11. Fragment of an ivory helmet from Decimoputzu, Sardinia. Cagliari Archaeological Museum. Unknown inv. no. (from Santoni 2003: 541, fig. 1065).

Italy:

10. Sardinia (Fig. 11)

A very fragmentary part of what has been agreed that it represents the helmet of another ivory head similar to all the above has been found at Sardinia at the site of Mitza Purdia di Decimoputzu (Ferrarese Ceruti *et alii* 1987, 12-5; Krzyszkowska 1991, 119; Lo Schiavo 2003, 156-157; Santoni 2003, 541). Interestingly this object is made also of hippopotamus ivory and it possibly decorated a pyxis (Santoni 2003, 541). The two zones of ivories that form the helmet can clearly be seen although it is not possible to determine whether there was a cheek-piece or any further part for the protection of the back of the head. Presumably there must have been a knob at the top, but this does not survive. The individual would be shown in profile, possibly looking to the right. The date given according to Lo Schiavo is LH IIIA2/B (Lo Schiavo 2003, 156-157); however Vagnetti in 2000 suggested that this piece should date to LH IIIA (Santoni 2003, 541). For the purposes of this study, the more general LH IIIA-B is preferred, although Sardinian chronology remains problematic. The head is considered to be manufactured in the Aegean and specifically in the Argolid.

Discussion

Function

It is generally accepted that these ivory artefacts functioned as decoration of pieces of wooden furniture, most likely footstools and also boxes or pyxides of the same material. They were in fact inlays attached to the wooden surfaces and this explains the various holes that can be seen on them. Certainly the material they were made of is of high value and together with the skill and the choice of the decorative motif, *i.e.* the helmeted male, gives the wooden object an elite character, a prestigious exchange item. Krzyszkowska, for example, considers these footstools as gifts between elites and according to Sakellarakis the footstool itself was a luxury object⁴.

However these pieces may have well functioned as heirlooms. It is by no accident that in Sardinia and Cyprus they were discovered as single heads rather than parts of a greater composition, like the Archanes pieces. A close parallel is the ivory mirror handle portraying a fully armed warrior engaged in combat with a griffin that was discovered in a post-Bronze Age context in Tomb 709 at Amathus in Cyprus, while the object was clearly made in the Late Bronze Age (Hadjisavvas 2002, 83-88). Therefore, it can be proposed that the pieces themselves were considered important enough to be kept even when they were detached from the wooden object itself.

A special class of artefacts

Objects made of ivory have been produced in great numbers during the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean in general. However these inlays with the specific iconographic motif are unique in the artistic repertoire. Nowhere else in the region and at no other period helmeted heads made of ivory decorated wooden objects. Despite the fact that their small number could have been considered a limitation as it restricts statistical studies and the possibility to draw conclusions based on quantitative research, it is actually a very crucial point as the limited amount of these pieces highlights their high value and exceptional elite character. The exotic nature of the ivory, the processing and the necessary transport of the raw material in order to arrive to the workshop and then the symbolic significance of the warrior imagery combined all on one artefact, produce these rare objects. This very distinctiveness makes them suitable for an elite class of people who could afford them. It is almost certain that there must have been more examples of helmeted heads, but for a number of possible reasons they did not survive to this day, although more examples could be found in the future⁵.

The large number of ivories from the House of Shields at Mycenae, *i.e.* more

⁴ Krzyszkowska 1991, 108-109, 117-118. For more on Mycenaean footstools, see Krzyszkowska 1996, 85-104 and Sakellarakis 1996, 105-110.

⁵ These include funerary deposition processes and preservation, looting, destruction, and even loss.

than 18,700 pieces, clearly indicate 'Mycenae's prominence in ivory work above other Mainland centres, including Thebes' (Tournavitou 1995, 190). Helmets and helmeted heads consist of only a small portion and they should not be considered the focus of the production. Thus their importance becomes even greater, due to their rarity.

At the same time, it may be no accident that all the helmeted head inlays were made of hippopotamus tusk. As Krzyszkowska rightly observed, perhaps this specific material was selected for manufacturing these heads (Krzyszkowska 1991, 112-113).

Comments on the iconography

Apart from the two heads from Archanes, all the pieces are unique and different from each other. It is tempting to follow the Archanes iconographic model and suggest that these heads were combined with the presence of figure-of-eight shields as compositions. The numbers of ivory shields that were discovered at the Mycenae workshop together with the helmets and the helmeted heads support this view. It could be suggested that pairs of heads in profile would face each other with shields appearing between them or surrounding them. The composition would also entail perhaps the *en face* examples. Due to lack of complete compositions, it is not possible to suggest a syntax, but it would not be strange to have once again a combination of figure-of-eight shields and heads.

Parallels are rather limited. A miniature helmet made of ivory comes from Knossos that probably dates to LM II (Borchhardt 1972, 46, no. II.2, taf. 8.3). The cheek-pieces are visible, but instead of zones of tusks, three rows of dotted circles divided by double lines were carved.

At a deposit underneath the Artemision at Delos, a plaque made of elephant ivory that appears to be unique in the Aegean ivory repertoire so far was discovered. The full body of a male figure is depicted wearing a boar's tusk helmet without protective cheek-pieces. He is shown carrying a large spear and behind him a full-body figure-of-eight shield is visible (Gallet De Santerre *et alii*. 1948, 156-162, pl. XXV). The object is assigned to LH IIIA2-B⁶. Various interpretations have been put forward, mostly focusing on his ethnic origin. The impressive and chief-like posture of the warrior is obvious⁷. It is reminiscent of various other male representations carrying spears. The Delos warrior could be the stereotypical elite warrior image of the past that survived through to LH IIIB. However, when compared to the helmeted heads it is clearly part of a totally different decorative scheme. His impressive gesture implies power and authority. It is possible that just like the heads, this plaque was intended to decorate a footstool or some other wooden object.

⁶ Hood 1993, 157, fig. 121. See also Daniilidou 1998, 186, E6.

⁷ Gallet De Santerre *et alii* (1948, 162) comment that "Il y a, certes, dans les gests, quelque chose d'excessif et de théâtral".

Important iconographic parallels to the ivory helmeted heads, apart from the Delos case, come from Cyprus. A limited number of warriors wearing helmets and armed swords and shields engaged in combat with griffins and lions carved on ivory mirror handles was discovered at Palaepaphos, Enkomi, and Amathus. In fact, at Enkomi an ivory pyxis portrays two warriors fighting with a lion and a griffin respectively⁸. However, the shields are round and the helmets are not from tusks so they cannot be fully paralleled, but they are the only examples that portray helmeted men carved on this material. The mirror handles were certainly owned by members of the local Cypriot elite and it has been suggested that the motif of the combat was adopted from the Aegean repertoire, manipulated and transformed according to the local Cypriot symbolic and artistic traditions and tastes (Papadopoulos forthcoming). Beyond that, there is no comparative material, making the case of the ivory heads unique in the archaeological record of the Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean.

The face and the helmet

There is a variety in the facial characteristics of the males making this way every face different with the exception of the Archanes pair. There are for example bearded and non-bearded individuals, but it is rather difficult to accept that these heads were made in order to portray certain people or to describe a member of the elite specifically. Equally impossible is to identify any possible mythological character due to lack of written documentation. Additionally, there seems to be no specific 'guidebook', no guidelines for the ivory carver to follow in order to create these faces under some kind of artistic rule. It can be suggested that judging from the small size of the objects and the fact that there seems to be an 'artistic freedom' towards the representation of these males, there was no intention to portray any person specifically, but simply a male wearing the boar's tusk helmet.

Boar's tusk helmets appear very frequently in the Aegean imagery already from the early Late Bronze Age. A number of individuals on the Miniature Frieze from the West House at Akrotiri, Thera (Morgan 1988; Televanou 1994), are shown wearing it while it can also be seen on representations of warriors from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae⁹. Later on, on the wall paintings from Pylos (Lang 1969), Orchomenos (Spyropoulos 1974, 313-325, colour pl. II), and Mycenae (Rodenwaldt 1921, 21-45, folded pl. III-IV) warriors and hunters wear this specific helmet. It is depicted on several media such as seals (and sealings), pottery, wall paintings, ivory, metal and stone vases, and faience. It is noticeable that during LH IIIA-B there are no depictions of single boar's

⁸ For a presentation and a brief discussion on these mirror handles, see d'Albiac 1992, 105-112. See also d'Albiac 1992, 105-107 (figs. 1a-c) (Enkomi), Krzyszkowska 1992, 237-242 (Enkomi); Hadjisavvas 2002, 83-88 (Amathous).

⁹ For example on the Battle Krater (Sakellariou 1971, 3-20, pls. 1-2, figs. 1-2).

tusk helmets in glyptic art¹⁰, as there used to be in earlier periods. Instead, these images can now be seen only on pottery, ivory, and in one case on a wall painting from Pylos. The fact that during palatial times helmeted heads made of ivory are carved consists of an innovation. The lack of detailed facial features of the heads, in contrast with the careful creation of the helmets, may suggest that the focus of the artist was the helmet and not the nameless faces. The head from the House of Shields is an example of a helmeted head of careful design as regards the headgear, but with an almost carelessly thick neck and likewise facial characteristics. For reasons yet unclear, the ivory artists occasionally portrayed these helmeted heads perhaps in order to personalise to a minimum level the protective application of the object. The important element would have been the helmet itself. The depictions of boar's tusk helmets have been frequent in earlier periods and sometimes very carefully executed (cf. Papadopoulos 2006). This fact points out the significance of this implement as a recognisable sign of high status already from early LBA¹¹. It must be underlined that actual boar's tusk helmets appear limited in the archaeological record mostly during LH IIIA-B, while tusks have been discovered in LM I (Papadopoulos 2006). In brief, it would be mainly the helmets that would act symbolically and give the wooden object its high status. There seems to have been no intention to portray, let us say, a certain ruler or aristocrat, but an anonymous individual.

Within the framework of Aegean iconography, the helmet may be considered as functioning both as a symbol of hunting and military prowess, and as a sign of legitimate authority, elite *insignium* and even as a recognisable emblem of power. According to Poursat the warlike character of the Mycenaean warriors has been suggested by the presence of these ivory decorative warriors (Poursat 1977a, 33). Nevertheless, it should be noted that it is not possible to determine whether the ivory figures were considered hunters or warriors. By looking on the Aegean repertoire of the time, hunters appear to have the same gear (including helmets) as the warriors and therefore a more general martial character should be preferred. It is logical to assume that they were meant to portray military and hunting prowess, but perhaps they also followed the 'trend' of the times in portraying armed males on a variety of media. A plausible interpretation is that these heads functioned both emblematically underlining power and martial skill, but also as protective objects that together with the figure-of-eight shields protected the owner(s) of the footstool or the contents of the box.

The limited number of helmets found in the Mycenae workshops, in contrast

¹⁰ With the term 'single' it is meant that they are not shown worn by people, but they are standing alone. See for example note 12.

¹¹ The most impressive and detailed depiction of such a helmet comes from Xeste 4, Akrotiri (Akrivaki 2003, 527-541). The symbolic role of the boar's tusk helmet and the figure-of-eight shields have been established by several studies. See Papadopoulos 2006 for a review of those studies.

with the total amount of ivory artwork, indicates that these *insignia* were never meant to be produced in great numbers and quantities, making this way their symbolic power more exclusive. The recipients must have been members of the aristocracy throughout the Aegean world. However, the question is whether these objects had the same symbolic function outside the Aegean, i.e. in Cyprus and Sardinia. In order to attempt to understand the finds in these two areas the distribution of the finds must be briefly discussed.

Distribution (Fig. 1)

The distribution of these artefacts is of great interest as they appear in Attica and the Argolid in the mainland and at Chania and Herakleion in Crete, while an example is yet to be found in the Aegean islands¹². However, as it was shown a damaged single head was found in Tomb 16 at Enkomi, Cyprus, and a part of the helmet of another head discovered at Decimoputzu, Sardinia. Remarkably there are no similar finds from the intermediate zones, i.e. the Dodecanese and Italy and Sicily. These two regions are widely discussed in the scholarship as areas with extensive contacts with the Aegean during the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Cyprus is an obvious step between the Orient and the Occident and objects from the Aegean have been discovered in several sites on the island¹³. To be more specific, the context of the ivory head is one of the 100 tombs excavated by the British Museum at Enkomi, a site that, together with the excavations that followed, has produced significant LH III material from the Aegean. Sardinia on the other hand had contacts both with the Aegean and Cyprus, and recent studies have shown that trade networks allowed a variety of artefacts and raw materials to travel around the central and east Mediterranean¹⁴.

The presence of these rare ivory helmeted heads in these areas is by no means accidental. The specific objects are of great value that derives not only from the value of the exotic material they are made from, but also from the fact that they appear to be extremely rare in the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean world. As a result it is justifiable to suggest that they were used by the local elites. However, although in the Aegean region their presence hints at a *koine* as there was a gradual 'evolution' in the use of martial iconography already from the Early Bronze Age (Papadopoulos 2006), it is difficult to suggest the same for the other two regions. Certainly, as objects *per se* they were valuable and status symbols, but whether they had the same ideological and aristocratic meaning is not easy to determine. One approach is that Aegean people had lived and died at Enkomi and Decimoputzu, and for this reason the specific finds were

¹² With the exception of the Delos plaque, which does not however belong to the same stylistic group.

¹³ There is also extensive literature concerning Cypriot art. See Karageorghis 2002.

¹⁴ See for example Vagnetti 1986, 201-214; Lo Schiavo 1995, 45-60; Santoni 2003, 140-151; Lo Schiavo 2003, 152-161.

found there. On the other hand, it is equally possible that these objects reached those destinations as either gifts of simply luxurious objects or even as curiosities. In fact they could have been considered so exceptional that the Enkomi head was kept by itself and not as part of the composition it once belonged¹⁵.

Summary and conclusions

Eight ivory heads of male individuals wearing a boar's tusk helmet have been discovered at various areas in the Aegean region. They were distributed rather unevenly throughout the mainland and Crete, while some unpublished pieces are located at Chania. From these artefacts only the Archanes pair and its original composition survived; all the rest were found as single pieces. However, it is more than probable that all of these heads were inlays attached to wooden pieces of furniture and boxes. Two more ivory heads were found outside the Aegean and, very intriguingly, to its east and west. Their presence there can be explained to a certain extent thanks to the various studies concerning exchange networks, sea routes, the trade of ivory in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean, and the diplomatic protocols that must have had as main focus the giving and receiving of expensive diplomatic gifts, such as those wooden objects with the ivory inlays¹⁶.

One should be careful though as it is not possible to determine whether these heads were in fact parts of luxurious and elite gifts beyond the Aegean; at least not at this stage with the current available data. It is almost certain that within the Aegean region, an area where the iconography of warfare and motifs of martial character became gradually a symbol of status between the local elites, these heads and the objects they were attached to were prestigious objects for aristocrats and/or wealthy patrons. Whether the same ideology applied to Cyprus and Sardinia is beyond the aims of this study. Certainly, both these islands did not have a strong artistic tradition concerning images of warriors and hunters during the Late Bronze Age, at least not to the extent that the Aegean people had. As a result, it would be unsafe to comment on elite and warrior ideologies with the presence of a single piece respectively. It can be suggested of course that the recipients of these objects acquired them because these artworks had already an established value in the Eastern Mediterranean as prestige items. However, it would be safer to suggest that both the Enkomi and the Decimoputzu heads were detached at some stage from their original context

¹⁵ Krzyszkowska (1991, 118) comments on the fact that "the head had become separated (...) from its original backing-plaque and footstool. It may have been salvaged and re-used, or it may have simply been kept as a souvenir or curio, perhaps passing through several hands before being deposited with its last owner in Enkomi tomb 16".

¹⁶ The presence of both hippopotamus and elephant ivory at the Uluburn shipwreck clearly shows the distribution of the material. See Pulac 2008. For recent discussions concerning the trade of ivory, see Rehak/Younger 1998 and Chaubet 2008.

and that they were kept as expensive single items¹⁷. Their value was recognisable and perhaps it was even known that they initially belonged to a greater iconographic composition. However, in any case they probably should be attributed to individuals, especially members of the elite.

For the Aegean it is quite secure to suggest that these items belonged to aristocrats, while for the other two cases it is not¹⁸. Ivory heads were certainly part of the elite iconographic agenda of the LH IIIA-B Aegean and neighbouring sites and they were manufactured solely there, perhaps specifically at the Argolid workshops. If one isolates the issues concerning the complex trade and exchange networks of the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean and focuses on these ivory helmeted heads, one will probably see that even in the so-called *koine* and despite the presence of an 'International Style'¹⁹, in some cases ideology and artwork remained purely regional.

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¹⁷ A term suitable for this case could be 'multivalent' (*i.e.* having many values or meanings), an expression explained and used by Cline (2005, 50).

¹⁸ Mee (2008, 380) rightly observes that 'However, apart from pottery and occasional exotica, such as the ivory head of a warrior in a boar's tusk helmet from Sardinia, Mycenaean influence is quite limited'.

¹⁹ For issues concerning the *koine* and the International Style, see Chaubet 1998.

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THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE¹

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This article aims to re-evaluate the history of the Middle Assyrian Empire by looking at new archaeological data and by critically re-examining the textual evidence. Special attention will be given to concepts like 'Empire', the 'rise' and 'fall', and related models of social organisation.

Introduction

The Middle-Assyrian Empire flourished during the Late Bronze Age (*ca.* 1350-1200²), after it took over the territory of the Mittani Empire. It was centred around the ancient capital of Aššur, in the north of present day Iraq (see map). In the south lay the Babylonian Empire of the Kassite dynasty. Most of central Turkey and the western part of Syria belonged to the Hittite kings. The Middle-Assyrian period was succeeded by the Neo-Assyrian Empire of the Iron Age (*ca.* 935-612) after a historically unclear period. Most descriptions of the Middle-Assyrian Empire share a few suppositions (e.g. Postgate 1992, 249-251; Liverani 1998). They locate the heydays of the Middle-Assyrian Empire in the 13th century, that is during the reigns of Adad-nirari I (1295-1264)³, Šalmanassar I (1263-1233) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233-1197). They see the succeeding 12th century as a period of decline. During the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) the Empire is restored to its former glory one last time. After this short-lived revival a second period of decline commences, which is only reversed when the Neo-Assyrian kings begin to assert themselves.

This view may reflect the biases in our knowledge. Until a few years ago there was little information on the period after the 13th century⁴. Archaeologically

¹ This article is based on my Bachelor thesis at the faculty of Ancient Culture with Assyriology at the Free University in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. I would like to thank my supervisors dr. Jan Paul Crielaard and Peter Akkermans for their contributions. A special thanks goes out to my teacher Assyriology Frans Wiggermann for sharing his insights. As always, all mistakes are of my own making.

² All dates are BC.

³ Dates of the Assyrian kings are based on Boese/Wilhelm 1979.

⁴ For a history of Middle-Assyrian excavations see: Warburton 1985; Pfälzner 1995; Koliński 2001, 65-81.

there was no excavation with material from these later periods except for the capital city of Aššur (Miglus 1996). Textual data had a similar bias to the 13th century. Without excavations the chance of finding texts was slim.

There are also some underlying theoretical suppositions in this view on the Middle-Assyrian history. The reconstruction is based for a large part on diplomatic correspondences and the royal inscriptions of the Assyrian kings (for these see Grayson 1987; 1991). The problem with these texts is that most events are only mentioned in a single source. Other points of view are not preserved. The diplomatic correspondence has the added problem of dating. It is very rare to find complete names of kings preserved. These historical sources vanish after the 13th century.

The royal inscriptions were mostly found in Aššur and should therefore cover the entire period. This is not the case. Not all kings produced royal inscriptions, at least they are not known to us, and their length can vary considerably. The most elaborate are those of Šalmanassar I, Tukulti-Ninurta I, Tighlat-pileser I, and Aššur-bel-kala (1073-1056). These texts weren't written as objective histories, but as ideological and propagandist devices. Still the emphasis has often lain on their historical aspects rather than on their ideological side (e.g. Harrak 1987). These texts are more suggestive than objective and should be treated critically.

The historiography of the Middle-Assyrian Empire is entrenched in our modern concepts of historical developments. Most studies either finish at the end of the Late Bronze Age or start with the Iron Ages. The labels "Bronze Age" and "Iron Age" marks these periods off as separate. This distinction is enhanced by the separation into a Middle- and a Neo-Assyrian Empire, where the Middle-Assyrian Empire coincides with the Late Bronze Age and the Neo-Assyrian Empire with the Iron Age. It is usually assumed that one can talk of a Middle- and a Neo-Assyrian Empire, but what distinguishes them and when the one ends and the other commences is unclear. The end of the Middle-Assyrian Empire is set at different dates by scholars (Pfälzner 1995).

Why the Middle-Assyrian Empire should have come to an end follows from the view of history as being a linear unfolding of rising and declining empires. There are five objections to this view. First, the concept of empire is often used in its modern nation-state connotation. This usage focuses too much on the borders of an empire and its expansion and shrinkage. The territorial boundaries become the main defining trait of an empire and military campaigns its most important aspect. Secondly, the emphasis on the borders neglects the internal structure of the empire. It would seem that the only relevant changes visible are found in the extent of the empire. Thirdly, the context in which empires existed is often neglected. The Assyrian decline of the 12th century is often explained by the weak kings of this period. This correlation is not necessary. External conditions can make even the most talented king inept to act. A fourth critique is that changes between subsequent empires tend to be highlighted were

as changes within empires are downplayed. Changes are constant and happen throughout the existence of an empire not only between succeeding ones. Lastly, there seems to be no indication that the Assyrian kings themselves saw a break in the history of their empire.

To look for a more suitable definition of an empire I will use the definition given by the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary⁵. The dictionary gives six meanings of which number five and six are relevant to us. The fifth meaning describes an empire as 'an extensive territory ruled over by an emperor, or by a sovereign state'. The sixth meaning needs to be added, stating that an empire is 'a sovereign state'. An empire in our case will be defined as "a territory ruled over by an emperor, who is sovereign". This makes an empire primarily a personal possession of its monarch. One of the main question then becomes how do those areas belong to the king? This is clearly different from modern times. Modern (European) kings do not own the countries where they are king of, nor would these lands cease to exist if the royalty vanished. An Assyrian Empire without an Assyrian king is inconceivable.

The traditional view on the Middle-Assyrian Empire needs to be reconsidered. This is made possible by several excavations of the last decade, which have provided knowledge on the history of the Assyrian Empire up to the reign of Aššur-bel-kala (*ca.* 1050). For the first time we have some archaeological information coming out of Turkey. Our understanding of the Syrian part of the empire has also greatly expanded. This will be combined with a re-examination of the existing data, such as a critical look at the royal inscriptions.

This article does not want to prove that there were no periods of decline during the Middle-Assyrian period. What It will argue is that the decline did not lay in the territorial extent of the empire. The territory belonging to the Assyrian kings remained remarkably constant from *ca.* 1250 until *ca.* 1050. What changed was the way these territories belonged to the king. Territories can belong to a king in several ways. It can be in direct possession, ruled over by client-kings, or fall into its sphere of influence. These and other possibilities of territorial control provide different ways of organising an empire. These differences have consequences for the royal economy and thereby for the power each king can assert. What we will see is that during the 12th century the territories belonging to the Assyrian king became more indirectly governed.

The landscape of the Assyrian Empire

The area of Babylon and Assyria is commonly known as Mesopotamia. It designates the area between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers and their alluvial plain in Iraq. Both rise not far from each other in the Taurus mountains of eastern Turkey. The Tigris flows in a south-eastern direction towards Iraq. The

⁵ The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, third edition revised with addenda (1972), 602.

Euphrates flows in a south-western direction taking a longer route through Syria towards Iraq. Both rivers meet around Bagdad. The area between the Tigris and the Euphrates is also known as the *Jezira*. The Middle-Assyrian history mostly evolved in this area. The Assyrian “home-land” lay east of the Tigris and thereby outside the *Jezira* proper. The border with Babylonia was likewise situated east of the Tigris along the Lower Zab river not far from the capital Aššur.

The *Jezira* can be geographically separated in two parts. The border is somewhat similar to the present-day Turkish-Syrian border. Its northern part consists of the Kašijari mountains in the east (Kessler 1980, 22-78) and the barren basalt plateaus in the west. Its north-eastern border is formed by the Upper Tigris region. This name designates the Turkish part of the Tigris river east of the city Diyarbakır, but in this article it will only designate the valley east of Diyarbakır where all Assyrian excavations are located. The Kašijari mountains are a relatively small mountain range with a somewhat Mediterranean appearance. South of this area stretches the Syrian plain. This is to a large extent a steppe area. The Assyrian Empire has justly been called a “steppe-bound empire” (Kühne 1995, 69). This plain is intersected by two rivers, although creeks is perhaps a more accurate description. In the west flows the smaller Balikh, its plain extending north into Turkey (Lyon 2000, 97; Wirth 1971, 109). East of it runs the bigger Habur river. The Habur is usually divided into a northern Habur-triangle and a southern part twisting towards the Middle-Euphrates (Wallburton 1985, 13; Lyon 2000, 91). The Middle-Euphrates designates the Syrian part of the Euphrates. An extremely important, but invisible, border is the line south of which rain fed agriculture is impossible. This line fluctuates each year to a considerable extent. A considerable part of the Syrian plain has no guaranty for sufficient amounts of rain.

Before we continue some general remarks should be made. With the present state of our knowledge a complete reconstruction of the Middle-Assyrian Empire is not possible. We have almost no information on the regions east and northeast of Aššur. Inside the *Jezira* several blank spots still exist. Almost nothing is known from the Turkish parts of the *Jezira* as well as from the steppe area in Syria.

Adad-nirari I (1295 - 1264 BC)

The military activities of Adad-nirari I are known from his own royal inscriptions (RIMA I: A.0.76.1/3), the later synchronistic chronicle, chronicle P (ABC 2100/22)⁶ and three Hittite texts (KBo I 20, KUB XXIII 102 and KBo I 14, for

⁶ Chronicle 22 (= P) is written between 1157 and 783, 1/3 has survived. Chronicle 21 (= the synchronistic) is written in the same period, 2/3 has survived. Both chronicles are written

these see Mora/Giorgieri 2004; Hagenbuchner 1989). These sources mention two battles with the Babylonians and two with the kings of Mitanni.

Archaeologically, it is difficult to date the transition between the Mitanni- and Assyrian occupation. Several Mitanni cities seem to have been abandoned before Adad-nirari I's campaign. A break in settlement history is visible in Hammam et-Turkman, Tell Sabi Abyad, Tell Mohammed 'Arab, Tell Brak, and Tell ar-Rimah. The occupation seems to have been continuous in Aššur, Tell Barri, Tell 'Ağağa, Tell Taban, Tell al-Hamidiya, Tell Mohammed Diyab, and perhaps in Tell Fakhariya (Pfälzner 1995, 173-215; 224). In the Balikh valley there seems to have been a decrease in settlement in the 14th century in connection with traces of burning (Lyon 2000, 92), but settlements are also simply abandoned: 80% of the Mitanni sites is no longer occupied in the Middle-Assyrian period (Lyon 2000, 102-103). That several of the known Mitanni sites were abandoned before Adad-nirari I's campaign might also be indicated by his royal inscriptions. Known Mitanni sites in the south of the Jezira such as Tuttul, Hammam et-Turkman (Mitanni name unknown), Tell Bderi (Mitanni name unknown) are not mentioned. This could indicate a selectiveness in his royal inscriptions, but could also indicate that these cities were no longer inhabited. Tell Brak *Nawar* (for the reconstruction of this name see: Oates, Oates and McDonald 1997, 141-143) is also missing from the royal inscription but his grandson Tukulti-Ninurta I stated that it was plundered by Adad-nirari I.

Mitanni

Adad-nirari I's royal inscriptions were the first to mention military deeds (de Odorico 1994, 72). His royal inscriptions mention campaigns against two Mitanni kings. The first king to battle Adad-nirari I was Šattuara I.

'When Šattuara, king of the land Ḫanigalbat, rebelled against me... I seized him and brought him to my city Aššur. I made him take an oath and then allowed him to return to his land. Annually, as long as (he) lived, I regularly received his tribute within my city, Aššur.'

(RIMA 1, A.O.76.3: 1. 4-14)

Rebellion implies an pre-existing status of subordination. The vassal status of Šattuara I is a-priori assumed in the text. Harrak thinks Šattuara I actually committed hostile acts by attacking Assyrian traders, messengers or border cities (Harrak 1987, 100). These actual hostilities are not necessary. Šattuara I's

in Babylon. Chronicle P is considered the more reliable one. The synchronistic chronicle is very Pro-Assyrian and occasionally errors when it comes to names (Grayson 1975, 51-61; 157-169; 170-177).

unwillingness to accept his presupposed subordination should have been enough reason for action. It is striking that there is no mention of military action in this campaign. The text only mentions ‘I seized him’. It would seem unlikely that Šattuara I came voluntarily to the capital of Aššur.

‘...Uasašatta, his son, revolted... I captured by conquest the city Taidu... I took and brought to my city Aššur, the possessions of those cities... I conquered, burnt (and) destroyed the city Irridu... The great gods gave me to rule from the city Taidu to the city Irridu... I imposed upon (them) corvée. But as for him, I took out from the city Irridu his ‘wife of the palace’, his sons, his daughters, and his people.’

(RIMA 1: A.O.76.3: l. 15-51)

Wasašatta was an Assyrian vassal at the moment he became king. Apparently unhappy with the situation he asked the Hittite king for help. Wasašatta payed the Hittites for their help, but to the joy of Adad-nirari I, the Hittites kept the money without coming into action (RIMA 1: A.O.76.3). The royal inscription makes a stark contrast between both campaigns. As Harrak correctly pointed out, vassal status and destruction are the consequences Assyrian enemies can expect from their hostilities (Harrak 1987, 136). We can add to this that the punishment was inherent in the status of the rebel. The independent king became vassal whereas the rebellious vassal was destroyed. The rebellion of the vassal Wasašatta demanded a severe punishment. The capital of Taidu and seven other cities were captured⁷. Only Irridu is explicitly destroyed. As the fate of Wasašatta is not mentioned, we can assume he managed to escape.

In the last years of Adad-nirari I’s reign Hattusili III took the Hittite throne⁸. In their, apparently, first correspondence they discussed the question of the city Turira (KBo I 14)⁹, based on a letter the Mitanni king wrote from Turira to the Hittite king. The Mitanni king claimed possession over Turira. The only known king to have been in a position to write letters at this stage was the fleeing Wasašatta. But the Mitanni king was no longer in a position to discuss matters of ownership. Hattusili III writes to Adad-nirari I “*Turira is mine or yours, and the affair of Turira is no concern of the king of Hanigalb*” (KBo I 14, r.obv. 6-19, Harrak 1987, 73). If Adad-nirari I did not intervene Hattusili III would do

⁷ The location of Taidu is a difficult geographic questions, because it is located in the Upper Tigris region during the Neo-Assyrian period, but it lies in the Habur-triangle during the Middle-Assyrian period. Taidu was first located at Tell Brak (Oates/Oates/McDonald 1997, 43). It is now equated with Tell al-Hamīdīya. Taidu most certainly presents two distinct cities: te’de en tidu (see especially Mayer 1986, 236, but also Kessler 1980; Nashef 1982, 256-257 describes it as a single city).

⁸ Dates of the Hittite kings are based on Bryce 1998.

⁹ The location of this city is unknown but should be somewhere in the region of the city Carchemish.

it himself. This means the initiative lies with the Assyrian king. We do not know the end of this story as Adad-nirari I died shortly thereafter and Turira is not mentioned in any other known source.

Babylonia

Adad-nirari I fought with two Babylonian kings. Both wars took place south of the Lower Zab, only a short distance from the capital Aššur. According to chronicle P the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II defeated Adad-nirari I at the city of Sugaga (ABC 22: iii 20-22), but the details, dating and reliability of this text is uncertain (Brinkman 1970: 301-303). The second battle is mentioned in the Synchronistic chronicle. This war took place somewhat more east at the city of Ugar-sallu. The Babylonian king Nazi-marrutaš lost his army camp and retreated (ABC 21: i 24-31). The border was established along the Lower Zab, which meant it stayed where it had been before the wars commenced.

In his royal inscriptions Adad-nirari I mentions a border which extends in a south-western direction towards the Euphrates and was therefore more ambitious. We could presume a third unknown war with the Babylonians pushed the border in a south-western direction, but no such war is known. The royal inscriptions probably exaggerated the position of the border, which remained close to Aššur along the Lower Zab river.

The Assyrian presence in the Jezira was minimal during the reign of Adad-nirari I. During Šattuara's kingship one campaign was undertaken which apparently did not take him further west than the Khabur. Whether the Assyrian military presence expanded after the defeat of Wasašatta is unknown. This second campaign seems to have been more extensive and took the Assyrians across the Jezira towards the Euphrates. Until now there has been no evidence of an Assyrian administration in the Jezira during the reign of Adad-nirari I. He did however build a palace in Kahat (tell Barri; di Salvini 2005) and perhaps one on the ruins of Taidu (Odorico 1994, 72). Both are located along the river Jaghjagh in the Khabur-triangle.

Šalmanassar I (1263 – 1233 BC)

Adad-nirari I was succeeded by his son Šalmanassar I. The most important texts on his military campaigns are the royal inscriptions A.0.77.1/3, the Hittite letters KBo XVIII 24, KUB XVIII 99, and KBo I 10/KUB III 72 and the Assyrian text KAV 119. Šalmanassar I does not appear in the Babylonian chronicles. Šalmanassar I's military presence in the Jezira was more substantial, but most campaigns were undertaken to the east and north of the Jezira. The impression of a more active king is partly due to the more elaborate nature of his royal inscriptions. From his reign onwards royal inscriptions start with the first campaign of the reign, but with Šalmanassar I it is not yet completely possible to place the successive campaigns in time (de Odorico 1998, 72).

Mitanni

According to his own royal inscriptions Šalmanassar I first years were taken up by campaigns in the northeast against Uruatri¹⁰. The next section of his inscriptions describes the battle against Mitanni were Šattuara II had become king. The text can be separated into two parts. the first part describes a campaign in an area that is described as follows: “*When I marched to Mitanni I opened up the most difficult of paths and passes*“ (RIMA 1 A.0.77.1). The second part starts with ‘At that time’ and continues with a copy of Adad-nirari I’s conquest of the Mitanni cities.

The question is what Šalmanassar I copied from Adad-nirari I. Did he redo Adad-nirari I’s campaigns or only copied parts of his royal inscriptions? The answer depends on where we locate the Mitanni Empire of Šattuara II. The common supposition is that Šattuara II re-conquered the territory of his father and that Šalmanassar I was obliged to re-conquer the Mitanni territories in a campaign that mimicked Adad-nirari I’s. I would argue against this. There is no external evidence that supports a Mitanni take-over of the Syrian plain. The campaign in the first part cannot be a geographical description of the Syrian plain. The difficult paths can only be located in a mountainous region, such as the Kašijari or further north. This would indicate that the remainder of the Mitanni Empire was located in the Kašijari mountains or further north.

If this reconstruction is valid then we should look for indications of a Mitanni Empire north of the Kašijari mountains during this period. Two letters from the Hittite capital Hattuša provide more information (IBoT I 34 and KBo I 20, see Hagenbuchner 1989; Mora/Giorgieri 2004). In these letters the Mitanni king had again turned to the Hittite king for help. The texts describes Mitanni as belonging to the Hittites. This submissiveness seems to indicate the difficult position of the Mitanni king and should be seen as an attempt to receive the necessary support (Harrak 1987, 244; Hagenbuchner 1989).

A Mitanni name is not preserved in these letters, but it is assumed that it concerns the Mitanni king Šattuara II (Hagenbuchner 1989, 168-169). IBoT I 34 mentions that the Mitanni king resides in Šimanu, which is in the Upper Tigris valley (Kessler 1980, 79-84). KBo I 20 provides more indication for Mitanni territorial possessions in the north. The Mitanni king complains that the king of the northern kingdom of Šubarū had taken several Mitanni cities during a war with Adad-nirari I. As Adad-nirari I took possession of the Syrian plain the Šubarian gains should be located more north. That was between Šubarū and the Syrian plain, somewhere in the region of the Upper Tigris.

After Šalmanassar I defeated Šattuara II, the Upper Tigris region will have

¹⁰ This is the first mentioning of Urartu, the later first millennium Empire.

become part of the Assyrian Empire. This is also indicated by the text KAV 119. This mentions four missing *huradu*-persons in the context of the city Šimanu in the Upper Tigris region (Postgate 1971, 500). Excavations at the small site of Giricano (*Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*), at the northern edge of the Upper Tigris region, provide archaeological evidence for a Mitanni occupation of the Upper Tigris region. There is no break between the Mitanni and Middle-Assyrian layers (Schachner 2002, 151). Schachner presumes that the Middle-Assyrian occupational layers present a period of 120-160 years. This is based on the idea that a mud-brick construction would last 30 to 40 years. The Middle-Assyrian occupation has a terminus ante quem of ca. 1070. This would yield a begin date between 1230 and 1190. This seems to contradict their dating of the start of the Middle-Assyrian occupation to the reign of Šalmanassar I as these dates fall into the reign of his successor Tukulti-Ninurta I (Schachner 2004). Since the period of Middle-Assyrian occupation is somewhat arbitrary we can only say that apparently the Mitanni occupation extended late into the 13th century.

All this seems to indicate that there remained a Mitanni Empire north of the Syrian plain where Adad-nirari I had campaigned. Šalmanassar I's campaign could therefore be located north of the Syrian plain. This would have been a continuation of the Mitanni campaigns started by Adad-nirari I. The copying of Adad-nirari I's text might indicate that Šalmanassar I saw his campaign as an extension of the campaigns of his father.

The question is how far these campaigns took Šalmanassar I. The Hittite letter KBo XVIII 24 seems to provide an answer. The Hittite king praised the battles of Šalmanassar I and acknowledged the loss of former Hittite cities: 'Westwards you have advanced and have conquered the cities which were captured by the weapons of Šuppiluliuma and were tributary to the deity.' (Harrak 1987, 139). This probably does not refer to proper Hittite territory, but to the conquests of Mitanni, as all these cities could have been considered Hittite property after they were captured by Šuppiluliuma.

The real issue of the letter concerned the north-western city of Malatya. The Hittite king accused Šalmanassar I of having conquered that city, thereby indicating its belonging to the Hittite king. Šalmanassar I challenged him to send a trustworthy person to establish that this has not been the case (rev. iv 11-17: Harrak 1987, 139). The Hittites were clearly afraid of an Assyrian attack on Malatya, an important crossing of the Euphrates. The Hittite king asks an oracle for a decisive answer "*Whether the king of Aššur in this [year] will not come to the city Malitiya... Whether the king of Aššur in this year will not come to build...*" (KBo XXII 264, rev. iii 11-14, iv 8f, Hawkins 1987, 64)¹¹. Since Šal-

¹¹ Hawkins assumes it concerns Adad-Nirari because he is mentioned in a broken section (ii 19). Historically it seems difficult to see Adad-Nirari forming a serious treaty to the city of Malatya. Hagenbuchner equates this text with Šalmanassar (1989, 163-164: §1.8).

manassar I does not mention Malatya in his inscriptions is likely that his campaigns halted somewhere in the vicinity (Hawkins 1987, 64-65). With Šalmanassar I the entire Jezira seems to have become Assyrian property. We never hear from the Mitanni kings again.

Assyrian administration

Šalmanassar I is usually mentioned as the initiator of an administrative system in the conquered Mitanni territories. At least it is during his reign that such a system becomes apparent (Jacobs 2004). His work seems to have been concentrated along the Khabur river (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 28; Radner 1998, 49-51).

The administration of the empire became more elaborate during this period by the creation of several new provinces and the introduction of the position of the Vizier and Grand Vizier. The Grand Vizier, also known as the ‘king of Hanigalbat’, became the most important person in the administrative hierarchy besides the king. The Assyrian Grand Vizier governed the western part of Assyria. The first Grand Vizier Qibi-Aššur was part of the royal house, as Šalmanassar I was his uncle. His exact role is unknown. Information on the functioning of the Grand Vizier only appears with his son Aššur-iddin at the end of the reign of Šalmanassar I (Jacobs 2004, 56-65). Subordinate to the Grand Vizier stood the Vizier (Jakob 2003, 57-59; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 29). The rest of the territory was divided into provinces ruled by governors (*bel pahete* see Jakob 2003, 117-118). From this period the only known provinces were located along the Khabur¹².

From the Upper Tigris region no texts is known that mentions a *bel pahete* (governor) throughout the Middle-Assyrian period. This remains an unsolved hiatus. The only indication for an administrative system in the Upper Tigris region is formed by an eponym from the reign of Šalmanassar I mentioning Ištar-idaia the *šaknu* (governor) of Tušhan (Stelenreihen 99, Freidank 1991, 194). A position which is similar to the *bel pahete* (Machinist 1982, 30; Jacobs 2003, 131-140; Postgate 1995, 3). The excavations in this region have not progressed sufficiently to reconstruct the history of the region (Matney 2003, 177-178).

The administration was probably populated by the elite from Aššur. “...large, extended families of wealth, holding estates and involved in a web of commercial relations, who have ties with, if they are not actually part, of the government.” (Machinist, 1982, 29).

Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233 – 1197 BC)

In his royal inscriptions Tukulti-Ninurta I mentions that his kingship started

¹²Dur-Katlimmu. Taidu, Naḥur, Amasakku, Šuduḥu en Waššukanni. See: Hrrak 1987, 190-197; Jakob 2003, 111-117; Cancik-Kirschbaum, 2000: 6, footnote 6. The economic and administrative texts concern the same area (Hrrak 1987, 191-192).

with battles close to home. These campaigns took place in the mountains and valleys east of Aššur. In the succeeding year five fortified cities of Katmuhu were attacked. This region east of the Kašijari mountains had broken the peace with the Assyrians. Tukulti-Ninurta I's next campaign would bring him north in the footsteps of Šalmanassar I. This expedition could be the occasion of the battle with the Hittites at the city of Nihrija.

The Hittites

The battle at Nihrija is described in most detail in a letter written to the king of Ugarit (RS 34.165). It is commonly attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta I, but there are some peculiarities. The sender does not write as “Great King”, something Tukulti-Ninurta I certainly was. Secondly, sending letters to vassals of another “Great King” was rare and Ugarit had been a Hittite vassal from the days of Šuppiluliuma (Hagenbuchner 1989, 165, footnote 31). The letter deals with a battle at Nihrija between the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV and an Assyrian king. It is usually assumed that it concerns Tukulti-Ninurta I (Singer 1985, 104; Hagenbuchner 1989, 165; Hawkins 1995, 87; Bryce 2005, 316-318; Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 36-37) although Šalmanassar I cannot be ruled out (Cifola 2004, 13).

Now T[udhaliya king of] Ha[tti] wrote the following to m[e saying]: “Why did you conquer and capture [the merchants (?) of] my all[y?] Come, let us fight!... At that time I mustered my soldiers and my chariots. (But) before I reached the city Taidu (?) Tudhaliya, the Hittite king, sent another messenger of his to me holding two hostile tablets and one friendly tablet. (r. 12-30a) ...I stationed my [...] troops in the city Šura; they marched a distance of 120 double-hours against the [...] troops of the king of Hatti. (rev. r. 20b-26a) ...I won a great victory...

(Harrak 1987, 141-142: rev. l. 26b-39)

The meeting with the Hittite messenger, who carried three messages, resulted in a strange theatrical situation. The first two messages were hostile and anger the Assyrians, but after three days a third message was presented in which Tudhaliya IV assured the Assyrians of his good intentions. In the meantime the Hittites had settled in Nihrija. Tukulti-Ninurta I took his troops north via the city of Šura in the Kašijari mountains. After which they moved on 120 “double-hours”. The story ended in a Hittite defeat.

In a letter (KBo IV 14), probable send to Ehli-LUGAL, king of Išuwa, Tudhaliya IV complains about the lack of support at the battle of Nihrija:

‘When it was difficult for me, you were keeping yourself in some way aloof from me, you were not at my side. Did I not drive/ride out of the city Nihrija alone? Then it appeared as

the enemy took away from me the Hurrian land, was I not completely alone in the city Alatarma?’

(KBo IV 14 r. ii 7ff., Harrak 1987, 218)

In several Hittite sources from this period a war between the Hittites and Assyria is mentioned (Harrak 1987). It is tempting to match this with the battle at Nihrija. A sentence from Tukulti-Ninurta I's own royal inscription '*I uprooted 28.800 Hittites from beyond the Euphrates in my accession year*' (RIMA 1: A.0.78.23 / A.O.78.24) has also been seen in this light, but nowadays it is accepted that this sentence is a later insertion into the inscription (Galter 1988, 219). The number of 28.800 is in any case mainly symbolic as it duplicates the number of 14.400 in Šalmanassar I's royal inscriptions¹³. Singer thinks this late addition reflects a reluctance on the Assyrian side to mention the victory over the Hittites. Mentioning this would have hampered the good relations Tukulti-Ninurta I was trying to foster with the Hittites (Singer 1985, 104). This seems unlikely, as defeating the Hittites can hardly be called a successful building up of good relations (Galter 1988, 231). A latter date for this battle might explain its earlier missing from the inscriptions (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 37), although after 1209 Tudhaliya IV would no longer be king.

Babylonia

Tukulti-Ninurta I battled the Babylonians twice. The result of the first battle with the Babylonian king Kaštiliaš IV has not been preserved (ABC 21, ii 1*-2*). The second battle was successful for the Assyrians. Tukulti-Ninurta I takes the Babylonian king hostage after which he occupies the city of Babylon. Assyrian governors are installed. The occupation lasted seven years (ABC 22, iv 3-8. see also Cifola 2004, 12-13; Galter 1988, 220-225).

The Jezira

As Tukulti-Ninurta I does not mention any campaigns in the Jezira one could presume things were tranquil inside Assyrian territory. This does not seem to have been the case. In the letters of Dur-Katlimmu the situation in the Jezira appears problematic at several occasions (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 28-45). During the time of the Babylonian campaign Tukulti-Ninurta I undertook a personal campaign towards Hanigalbat (=Mitanni). The nature of this campaign is unknown and it is far from clear where Hanigalbat should be located, but it appears to be a territory already under Assyrian dominion (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 33). Several letters mention hostile groups under the generic term *nakru*. Usually the context is in the north-western part of the Jezira¹⁴. We come across

¹³ See Galter 1988, 217-219 for the theories on this sentence; 227 for the way Tukulti-Ninurta tries to surpass his father Šalmanassar.

¹⁴ Nihrija, Išua and Kumāhu (Nr.8:54'ff heavily damaged context), Nihrija (Nr.4:1'), Arazīqu and Kumāhu (Nr. 3:10ff.)

a group of 1500 hostile persons in the area between the Balikh and the Khabur (Nr. 3:10ff.), that is in the middle of the Jezira. This group moved in a northern direction where they plundered two cities, one of which was Harbe (Tell Chuera), with the ultimate aim to destroy settlements east at the river Šubnat (Nr. 4:1'ff., for location see Liverani 1992, 34). These texts are important because they show that in the reign of the most powerful Middle-Assyrian king hostile troops were able to roam the Jezira quite freely.

Middle-Euphrates

According to Harrak the occupation of Babylon led to the Assyrian control of the Euphrates up to Carchemish (Harrak 1987, 257). Such an Assyrian control over the Euphrates is debatable. The most important arguments for such a dominance come from the bend in the Euphrates river south of Carchemish.

The excavations at the site of Tell Fray have yielded texts from the reign of Šalmanassar I, one from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I and one bullae from the Hittite king Hattušili III. The archaeological context however does not support an Assyrian control over Tell Fray (Pfälzner 1995, 202-204). The Assyrian kings of the 13th century do not mention any campaigns along the Middle-Euphrates.

Information also comes from the site of Emar. This Hittite vassal was probably occupied during the period of 1310 till 1187. The written sources from Emar mention several attacks before the final destruction (Adamthwaite 2001, 57). The text mention one, perhaps two, attacks by Hurrian troops under the heading of a Hurrian king and two, possibly three, attacks by the tarwu (Adamthwaite 2001, 268-280). The identification of both groups presents difficulties. The tarwu are not known from other sources (Adamthwaite 2001, 271-272). The title of Hurrian king usually refers to the Mitanni king (Kühne C 1999), but we saw that no such king existed anymore at this point as far as we can tell and certainly not in the vicinity of Emar. Adamthwaite suggests that this king refers to the Grand Vizier of Assyria, who used the title of King of Hanigalbat (Adamthwaite 2001, 268-270), but it seems unlikely that the Grand Vizier would attack and plunder a Hittite vassal. The perpetrators of the last attack, which would destroy Emar, have not made themselves known to us.

Further east at the confluence of the Balikh, the Middle-Assyrian town of Tuttul can be located. The texts from Tell Sabi Abyad mention a province there. At the site of Tell Bi'a (Tuttul) however not a single Middle-Assyrian sherd was found, but the region can still be considered under Assyrian control (Wiggermann 2000, 172).

Assyrian administration

It is difficult to separate the end of Šalmanassar I's reign from the beginning of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. We know that during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I a widespread administrative system was functioning in the Jezira, but as to when this was introduced we remain in the dark. This is due to the lack of administrative texts from the reign of Šalmanassar I.

We know more provinces from the period of Tukulti-Ninurta I than from the preceding reign of Šalmanassar I. Except for the region of Tuttul at the confluence of the Balikh, The Middle-Euphrates does not seem to have been part of the Middle-Assyrian administration (Koliński 2001, 71-72). The the most western part of the Assyrian administration was formed by Balikh valley. The main excavation of this period along the Balikh is the *dunnu* of Tell Sabi Abyad (Akkermans 2006). A *dunnu* is a fortified farmstead, this particular one was possessed by the Grand Vizier himself (cf. Wiggermann 2000). The Balikh-valley can feed 2400-6000 people, depending on the land and irrigation use (Wilkinson 1998, 81). The 900 people connected to the *dunnu* of Tell Sabi Abyad formed a substantial part of this (Wiggermann 2000, 184-191).

The 12th century (1196 - 1115 BC)

The reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I ended tragically. His son Aššur-nadin-apli was part of a conspiracy that leads to the dead Tukulti-Ninurta I. Why such an apparently successful king would have fallen to a such a conspiracy is unknown. Lambert came to the hypotheses that Tukulti-Ninurta I would have been a son of a Babylonian slave. Tukulti-Ninurta I would have made promotion in the Assyrian army before being adopted as heir by Šalmanassar I. His predilection for Babylon would have caused his final demise (Lambert 2004, 198-202). This hypotheses is flowery but also quite speculative.

After the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I commenced the period that is usual described as a period of decline. it is clear that the amount of royal inscriptions decreases during this period. The demise of economic texts and building activities point to a demise in the Assyrian economy. This decline cannot be separated from the international events. We are in the middle of the so-called Crisis Years (Ward/Joukowsky 1992). The Hittite Empire collapsed and cities such as Hattuša, Emar, and Ugarit were destroyed. With this the main external sources on the history of the Middle-Assyrian Empire cease to exist.

The only remaining textual corpora are the texts from Aššur and the Babylonian chronicles. The chronicles only deal with the relations between Assyria and Babylon. To some extent this might reflect reality. With the demise of the Hittite Empire the only major empire bordering the Assyrian territories was the Babylonian one. With regard to Babylon there does not seem to have been a decline in the Assyrian activity. Almost all kings campaigned against the Babylonians, like the kings before them. The pre-occupation with Babylon might however be more representative of our sources then the actual campaigns undertaken by the Assyrian kings. As the Assyrian kings kept fighting the Babylonians there is no a-priori reason to assume they did not fight in other regions. We are not in a position to know the extent and success of campaigns in other parts of the Empire.

Within the royal house short reigns succeeded long ones. Tukulti-Ninurta I's son Aššur-nadin-apli reigned from 1196-1194. he was succeeded by his son

Aššur-nirari III (1193-1188). Little is known from these reigns. Aššur-nirari III was succeeded by his son Enlil-kudurri-ušur (1187-1183). When the Grand Vizier Ili-padda died in 1183 his son Ninurta-apil-Ekur needed to flee (Mayer 1996, 540). He was supported by the Babylonian king and probably by the elite from the capital city of Aššur, because they delivered Enlil-kudurri-ušur to the king of Babylon (Llop/George 2000-2001, 9, MS A₂ r. 6' – 7'). Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1182-1170) succeeded in claiming the Assyrian throne with Babylonian help (ABC 21, ii 3-8). Foreign support usually has a price. Whether this was the case is unknown. During Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign the position of Grand Vizier is abolished.

Ninurta-apil-Ekur was the one most removed from the royal lineage to have taken the throne during the Middle-Assyrian period. He came from a royal line that had been separated since the time of Adad-nirari I (Jacobs 2004, 64), but he was also the son of the second most important person of the empire. One could almost call this the start of a new dynasty.

The *dunnu* of Tell Sabi Abyad seems to have lost its privileged position and was set afire and destroyed around 1180. The complex fell into decay. After a while the complex is brought back into use with a lower intensity (Akkermans 2006; Wiggermann 2000, 175).

Ninurta-apil-Ekur's son Aššur-dan I (1169-1134) became one of the longest reigning Assyrian kings. The synchronistic chronicle mentions Aššur-dan I fighting with the Babylonians early in his reign. Aššur-dan I conquered the cities Zaban, Irriya en Ugar-sallu (ABC 21, ii 9-12). This gives the impression that these border towns along the Lower Zab river had become Babylonian possession. The Elamites end the long reigning Kassite dynasty of Babylon in 1160. Around the year 1155 the Elamites appeared at the city of Arraphe (Mayer 1995, 228). The city was apparently re-conquered before the end of Aššur-dan I's reign (Llop/George 2000-2001, 15).

According to the Assyrian kings-list two sons of Aššur-dan I fought for the throne after Aššur-dan I died. In the first instance Aššur-dan was succeeded by his son Ninurta-tukul-Aššur. He reigned only one year after which he was chased away to Babylon by his brother Mutakkil-Nusku. It is striking that even though Ninurta-tukul-Aššur is often mentioned in the archive from Aššur, he is only mentioned king three times (Mayer 1998, 541). Further information on the battle for the succession is given by the text MS A₂ (Llop/George 2000-2001, 1-19). This text sheds a different light on the events. It appears that Ninurta-tukul-Aššur never fled to Babylon, but retreated to the city of Sišil in the neighbourhood of the Babylonian border. The role of the Babylonian king is not clear. The Babylonian king made an appointment with Mutakkil-Nusku to battle at the city of Zaqqā, probably located along the Euphrates (Llop/George 2000-2001, 12-13; Nashef 1982, 281). Mutakkil-Nusku did not show up, perhaps because it was not possible to leave Aššur during this time of war.

We never hear from Ninurta-tukul-Aššur again and may therefore presume he lost the battle. Mutakkil-Nusku was succeeded by his son Aššur-reša-iši I

(1132-1115) in the same year. The Assyrian chronicle fragment 3 mentions the Babylonian king Ninurta-nadin-šumati proceeded up to the city of Arbail (ABC fragment 3: iv 9-21). This appears to be the first time a Babylonian king succeeded in crossing the Lower Zab river. The attack was beaten off. The synchronistic chronicle deals with the battle between Aššur-reša-iši I and the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (ABC Chronicle 21, ii 3-9). The battle in Zaqqa took place after all, which meant it was Assyrian territory in the meantime. Aššur-reša-iši I defeated Nebuchadnezzar twice according to this very pro-Assyrian and unreliable chronicle. The latest text from Tell Sabi Abyad might have been written around 1125, but this is unclear. The complex might have remained in use until part of the eleventh century (Akkermans 2006, 209). This period shows some involvement from Babylon with the dynastic issues of the Assyrian Empire. It was with Babylonian help that Ninurta-apil-Ekur was able to take the throne. The Babylonians also intervened in the succession of Aššur-dan I. Their support of Ninurta-tukul-Aššur was however unsuccessful.

Assyrian administration

The abolishing of the Grand Vizier's position cannot have increased the Assyrian ability to govern the Jezira, as it was the Grand Vizier who seems to have been responsible for this (Jacobs 2004, 56-65). Although a causal connection is improvable, this problem might have been resolved by giving some local governors more independence. What we see from this time onwards is the coming into existing of a looser administrative structure besides the Assyrian provincial system. Some governors might have started to present themselves somewhat more independently from this time onwards.

In a text, which is dated around 1150, but could date to the period after 1080 (Maul 2005, 15), several high officials bring gifts to Aššur¹⁵. The governors of the provinces Šadikanni and Qatnu along the river Khabur are mentioned, beside men without title. These are Adad-apla-iddina the Tabētaen, a Katmuhian, a Ruqahaean, a damaged name and a Hanaen. All were probably client-kings that stood outside the provincial system (Postgate 1988, 99-100; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2000, 7; Jakob 2003, 12).

The Aššur-archive 6096, from the year 1133, mentions several provinces in the Assyrian territory around Aššur and in the region of the Khabur river (Postgate 1988, 100; Llop/George 2000-2001, 13-15). Again cities are mentioned, which do not seem to have a governor, but who are according to Postgate "strictly internal officials" (Postgate 1988, 100). It concerns the cities Arraphe, Suhu, several Suteans and the leader of Ṭabetu, who is called king onetime. Calling Mannu-lu-ju king of Ṭabetu does not seem to have had any consequences for his support of the Assyrian king (Kühne 1995, 74-75; Maul 1992, 48). Adad-

¹⁵ Postgate, J.N. 1988, 99 (BM 122635, Iraq 32. 1970); Maul, S.M. 1992, 48. It is unclear whether the date of Maul is only based on the supposition that Adad-apla-iddina was a for-father of the kings of Mari or whether other arguments are present.

šuma-iddina from Suhu sends sheep to Aššur, but it is unclear in which capacity he is acting (Llop/George 2000-2001, 15). The mentioning of the city Sutiū points to the north-western region around Harbe (Llop/George 2000-2001, 13: footnote 90).

What does this mean for the territorial extent of the Middle-Assyrian Empire during this period? Although some looser forms of government have evolved, the Assyrian territory around the capital Aššur and the region along the river Khabur were still part of the Assyrian administration. There is no information on other regions of the empire, such as the river Balikh and the Upper Tigris region.

The only information on the Balikh comes from the excavation of Tell Sabi Abyad. This site seems to have been occupied during this period, but no texts can clearly be dated to this period (Akkermans 2006, 209). In the Upper Tigris region there is no indication of Assyrian administration throughout the Middle-Assyrian period. The excavations of the Upper Tigris region provide little information, but do indicate continuous occupation (Sachner 2004; Kóroğlu 1998). In the following period the Assyrian kings still seem to have considered the Balikh as theirs, but to which extent these lands provided income for the king will remain unknown until new evidence is found.

Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076)

Aššur-reša-iši I was succeeded by his son Tiglath-pileser I. This king is often credited with restoring the Assyrian Empire. It is however unclear what needed to be restored. We are much better informed on the deeds of this king by his extensive royal inscriptions (de Odorico 1994). His campaigns had an unprecedented geographical reach. We do not know what made these campaigns possible were his predecessors seem to have been incapable.

‘In my accession year: 20.000 Mušku with their five kings, who had held the lands Alzu and Purulumzu... captured the land Katmuhu’ (RIMA 2: A.0.87.1: r. i 62-88) ‘I marched to the rebellious and insubmissive city Milidia of the land Hanigalbat. ...I did not storm that city...’ (RIMA 2: A.0.87.1: r. v 31-41)

This campaign seems to have taken him far into the Taurus mountains. The presence of his inscriptions at Yoncalı form an indication of this (Rothman 2004, 135-136). The “uppersee” formed the border of his campaign. This sea was probably identical to the Black Sea, a translation with lake Van is improbable as this would be to southern. It is unlikely that such a long journey would have aimed a conquering land. A marauding expedition, where people and goods were taken away, seems more likely. Tiglath-pileser I is also credited with being the first Assyrian king to have reached the Mediterranean Sea.

‘I marched to Mount Lebanon. I cut down (and) carried off cedar... I received tribute from the lands Byblos, Sidon, (and) Arvad. I rode in boats of the people of Arvad (and) travelled successfully a distance of three double hours from the city Arvad... I killed at sea a naḥiru, which is called a sea-horse.’ (RIMA 2: A.0.87.3: r. 16-25)

It is unclear why Tighlat-pileser I didn't have to fight to receive tribute. The whole expedition makes more sense if it is seen as a trading mission. Tribute can easily be an euphemism for trade (Liverani 2004, 217; 219). Seeing this as a military campaign is problematic as there is no mention of any hostile army. It would also seem unwise to go on a touristy sailing expedition when one is in hostile territory. The text makes it clear that the catch of the *nāhir* forms the core of the royal inscriptions (de Odorico 1994, 89-91). A basalt replica is made of it to decorate the palace at home. What animal is meant by a *nāhir* is unknown, although de Odorico's suggestion of a Narwhal (de Odorico, de 1994, 93) seems unlikely as the Narwhal only occurs within the Arctic circle. In a later text the *nāhir* is replaced by the gift of a female ape and a crocodile (RIMA 2: A.0.88.4 r. 24-30). On his return to Aššur, Tighlat-pileser I battles the king of Carchemish.

Tighlat-pileser I is also the first king to have mentioned crossing the Euphrates. 'I have crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times, twice in one year, in pursuit of the *Ahlamu*-Aramaeans.' (RIMA 2: A.0.87.4: r. 34-36). Again it would appear not be about territorial gains. Tighlat-pileser I only mentions the killing of enemies and the taking of spoil. The unorganised nature of the enemy is indicated by the fact that Tighlat-pileser I needs to repeat his campaign 27 times. The *Ahlamu*-Aramaeans do not seem to have possessed cities or kings. It is only at mount Bešri at the other side of the Euphrates that Tighlat-pileser I was able to conquer six cities of the *Ahlamu*-Aramaeans. The success of these military campaigns against such a nomadic people can only have been very limited. Such groups would have been much more flexible and quicker than the Assyrian army. The repetitive nature of these campaigns seems to indicate that there was no clear enemy to destroy. Sader supposes that the texts refers to small villages or camps, which were rebuilt 28 times (2001, 65). However it would seem more logical for the *Ahlamu*-Aramaeans to relocate their camps to a different region instead of waiting for Tighlat-pileser I to come and destroy it over and over again.

Tighlat-pileser I fought with the Babylonians twice. In the first campaign Tighlat-pileser I conquers cities along the Lower Zab river. Again demonstrating the stability of this border. This campaign seems to have been unsuccessful (de Odorico 1994, 96). In his second campaign Tighlat-pileser I plundered the important Babylonian cities of Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Babylon and Opis (RIMA 2: A.0.87.10).

The campaigns of Tighlat-pileser I were still outside the Jezira. This seems to indicate that the Jezira is still Assyrian territory. Only the region of Katmuhu needed to be re-conquered. The general goal of his campaigns was the pacification of the *Ahlamu* and the collection of tribute, plundering, and trade. What is also interesting is the lack of organized enemy armies in the areas where Tighlat-pileser I campaigned. This view of a still Assyrian Jezira seems supported by a temple archive from Aššur. This archive mentions 27 provinces all located along the river Khabur and the region around Aššur (Postgate 1988, 96-101. The small map is reprinted in Postgate 1995, 14). The reconstructed territorial border leaves

the Balikh valley and the Upper Tigris region out. We will see that the Upper Tigris region should still be considered as part of the Empire. On the history of the Balikh valley our information ceases with the decline of Tell Sabi Abyad. However there is some evidence to suggest that Tighlat-pileser I conquered parts of the Euphrates valley just south of Carchemish (Makinson 2005, 33-41; Eidem/Putt 2001). If true this would certainly mean that the Balikh valley was still under Assyrian control. The later king Šalmanassar I III (858-24) mentions three cities in this region as having been build by Tighlat-pileser I. It concerns the cities of Pitru, Til-Barsip, and Mutkinu (RIMA 3: A.0.102.2: ii 35b-40a, A.0.102.6: i 57-ii2; Radner 2005; Eidem/Putt 2001).

During this period we come across another king of Ṭabetu (Maul 2005). This Aššur-ketti-lešer is another generation of “kings of Mari”. His inscriptions are found north Ṭabetu in Tell Bderi (Maul 1992; Ohnuma/Numoto 2001; Ohnuma/Numoto/Shimbo 2000; Ohnuma/Numoto/Okuda 1999). The 2005 field season yielded another approximately 150 tablets to be published later (Numoto 2006). Aššur-ketti-lešer builds a fort at this former Mitanni city in the year 1096. he calls it after himself Dur-Aššur-ketti-lešer. He seems to have also conquered the city of Adališhu (Tell Rad Shaqra?), were he builds a palace (Kühne 1995, 74). The end of this dynasty is unknown. The hypotheses that these conquests would anger the Assyrian kings is unlikely as the dynasty remains in power (Maul 1999, 52-53). This line of reasoning supposes that the Assyrian kings would be unhappy with these ambitious vassals. This cannot be proven. Apparently in some cases it was more opportune to leave the local administration to client-kings. The position of these client-kings between local governors in the archives might indicate that the distinction between the two is not big. The pottery from Tell Bderi indicates that the king of Mari continued the “official” Middle-Assyrian pottery-tradition as found at Dur-Katlimmu (Kühne 1995, 74). In the end what might have mattered most was the receiving of the tribute.

Aššur-bel-kala (1073-1056)

The inscriptions of Tighlat-pileser I's son Aššur-bel-kala are extensive. Aššur-bel-kala is most known for his campaigns against Aramaeans throughout the Empire. He was the first Middle-Assyrian king to have mentioned campaigns inside the Empire in his royal inscriptions. Earlier kings always campaigned in rebellious regions outside the Empire and in borderlands. The Aramaeans do not seem to have been organized into big armies and there is no mention of any Aramaean king. The Aramaeans are always mentioned as contingents located next to Assyrian cities. Aššur-bel-kala battles the Aramaeans at Dur-Katlimmu, in the Upper Tigris region, in the Kašijari mountains, and in the region of Harran. Along the Khabur he battles a king of Mari twice (RIMA 2: A.0.89.1 r. 14' - 16' and A.0.89.2 ii 5' - 11').

This kingdom / vassal in Mari is a recurring entity in the twelfth century. It is only in the last years that some light has been shed on this dynasty (Maul 2005).

Aššur-bel-kala battles Tukulti-Mer king of Mari and Hana, which is located west of the river Khabur. Tukulti-Mer gives Ilu-iqiša as the name of his father. This dynasty could perhaps be connected to the Hanaean found in Aššur archives of 1150 as discussed above (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2000, 7). It is a bit puzzling to find another king of Mari. These names do not fit the known dynastic-list of the kings of Mari from Ṭabetu. Maul suggests that we are dealing with two distinct kingdoms (Maul 1992, 54).

How should we interpret this sudden incursion of Aramaeans into the Empire? Some would argue that this indicates the final crumbling of Assyrian power. Whereas Tighlat-pileser I was able to keep the Aramaeans outside Assyria proper, Aššur-bel-kala was not. I will argue that this view is misleading. We saw that even during the heydays of the Middle-Assyrian Empire, that is during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Assyrians weren't able to keep hostile groups from infiltrating.

We have no information on the spread of the Aramaeans in the 12th century. The reasons for them not being mentioned in earlier inscriptions seems to be more related to the Assyrian topos of the king who only fights outside the Assyrian territory. A true Assyrian king apparently does not campaign in territory which is already his. It is not so much that there is no mention of Aramaeans in the Jezira during the 12th century in any of the royal inscriptions, there are hardly any royal inscription and none of them mention the Jezira. This topos changes with Aššur-bel-kala, who campaigns throughout the Jezira. I would argue that the message of his inscriptions is not the spread of the Aramaeans but that he would protect all Assyrian territory. This indicates that these cities were still part of the Assyrian Empire. Aššur-bel-Kala does not need to battle the Aramaeans inside any of these cities. They are always found next to them. The Aramaeans have spread themselves throughout the Empire in groups where they apparently waited for Aššur-bel-kala's army to arrive. Perhaps it would have been advisable for them to flee the river valleys at the arrival of the Assyrian army.

With the exception of the Balikh, most of the Assyrian territories was still in Assyrian hands. This would still include the entire Khabur-valley and the Upper Tigris region. This is also indicated by new excavations at Giricano in the Upper Tigris region (Schachner 2004) and at Tell Bderi (Maul 1992) and Tell Barri in the Khabur-triangle (Pecorella, Benoit 2005), which found Assyrian occupation up till Aššur-bel-kala's reign.

Even though there is no prove for an Aramaean incursion, Aššur-bel-kala's royal inscriptions do seem to indicate growing problems for the Assyrian king. It seems reasonable to assume that Aššur-bel-Kala would have rather continued fighting outside his own territory as the kings before him did.

The Upper Tigris region

Aššur-bel-kala fought in the Upper Tigris region during his reign. He battled the Aramaeans next to Šimanu in the west of the valley. This area was occupied during this period. The last phase in Giricano consists of mA III pottery with

almost no local forms (Schachner 2004, 5; 12-13; for the classification see Phälzner 1995, 234-238). The cities Tušhan and Šīmanu (probably) were occupied during this time (Radner 2004, 71; RIMA 2 A.0.89.7 iii 9-14). There is no known province in the Upper Tigris. The region is not mentioned in any of the known lists of provinces. This might be explained either by the incompleteness of these list or by the fact that this region had a different mode of government. Aššur-bel-kala mentions a *pahatu* (district) of Šīmanu, which might indicate the existence of a *bel pahate* (governor) (RIMA 2 A.0.89.7 iii 9-14). During Aššur-bel-kala's reign Dunnu-ša-Uzibi (Giricano) is abandoned. The last texts from Giricano are dated to the eponym of Ili-iddina (1069-1068). 15 texts were found, 11 of which bore this eponym (Radner 2004, 51-52). This eponym is also found on his royal inscriptions that mention the Aramaean campaigns (Grayson 1991). This dates the texts to the year after which Aššur-bel-kala fought in the region. Apparently his success was not lasting. After the abandonment there is no occupation for some fifty years (Schachner 2004, 5, footnote 15).

After *ca.* 1050 a new kind of pottery appears in the Upper Tigris region. This so-called 'groovy pottery' is found throughout eastern Turkey. In Iraq and Syria only one excavation has yielded 'groovy pottery'. The appearance of 'groovy pottery' in this area is taken as the end of the Assyrian presence (Roaf/Schachner 2005). It is dangerous to connect pottery to people, but the spread of this material culture is not similar to anything which could be called Aramaean material culture as found in Syria. This is a bit strange as Aššur-bel-kala only mentions battling Aramaeans in the Upper Tigris region. This discrepancy should not surprise us. We saw that royal inscriptions often enhance enemies by locating them everywhere or by indicating they were helped by other kings. This should warn us against trying to fit the Aramaeans into the history of the Upper Tigris region, although erasing them with any kind of certainty is also impossible as they do appear in the Neo-Assyrian period in the west of this region (Grayson 1996).

Bartl proposed to equate the makers of the 'groovy pottery' with the Mušku. These are the people who were chased north from Katmuhu by Tiglath-pileser I. She latter revised her opinion (Bartl 2001, 398), because the spread of this pottery does not coincide with the area were the Mušku are expected to have lived. Roaf and Schachner propose to see this pottery as overlapping with the north-easterly from the Tigris living Nairi. Aware of the theoretical difficulties of pots-and-people arguments they argue for an overlap instead of an equation (Roaf/Schachner 2005, 115-123).

As always there was the meddling with the Babylonians. Aššur-bel-kala conquered the cities around the important city of Dur-Kurigalzu (RIMA 2: A.0.89.7 iii 4b – 8a). He made peace with the Babylonian king Marduk-šapikzeri. Aššur-bel-kala was the one how chose the next Babylonian king. Aššur-bel-kala married the daughter of the new king and took a big dowry to Assyria. This seems a nice way to plunder the riches of Babylon.

Conclusion

In this article the concept of 'empire' has been defined as "a territory ruled over by an emperor, who is sovereign". This means that the Middle-Assyrian Empire was primarily the possession of the Middle-Assyrian kings. The history of the Middle-Assyrian Empire is therefore first of all the history of the territory that belonged the Middle-Assyrian kings. The territorial structure of the Middle-Assyrian Empire is defined by the way these territories belonged to them. This 'belonging' seems to have taken several forms and regions have belonged to the king in different measures.

New information has contributed to the extension of our knowledge in time and geographical extent. It questions the idea of a 'golden' 13th century and a later period of decline. New texts from the royal correspondences and secondary literature have made a critical reading of the royal inscriptions possible. The concept of 'belonging' is important in this respect. The royal inscriptions and the general historiography of the Middle-Assyrian period are unclear on the way regions belong to the Assyrian king. The royal inscriptions suggest that Assyrian kings always were in full and direct control of all Assyrian territory. This article has tried to demonstrate that the Assyrian kings used a range of methods of possession, among which are plundering and client-kings.

The relation between the king and the region that belonged to him should be defined in time and place. The most important difference is between regions fallen under the sphere of influence of the Assyrian kings and the regions that could be counted as possession. The precise border of the Assyrian Empire is unknown for all Middle-Assyrian kings. This even includes the Jezira where the Assyrian possessions in the present-day Turkish regions are largely unknown.

Up to the reign of Šalmanassar I it is unclear how regions belonged to the Assyrian king. Without administrative texts or other indications of Assyrian administration the difference between the sphere of influence and possession will remain unknown. The Assyrian sphere of influence grew during the reign of Adad-nirari I, until large parts of the Syrian plain were part of it. Even if this resulted in full possession it seems that he did not do much with these territories. The only region where his activities are found so far are along the river Jaghjagh, in the north of the Khabur-triangle, where he builds palaces in the city of Kahat and perhaps in Taidu. This is the closest region from the already possessed regions in the east of the Jezira.

During the reign of Šalmanassar I the entire Jezira seems to have become royal possession. These possessions were however managed by the Grand Vizier, who had a Vizier and several governors to his aid. All in all a select group who's most important members were probably members of the royal family. The most elaborate evidence for an Assyrian administration comes from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. But the situation never became tranquil. During Tukulti-Ninurta I's reign hostile groups were able to travel through the Jezira.

The 'golden' years of 13th century came late in the century and were less tranquil than perhaps expected from the royal inscriptions.

There is no indication for drastic changes in the size of the Assyrian possessions in the twelfth century. The Jezira remained the property of the Assyrian kings, but throughout the period its economic value seems to have decreased up to the point that the river Balikh was only used for royal hunts. The administrative structure of the Empire changed. It seems that the Assyrian kings started managing the Jezira less directly. The position of the Grand Vizier was abolished and we see the emergence of client-kings. These continued to pay tribute and remained under the authority of the Assyrian kings, but they were able to position themselves somewhat more independently. The system of governors remained functioning. Tighlat-pileser was one of the most prolific kings, but there is no indication that he had to re-conquer lost Assyrian territory besides the region of Katmuhu. He plundered and traded throughout an extremely big region, but there is no indication that these territories became true Assyrian possessions. For a short period the Assyrian territory might even have extended to the western shore of the Euphrates just below the Hittite city of Carchemish.

During his successor Aššur-bel-Kala the largest part of the Jezira was still in Assyrian hands. What changed is the type of campaigns undertaken by the Assyrian king. Aššur-bel-Kala was the first king since Šalmanassar I who campaigned inside the Jezira. This was probably due to a real trait, because it was during his reign that most Assyrian settlements, where we have information on, were abandoned.

The proceeding period is the second period of decline. In this case the decline does seem real, but this period remains a true 'dark-age'. This decline cannot in itself form the end of the Middle-Assyrian Empire. The Assyrian monarchs remained in power and the later kings did not perceive themselves as belonging to a different empire. The artificiality of the distinction between the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian periods is shown by the many suggestions for separating between the two. If an empire is seen as the territory belonging to the king, as I stated, then an empire can only come to an end if the kings disappear. No such thing happened. No new dynasty entered the scene, all Assyrian kings were family of the former kings¹⁶. One could look at cultural differences to define an empire, but can one define a cultural change important enough to start speaking of a new period? Cultural changes are constant and happen throughout the existence of an empire not only between succeeding ones. In my view there is no good ground to divide the Assyrian empire into a 'Middle' and a 'Late' period, except for the fact that in our historiography a Neo-Assyrian period has to commence.

¹⁶The only exception being Ninurta-apil-Ekur, a member of the royal family, but the son of the Grand Vizier Ili-padda.

Unfortunately this division is too much part of the historiography of the period to be dropped. If we want to call part of this period Middle-Assyrian, we should at least extend it to the reign of Aššur-bel-Kala. This extends the Middle-Assyrian period 150 years beyond the Late Bronze Age until approximately 1050. The Middle-Assyrian Empire sees constant changes in its internal organisation, but its territory seems to have been remarkably constant from Šalmanassar I up to the reign of Aššur-bel-Kala.

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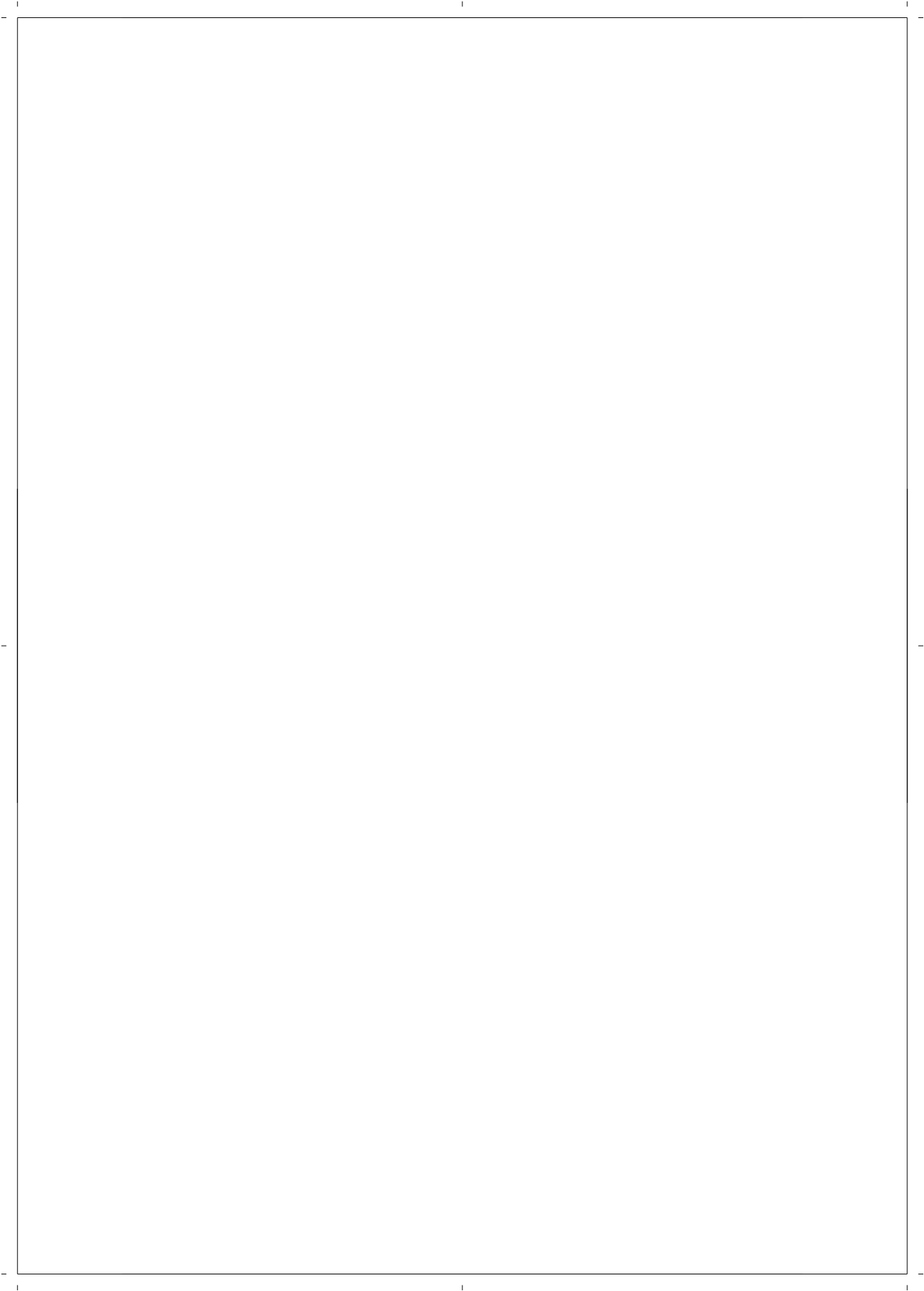
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REFLECTIONS ON THE EARLIEST PHOENICIAN PRESENCE
IN NORTH-WEST AFRICA

Eleftheria Pappa

Introduction: Phoenician presence in Morocco

In the last few decades, and especially in the 1990s, Morocco has enjoyed an extensive programme of research, with prolific results for the study of the Phoenician and Punic periods (El Khayari 2004; López Pardo 2002). This area of North-West Africa entered into the orbit of the cultural currents of the so-called Phoenician 'expansion' in the central and western Mediterranean, a phenomenon dated to *ca.* late 9th/8th-6th centuries BC¹.

Sites with Phoenician/early Punic material have been identified both on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of the country (Fig.1). Most of these are situated in or near estuarine environments, such as those formed by the rivers Lucus, Sebú and Bou Regreg (López Pardo 2002, 31-33). Lixus, located on the Atlantic coast, on the bank of the river Lucus, has yielded the earliest evidence for Phoenician presence in the region, dating to the late 9th or early 8th century BC (Akerraz/El Khayari 2000; Álvarez *et alii* 2001; Belen *et alii* 2001; Habibi *et alii*. 2005)². Further south on the coast, 7th century BC Phoenician pottery has been identified at the site of Sala, situated close to the estuary of the Bou Regreg, close to the modern capital of Rabat (Boube 1984, 166-167). Contemporary activity has also been detected at Mogador, a small island located 700 km from the Straits of Gibraltar, off the coast of Essaouira (Jodin 1966; López Pardo 1992)³. On the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, sites with potentially 7th to 6th century BC Phoenician material have been identified at Sidi Driss by the wadi Amokrane and at Ras Kebdana, close to the estuary of the wadi Moulouya (El Khayari 2004, 152).

¹ For late 9th century BC radiocarbon dates for Phoenician presence in Carthage (Tunisia), see Docter *et alii* 2005, for Huelva (Spain), see Nijboer/van der Plicht 2006. For recent developments in the chronology of Phoenician settlements, see the contributions in Sagona 2008.

² The latest excavations in the area of Lixus, as part of a Spanish-Moroccan project, have led to a series of monographs and articles; see *e.g.* Habibi/Aranegui Gascó 2005.

³ Recently Mogador and its surrounding region have been the focus of a multidisciplinary project by the German Archaeological Institute, jointly undertaken by the Madrid Department and the Commission for Archaeology of Non-European Cultures.

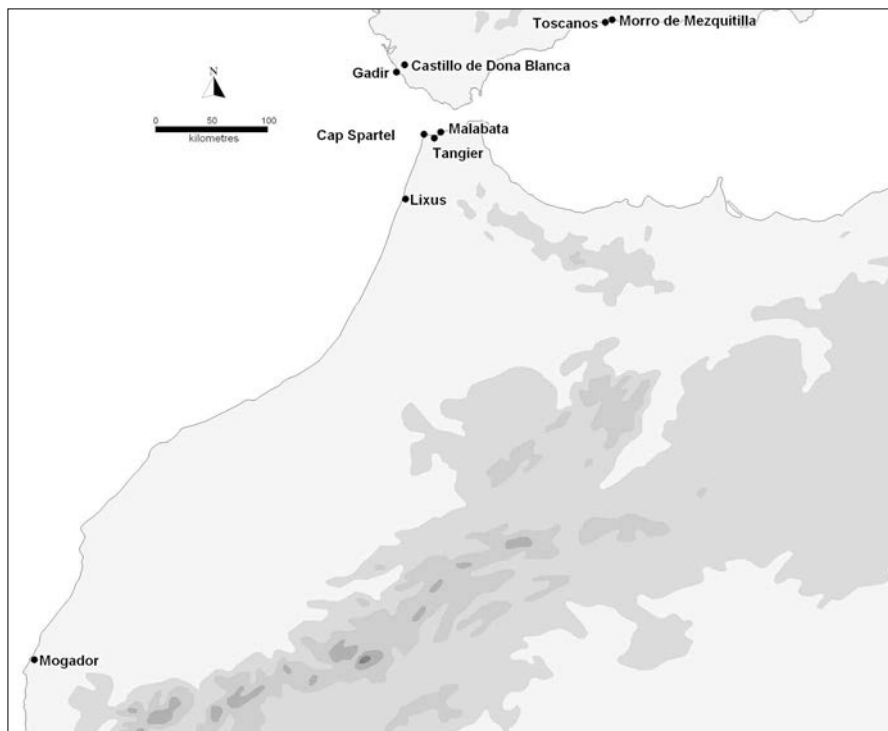


Fig.1. Sites with Phoenician material in Morocco (Map produced using Collins Bartholomew Ltd digital map data (c), www.collinsbartholomew.com reproduced with permission).

Crucial to the interpretation of these sites is the distinguishing of Phoenician ex-nihilo establishments of a permanent or seasonal nature from indigenous settlements with Phoenician imports. The settlement at Kach Kouch, for example, located on a headland overlooking the valley of Lau, near the Straits (Bokbot/Onrubia-Pintado 1995) is a case in point. Hypotheses oscillate between suggestions of an indigenous and a Phoenician settlement⁴.

On the other hand, literary sources point to an extensive Phoenician presence in Morocco. No less than three hundred Phoenician colonies were established on the Atlantic coast according to a passage by Strabo (17.3.2-3) and attributed to Eratosthenes. Artemidorus (Str. 17.3.8) would contend that such an estimation is

⁴ According to the excavators (Bokbot/Onrubia-Pintado 1995), the settlement of wood-and-mud huts with silos was indigenous on the basis of pottery types. El Khayari (2004, 152) believes this is an insufficient criterion for characterising the site as 'indigenous', as similar wares have been found at Lixus.

overly exaggerated, though similar stories about Phoenician presence in the West were also recounted by Pomponius Mela (*De Sit. Orb.* 1.26-1.30), Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 19, 63) and Avienius (*O.M.* 438-442, 459-460) (e.g. Antonelli 1998; Batty 2000, 81-82; Hind 1999, 77-9)⁵.

For many decades, much speculation surrounded the Phoenician settlements on the Algerian and Moroccan coasts, relying heavily on extant literary sources, whose interpretation was as ambiguous as the at-the-time scant archaeological record itself⁶. The *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax, a 4th century BC sailors' handbook of toponyms and descriptions of places on the African coastline, includes information on putative 7th-6th century BC Phoenician activities in the area of Morocco (Domínguez Monedero 1994)⁷. Another *Periplous*, known as Hanno's, of ambivalent and much disputed authenticity and historicity, is supposedly the Greek translation of a Phoenician inscription dedicated at the temple of Baal Hammon in Carthage, possibly in the 6th or 5th century BC. The condensed and at times ambivalent text recounts the adventures faced by a fleet of Carthaginian ships around the Atlantic coast of Africa, allegedly in an attempt to 'recolonise' part of the area, where according to some interpretations Phoenician trading posts had supposedly been set up in the 7th century BC so as to facilitate exchanges with the local populations (e.g. Lipinski 2004, 434-476; López Pardo 1991)⁸.

Both these texts are highly problematic, yet they have been used extensively in hypotheses concerning the extent and role of Phoenician groups in North-West Africa. In contributing to such interpretations of the local archaeological record, they effectively led to theories on the 'impact' of Phoenician presence in the region. The aim of the present paper is to explore two hypotheses concerning this 'impact' in the period between the 7th and the 6th/5th centuries BC, which although originated during the 1960s and 1970s, have in recent years resurfaced in the literature. A better understanding of artefact typology, as well as new excavations, offer new dimensions, which necessitate a re-examination of the material.

⁵ Hecataeus of Miletus' description of the western Mediterranean (F344-352) preserves some Greek-sounding north African toponyms. According to Braun (2004, 335-341) this indicates the use of maritime routes by Phocaeen Greeks in the last decades of the 7th century BC and the first half of the 6th century BC, irrespective of the probability of an earlier Phoenician settlement in the region.

⁶ See, for example, Harden 1948.

⁷ It was probably redacted in the second half of the 4th century BC and gave short descriptions of mainly the Mediterranean coastlines, including Africa.

⁸ Hanno's *Periplous* is known from the 4th century BC Greek translation recorded in the *Codex Palatinus Graecus* 398, which dates from the 10th century AD. The recounted voyage is normally dated to the last quarter of the 6th or the 5th century BC. Hanno is said to have taken sixty ships and 30,000 men and women in order to establish/repopulate existing colonies on the coast beyond the Straits of Gibraltar (Domínguez Monedero 1994; Harden 1948, 142; López Pardo 1991).

The first hypothesis concerns the putative metal trade between the Phoenicians of the outpost of Mogador and the local communities of the opposite mainland. The case for metallurgical activities having taken place on the site is explored, along with the scant evidence for exploitation of local ores (El Khayari 2001), transport of ingots from Mogador and other strands of evidence that could suggest trading contacts between the Mediterranean foreigners and locals. Inevitably, the dating and iconography of the High Atlas engravings (Jodin 1964; Sbihi Alaoui/Searight 1997; Simoneau 1968-72), which allegedly depict some of the metal objects traded, is raised.

The second hypothesis relates to the existence of intense intercultural contacts between local populations in the area of Tangier with Phoenician settlers or traders. The already mentioned ambiguity of what constitutes 'Phoenician' versus 'indigenous' in interpretations of sites is clearly reflected in the case of the *necropoleis* of Tangier, which, despite having been published in a volume entitled *Nécropoles phéniciennes de la région de Tanger* (Ponsich 1967), were clearly considered to be the burial grounds of indigenous people heavily 'influenced' by Phoenician culture. El Azifi (1995, 401-402), in an attempt to demonstrate the autochthonous identity of the majority of these burial grounds, appears to have been misled by the title of the original publication into thinking that these cemeteries were portrayed as Phoenician. Yet in reality, it was stated from the outset in that first publication (Ponsich 1967, 24) that these were used by autochthonous groups 'profoundly impregnated with Phoenician culture'. In discussing how changes in the funerary customs of the area of Tangier could be related to broader social changes, issues of chronology again become pertinent, as the dating of some tomb groups spans two or more centuries. In addition, concepts relating to ethnicity and identity are touched upon, as 'indigenous' and 'Phoenician' do not necessarily constitute adequate descriptive categories in the context of 6th-5th centuries BC Morocco.

These two case-studies of the sites of Mogador and Tangier illustrate aspects of the interpretations of Phoenician expansion in this region of Africa, where a seemingly marginal foreign presence *ca.* 800-600 BC is postulated to have led to a considerable dissemination of cultural elements.

The Phoenician trading post on Mogador and the question of metal trade

Mogador and the hypothesis of metal trade

In 1966, Jodin published a volume on the Phoenician *comptoir* of Mogador, located 700 km from the Straits of Gibraltar on an off-shore island, 1.5-3 km away from the coast of Essaouira. This insular location is typical of the Phoenician

⁹ "Ces tombes sont celles de nécropoles rurales, et constituent la preuve qu'entre le VIII et le V siècle avant J.C. vivaient dans la région de Tanger des populations autochtones encore très attachées à leurs traditions, mais déjà profondément imprégnées de civilisation phénicienne" (Ponsich 1967, 24).

establishments elsewhere on small islands opposite the coastline, as in Tyre and Gadir. Evidence for occupation was identified only in the south-eastern part of the island. Phoenician activity dating to the 7th century BC and the first half of the 6th century BC was attested in the form of Phoenician and Greek pottery, as well as graffiti (Jodin 1966, 23-27).

Apart from a betyl, a rectangular pillar standing up to 1.47 m high, the only other structure excavated was a paved area. There were no traces of permanent structures and no burial grounds. This led to the interpretation of the site as a seasonal port-of-call for Phoenician merchants who needed a base to spend the winter until the following sailing season. Accordingly, it was thought that unfavourable winds would render the return voyage impossible during certain parts of the year and that thus a temporary abode would be needed during the winter season (Jodin 1966, 177-186). Recent studies have also emphasized the periodic character of the occupation on the site, reinforcing the interpretation of a port-of-call (López Pardo 2000b).

At about the same time research on the Phoenician remains of Mogador was published, attention was also drawn to groups of rock engravings found in the areas of the High Atlas Mountains and those of the Anti-Atlas, which depicted numerous daggers, lances, halberds (hafted daggers) and light chariots. The earliest of those were somewhat tentatively dated to the Bronze Age (Simoneau 1968-72, 15) and to the first half of the first millennium BC (Jodin 1964, 112-114) on stylistic grounds of the objects depicted. Mogador lies opposite the littoral region dominated by the dry riverbed (wadi) of the river Ksob, which defines the western edge of the High Atlas. In view of the physical closeness of Mogador to the High Atlas, Culican (1991, 545-546) subtly put forward the hypothesis that “Mogador (possibly) lay opposite a caravan route which operated a trade in food, metals and luxuries with these mountain folk...”, envisaging pastoral communities of transhumant nomads as responsible for these engravings in the period of Phoenician contacts¹⁰.

A recent re-examination of material from the 1956 and 1957 excavation seasons on Mogador led Aranegui Gascó *et alii* (2000, 35) to suggest that the presence of traces of iron slag and two vitrified clay bellows nozzles from the earliest stratum (IV) on the island attested to metallurgical activities. They stressed the location of iron ores 20-25 km to the north of Essaouira (opposite Mogador) at the Jbel El Hadid (“the Mountain of Iron”), pointing out that the Phoenicians of Mogador could have exploited local ores, a suggestion taken up also by El Khayari (2001, 8). Meanwhile, López Pardo (2000a, 37-38) postulated that the metallurgical activity aimed not merely at supplying Mediterranean centres, but targeted a “local market” in exchange for ostrich eggshells, hides and ivory. He

¹⁰ Though this was published in “Phoenicia and Phoenician Colonization” for *Cambridge Ancient History* in 1991, it was written at some point before 1984 (see Potts 1995, 153), and so within about 15-20 years from the time of Jodin’s publications on Mogador and the High Atlas engravings.

then went on to suggest that although some of the High Atlas rock art dated to the Late Bronze Age, *some* of the engravings of Oukaimeden and Yagour in the High Atlas that depict metal weapons could be dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC. Allowing for the possibility that a local production of copper and bronze weapons could not be excluded, he stressed that the majority of metal objects must have come via external trade with trading posts such as Mogador. In this light, the author hypothesised that the trading of iron weapons would confer a valuable advantage over groups still using bronze technology (López Pardo 2002, 34-35).

Mogador, metallurgical activities and rock engravings: the evidence for commercial exchanges

Pottery from Mogador shows clear affinities with the Phoenician centres in Iberia. Red-slip pottery replicated the Andalusian forms known from the settlements of Castillo de Doña Blanca and the trading posts of Malaga and Granada, including plates, *pithoi* (large storage jars) and *amphorai*. Indigenous pottery from Iberia (“Tartessian”) was also identified (Kbiri Alaoui/López Pardo 1998)¹¹. Eastern Mediterranean imports included East Greek and Attic SOS *amphorai* of the middle of the 7th century BC as well as a few Cypriot Bichrome IV fragments (López Pardo 1992, 282-283; Villard 1960, 1-10). Graffiti on the pottery, added after firing, form one of the largest assemblages of epigraphic material in the Phoenician West. They comprise two or three letters in each case, recording mainly Phoenician names (*e.g.* “Magon”). Several variants of the letters have been dated to the end of the 8th century BC and the 7th century BC (Amadasi Guzzo 1992; Xella 1992)¹².

For Iberia, the Phoenician interest in metals has been greatly emphasised, following the well-documented Phoenician involvement in the exploitation of the Rio Tinto mines and the processing of metals in areas of Phoenician settlement (*e.g.* Aubet 2002a; 2002b; Fernández Jurado 2003; González de Canales Cerisola *et alii.* 2006). If then quest for metals had been one of the prime motives for occupation on Mogador, it would fit well into the pattern of other Phoenician settlements in the West.

Yet, evidence for iron objects predating the Roman period in southern and even northern Morocco is scarce. Few metal objects have been recovered from the Phoenician strata at Lixus (Clemente/Peraile 2001, 22) and further north, in Tangier, such items can be narrowed down to six sickles, a javelin point, a knife

¹¹ The pottery was found among debris which included animal and fish bones. Red-slip plates, bowls and *amphorai* were found as well as fragments of “retícula bruñida” and “Cruz del Negro” vases, which appear in indigenous Tartessian settlements in Iberia (Jodin 1966, 47). Among the five thousand fragments from Mogador found at the museum in Rabat, a study of a hundred painted pieces identified *pithoi*, hemispherical cups and narrow-necked vases which find parallels in the Andalusian settlements (Kbiri Alaoui/López Pardo 1998).

¹² An initial study of the graffiti by Février (1966) did not attract much attention until the 1990s. Fragmentary and brief, the graffiti record archaic forms of letters, in some cases comprising their earliest attestations (Amadasi Guzzo 1992, 170-171; Xella 1992).

blade and two pieces of jewellery from the *necropoleis* of Aïn Dahlia Kebira and Djebila (Ponsich 1970, 130-157), whose dating remains problematic (cf. *infra*). Further, there is no evidence to suggest exploitation of ores at Jbel El Hadid before modern times (López Pardo 2002, 34) that could substantiate Aranegui Gascó's *et alii* (2000) and El Khayari's (2001) attractive suggestion that the Phoenicians exploited local ores.

More information can be provided by the Phoenician shipwreck of *Bajo de la Campana*, found off the coast of Murcia in eastern Spain. The mixed cargo of amphorai, tin and lead ingots as well as elephant tusks has been dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC (Roldán Beldan *et alii* (1995); Martín Camino/Roldán Bernál 1991, 356-357). It has been suggested that the elephant tusks with Phoenician inscriptions (Sanmartín Ascaso 1986, 89-91) could have been picked up at Mogador (López Pardo 1992), with the ingots procured from Portugal (e.g. Aubet 2002b, 106). Notably though, no iron was among the metals transported. Exchanges between Phoenicians and African groups involving Egyptian and Greek vessels bartered for elephant tusks are provided in the literary sources. Jodin (1966, 191) believed Mogador to be *Cerne*, mentioned in Pseudo-Skylax (*Per.* 398, 55v, 40) as an island three days' sail from the Straits of Gibraltar, where Phoenicians offloaded their merchandise, only to then transport it in small boats to the opposite mainland. Stalls were set up on *Cerne* to house these merchants while they conducted their thriving trade with the "Ethiopians": Egyptian unguent and "stone", as well as Attic pottery were exchanged for ivory and hides of wild and domesticated animals. This account could have been influenced by Hanno's *Periplous*, which also refers to a *Cerne*. According to it, Hanno founded there the last Phoenician colony and the one farthest removed (Harden 1948, 142-147)¹³. Yet, if the identification with Mogador is correct, these accounts must reflect a later re-use of the isle as a seasonal trading post, dated to the 4th century BC by López Pardo (2000b, 220-227)¹⁴.

To move to the second line of the argument of commercial exchanges with autochthonous communities, a brief examination of the rock engravings of the High Atlas and the Anti-Atlas Mountains is necessary. Two hundred and fifty-five rock art sites are known in Morocco, of which one hundred and forty-nine are located in south Morocco, nine in north Morocco and the rest in the High Atlas/Anti-Atlas Mountains. The south Moroccan sites depict in their majority wild animals, such as antelopes, gazelles, ostriches, rhinoceros and occasionally domesticated cattle (Sbihi Alaoui/Searight 1997, 87-94). Weapons, shields and

¹³ On the other hand, Lipiński (2004, 466-467) has suggested an alternative identification of Mogador with the harbour of "Mysokaras", mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography* IV, 1, 6). He notes that this toponym is the Greek transcription of a Phoenician word whose Hebrew equivalent "mishar" means "mart". In the Bible (I *Kings* 10:15), this Hebrew term is found in Aramaic in a standard phrase, denoting the "mart of the merchants".

¹⁴ Partly on the basis of some 4th century BC amphora sherds from Mogador, see López Pardo (2000b, 222).

chariots rarely appear, unlike in the High Atlas engravings, which seem to be later. The latter include a staggering array of weapons, such as daggers, points and halberds (Simoneau 1968-72). Forty-four such sites are known in the High Atlas, mainly at Jbel Rat, Yagour Plateau and Oukaimeden and twenty-three in the Anti-Atlas Mountains. The engravings are found in clearly visible areas, on sandstone passes or prairies. They mostly depict weapons (in 75% of cases at Oukaimeden), chariots and scenes of hunting. The human form in these cases appears magnified, brandishing a single weapon against a huge beast, such as an elephant, occasionally in protection of domesticated oxen (Sbihi Alaoui/Searight 1997, 87-96). Rodrigue (2006) has interpreted this set of iconographic features as mirroring a new behaviour of the High Atlas communities, where mastering of metallurgy and animal domestication are linked to an increasingly more settled form of life¹⁵.

Unfortunately these engravings have not been dated by accelerator mass spectrometry or microerosion analysis. Suggested dates are highly diverse, ranging from 1500 BC to 500 BC on account of different factors of doubtful precision (Sbihi Alaoui/Searight 1997, 96-97)¹⁶.

Some of the engravings have been dated to the Atlantic Bronze Age on account of similarities of the artefacts depicted with Atlantic Bronze Age specimens from Iberia (e.g. Chenorkian 1988). A bronze halberd found in a cist grave at the necropolis of Mers in Tangier, dated by Ponsich (1970, 50-61) to the “chalcolithic”¹⁷ could confirm such a date. The artifact offers a strikingly exact parallel for some of the halberds depicted in the High Atlas engravings. Its blade is triangular, measuring 105 x 50 mm, with its edge thinned down, giving the appearance of a raised midrib in its centre. Three perforations on the edge of the shaft still hold the nails that attached it to the haft (Ponsich 1970, 55-57, fig. 14). All these three characteristics—triangular shape, perforations, raised midrib—are clearly schematically present in some of the engraved halberds of the High Atlas¹⁸. Schuhmacher (2002, 267-270; 273) believes that the Mers halberd resembles the “Carrapatos” type of halberds, known from Iberia. The connection is possible, though he allows for the possibility of “influences”, rather than stating that

¹⁵ Rodrigue (2006) has noted that the scene of hunting is ‘transcended’ with symbolic representations of humans and animals, which do not depict realistic confrontations.

¹⁶ The dating is partly based on the putative dates for the introduction of camel and the domestication of the mounted horse, animals which appear in the engravings. Other factors include climatic change, making allowances for the fact that the rearing of domesticated animals such as cattle in the now arid areas of Morocco would have been impossible. Stylistic analysis of weapons/chariots has also been used for this purpose. It is clear that these factors can hardly function as secure chronological pegs (Sbihi Alaoui/Searight 1997, 94-96).

¹⁷ The necropolis of Mers, located 14 km on the road of Tangier to Rabat is situated on two hills distanced 50 km from each other and consists of trapezoidal cist tombs. The halberd came from tomb no. 5 (Ponsich 1970, 50-61).

¹⁸ See the rock art image in Simoneau (1968-72, pl. 3).

the Mers weapon is an import. In any case, this identification would place the halberd ambiguously to the Early/Middle Bronze Age, as the date ascribed to the group is insecure. This could suggest that at least certain of the High Atlas engravings belong to the 2nd millennium BC and indicate the use of bronze weapons by the populations of the High Atlas.

Mogador and commercial exchanges with indigenous populations

Although the evidence for exploitation of local mines is at the moment non-existent (despite the possibility of metallurgical activity on Mogador) and the dating of some of the engravings is far from being satisfactorily placed within the horizon of the Phoenician presence, one could approach the interpretation of what archaeological evidence does exist reversely. On the premise that the evidence from Mogador suggests a seasonal or in any case a non-substantial permanent settlement, the site can be reasonably interpreted as a port-of-call or trading post. But a port-of-call towards where? Mogador is strikingly removed from the Mediterranean routes, and even from Sala, the closest location with Phoenician material known to date. If the assumption was that Mogador facilitated commercial routes by offering safe anchorage, one wonders to where those commercial routes led, if not to Atlantic Africa itself. It seems bizarre that such a distant location would have been chosen unless specific reasons pertained to trade in this region, given the risk of sailing so far south along the inhospitable Moroccan coastline.

If the hypothesis of commercial exchanges with local peoples is to be offered as an explanation, certain points should be made clear as to how the model should be framed. Thus, the hypothesis can be formulated as follows: the Phoenicians set up a trading post at Mogador, processed iron, which could have come from nearby iron ores as suggested (El Khayari 2001) and then bartered some of the worked metal back to the autochthonous populations (López Pardo 2000a). The latter were *already* using bronze technology and judging by the iconographic repertoire of their rock art, led pastoral lives. These two elements might have rendered them more responsive to the introduction of iron implements. In exchange, they provided Phoenician merchants with commodities such as ivory and hides that were transported to the Mediterranean in ships such as that of *Bajo de la Campana*, which carried elephant tusks to the Phoenician settlements of Spain.

Iron in the Mediterranean is not scarce and a remote location such as Mogador should justify its location with concrete returns. The procurement of goods such as eggshells and ivory seemingly does not validate the choice of such a far-off location. Yet, the value attached to these products should be judged in the context of Phoenician culture. Ivory was traded by Phoenicians widely in the Mediterranean (Baslez 1992), while Phoenician ivory workshops have been recently found in Huelva (González de Canales Cerisola *et alii* 2006, 22-24), indicating that the raw material must have come from Africa, as the closest source to Spain. Ostrich eggs, worked into elaborate painted vessels, have been extensively found in western Phoenician *necropoleis*, suggesting that their use

had religious connotations¹⁹. At one of the burial grounds of Tangier, where Phoenician cultural elements are attested, the introduction of such eggshell vases into two tombs²⁰ replaces the ceramic urn, most likely attaining a specific ritual significance within the eschatological system of beliefs of the people interred (López Pardo 1990, 30). Finally, it should be noted that the graffiti at Mogador record in three cases foreign names of an unclear, non-Phoenician origin (Amadasi Guzzo 1992, 173). Could perhaps these have been members of the local community in commercial exchanges with the Phoenicians?

To sum up, at the moment, although metallurgical activities are attested on Mogador, the chronology of the engravings on which a large part of the theory rests does not substantiate the hypothesis of metal trade with the indigenous communities, since some of them are better dated to the 2nd millennium BC (though it does not refute it either). Although the metal trade hypothesis would offer a new dimension to the debate of the Phoenician presence in the area, the dating of the rock art currently lies on a ladder of inferences, which significantly weakens the argument of the metal objects depicted having been acquired via Phoenician traders.

The burial grounds of Tangier and the question of “acculturation”

The burial grounds of Tangier: state of research.

Fourteen burial grounds ambiguously dated to the 7th-5th centuries BC have been identified in the Peninsula of Tangier, located in the area of the modern city of Tangier and on the Atlantic coast, comprising mainly fossas, shaft tombs and in rare cases, chamber tombs (El Azifi 1995). Ponsich (1967; 1970) published two meticulous volumes on the results of excavations of eight of these *necropoleis*, summarily discussing further five. He interpreted them as “Libyco-Phoenician”, belonging to indigenous groups heavily “influenced” by Phoenician culture, yet who “retained many of their ancestral customs”. Based on the preponderance of “archaic-looking” Phoenician jewellery and the lack of Attic vases, he dated them between the 7th century BC and the 5th century BC (Ponsich 1967, 23-24). Pottery forms, including vessels imitating Phoenician shapes, were considered “provincial” specimens that could not have been used as chronological indicators, given the mixing of styles and the possibility that they came into use considerably later after first appearing in Phoenician settlements (Ponsich 1970, 105). In re-examining the material, López Pardo (1990, 23-24) stressed that those eight *necropoleis* indicated a prolonged and “peculiar” phase of “acculturation”, in an area with a pervasive lack of non-funerary evidence, yet leaving open the possibility that in some of the tombs the deceased were Phoenicians. While a later study by El Azifi (1995, 405) added more bur-

¹⁹ E.g. at Laurita in Granada, Spain (Pellicer Catalán 2007).

²⁰ Cf. *infra* note 26.

ial grounds to this group, it adhered more or less to the original dating, placing them within the 7th century BC and the first half of the 6th century BC, identifying 99% of the total sum of tombs as indigenous burials. More recently, Kbir Alaoni (2000) questioned the dating of Aïn Dalhia Kebira, one of the biggest *necropoleis*, suggesting that it might have been in use in the latter half of the 5th century BC.

Thus, with few exceptions, the burial grounds are dated roughly to the 7th-5th centuries BC and are thought to belong to local communities, forming the most coherent and striking documentation we have for evaluating the cultural implications of the Phoenician/Punic settlement in north-west Africa.

The necropoleis, burial customs and chronology

Of the *necropoleis* dispersed in the Peninsula of Tangier (Fig. 2), Djebila has yielded one hundred and seven tombs, Aïn Dalhia Kebira ninety-eight, Dar Shiro/Dar Zhirou sixteen, Buchet fifteen, Gandori two, while a total of fifteen tombs came from Djebel Dar Shiro/Jbel Dhar Zhirou, Bled Charif, Ferme Dubois, Aïn Assel, Aïn Ben Amar, Sidi Mesmouda and Saniat Chulbat. The burials in these *necropoleis* are all inhumations, either in fossas, occasionally lined with slabs or built of small blocks of stone. Two more burials come from Malabata, located close to the city of Tangier. Shaft tombs and subterranean built tombs are also found in the Peninsula of Tangier, with two identified at Ras Achacar on the Atlantic façade (El Azifi 1995, 401-5; Ponsich 1967; 1970). All these forms are attested in Phoenician cemeteries of the western Mediterranean²¹. These tombs followed a North-South orientation, with the deceased placed in a contracted position and on their sides, a burial rite attested in Bronze Age cemeteries from the area²², which differs from the Phoenician custom of placing the dead on their backs with the arms on the abdomen (Ponsich 1970, 67-84). Only in the rare cases of monolithic sarcophagi were the bodies fully extended (López Pardo 1990, 27).

No Red-Slip pottery was found, apart from a single fragment dated to the 7th century BC by Ponsich (1970, 108)²³. An urn was normally placed in the grave along with one or more vessels, such as a (handmade) bowl or small jar, occasionally found along with the jewellery that the deceased had worn in burial. The urns were carinated vases deriving from local Bronze Age forms or belonged to the 'a chardon' type, with prototypes in 8th-7th Carthage and 7th-6th centuries BC indigenous *necropoleis* of south-eastern Spain. These were vases with broad necks and elongated cylindrical bodies, with or without handles. In some tombs,

²¹ E.g. Carthage (Bénichou-Safar 1982), Utica (Cintas 1951; 1954; Colozier 1954), Spain (Pellicer Catalán 2007).

²² As at the necropolis of Mers, see Ponsich (1970, 64).

²³ From tomb no. 30 at Djebila.

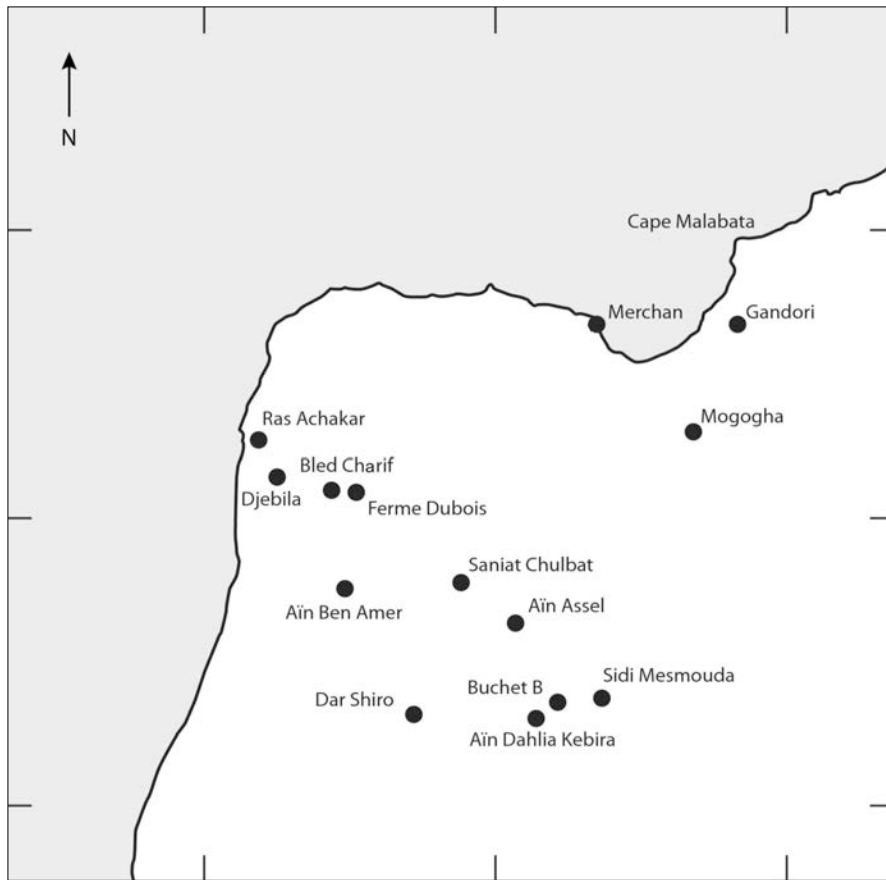


Fig. 2. Burial grounds of the Peninsula of Tangier.

pots with handles or globular jugs substituted the 'a chardon' type²⁴. The latter shows typological conservatism and its form persists down to the 5th century in Malta and possibly to the 3rd century BC in Gouraya (Algeria), making it problematic as a chronological indicator²⁵.

Tombs including carinated vases were considered to be the oldest by comparison to ceramic offerings from the Bronze Age burial grounds of Tangier (Ponsich 1970, 105-140). On the other hand, the replacement of the ceramic urn

²⁴ Only in three cases a Phoenician amphora of a globular shape with two perpendicular round handles attached to its neck was found (Djebila tomb no. 104, Aïn Dahlia Kebira tomb no. 60 and Dar Shiro/Dar Zhirou tomb no. 3), with examples known from Mogador (Ponsich 1970, 105-130).

²⁵ For the typological evolution of the 'a chardon' vase, see López Pardo (1990, 27-31).

by a decorated ostrich eggshell vase in a monolithic sarcophagus and a built tomb at Aïn Dalhia Kebira²⁶ probably comes at the end of the period, dated to the 6th century BC by López Pardo (1990, 30). Phoenician types of jewellery included an assortment of predominantly silver and bronze ornaments, with a few pieces in gold and iron. Silver and gold pendants with a suspended basket or ending in a crux ansata were among the types found. 7th-6th centuries BC dates were ascribed to graves containing these types. Phoenician ivory amulets, shell necklaces and glass beads were also found (Ponsich 1970, 130-157)²⁷. The jewellery bears similarities to 7th/6th centuries BC specimens from Carthage, Utica, as well as Phoenician sites in Spain²⁸.

Yet Kbirī Alaoni (2000) suggested that the use of Aïn Dalhia Kebira possibly spanned the latter half of the 5th century BC or later. This is based on the somewhat tenuous chronology of two painted, locally-made 'a chardon' vases, coming from only two graves (out of ninety-eight) and so does not necessarily extend to the rest of this particular necropolis²⁹. Burials with painted vases are not representative of the rest of the necropolis, as only these two examples are known and could have resulted from a later re-use of those two tombs in the cemetery.

Of the remaining burial grounds, Cap Achakar yielded two burials, for only one of which information is known³⁰. The underground chamber tomb with a small "access corridor" contained an inhumation, fragments of ostrich eggshells and silver and gold basket pendants. Architecturally, it has close parallels with the Phoenician 7th-6th centuries BC *hypogea* of Trayamar in Malaga, the necropo-

²⁶ Tombs nos. 5 and 78 (Ponsich 1970, 96).

²⁷ Of the eight *necropoleis* Ponsich fully published, a hundred and nine such pendants, rings and amulets have been found, mainly in silver and bronze, with only two iron specimens and two in gold. Two hundred and nineteen beads were found (Ponsich 1970, 130-156).

²⁸ As at La Fonteta, see (González *et alii* 2002). For the unifying features of Phoenician jewellery production across western Phoenician centres, see Perea Caveda 1997.

²⁹ According to Kbirī Alaoni 2000 the two vases from tombs nos. 30 and 84 correspond on morphological criteria to types A and B of the 'a chardon' vases known from the kiln site of Kouass, 25 km south of Tangier. Type B forms from Dchar Jdid, inland from Kouass, have been found in a context sealed by a destruction layer, dated to *ca.* 100 BC. They were associated with Kouass II /Maña-Pascual A4 amphorai. Assuming that the lack of a separating layer of the two strata attests to a negligible lapse of time, the amphorai, and by extension the 'a chardon' vases type B are to be dated to just prior to *ca.* 100 BC. Yet, at Kouass, kilns 1 and 4 have yielded fragments of these 'a chardon' forms, found with chronologically heterogeneous pottery, spanning the period from the 5th/4th to the 3rd centuries BC. Interestingly, Maña-Pascual A4/Kouass II/III amphorai have also been found in Corinth in a context dated to *c.* 460-425 BC. Yet, Maña-Pascual A4 amphorai—or groups 11 and 12 in Ramon Torres' (1995) typology—span the period from the 6th to the 2nd century BC (see also Sáez Romero 2002). This makes a date in the latter part of the 5th century BC more plausible for the two 'a chardon' vases, but still considerably insecure as a chronological peg for the 'a chardon' vases from the *necropolis*.

³⁰ Excavated by Koehler (1930) in 1923; the tomb was discovered 80 cm below ground level and formed a rectangular chamber (210 x 95 x 80 cm) with a horizontal ceiling (Ponsich 1967, 30-36). For the other, looted in 1938, it is only known that it yielded some pieces of jewellery including a bezel with a scarab, see Ponsich 1967, 30.

lis associated with the settlement of Morro de Mezquitilla (Schubart and Niemeyer 1975; 1976)³¹, leading El Azifi (1995, 402) to consider it a 7th century BC Phoenician tomb, rather than indigenous. Such identification is, however, far from equivocal³².

Almost the same set of problems applies to the *necropolis* of Merchan/Marshan, discovered in the modern city of Tangier and comprising ninety-eight fossas, almost half of which are cut into the bedrock and covered with slabs, oriented East-West (Ponsich 1970, 173). On the basis of these morphological criteria known from Phoenician cemeteries elsewhere and similarities of some of the jewellery yielded with those from Cap Achakar, El Azifi (1995, 403-404) allows for the possibility that the necropolis could be Phoenician rather than indigenous, although some of the material yielded dates to the 1st-4th centuries AD, possibly due to re-use.

Equally ambivalent in its chronology and 'ethnic' affiliations is the small underground tomb of "Mogogha Es Srira", located at the village of the same name, 5 km to the east of Tangier. Though it has yielded Hellenistic material (3rd-1st centuries BC), believed to result from later use, the possibility of it being Phoenician is left open (El Azifi 1995, 403; Jodin 1960; López Pardo 1990, 34, note 92). Dates ascribed range from the 7th to the 6th centuries BC³³.

Phoenician or indigenous? Between cultural fusion and cultural continuity

Burial practices, due to their religious connotations and conservatism tend to be a safer indicator of cultural or 'ethnic' origin of the deceased than other elements related to burial, such as the production locus of the burial goods. The treatment of the body after death is a crucial feature of a set of conceptions involving life after death and the same applies to funerary offerings (Chapa Brunet 1997, 147). In Tangier the practice of burying the deceased in a contracted position, known from Bronze Age cemeteries, is retained with a few exceptions. Inhumation in a fully extended position is sparsely attested in sarcophagi, which are considered later. As to the typology of tombs, remarkable is the use of fossas lined with slabs or built tombs, which have clear typological relations with Phoenician tombs. This becomes more emphatic in the case of the chamber tomb at Ras Achacar, where architectural similarities with Trayamar cannot be coincidental. In terms of burial offerings, new elements include the substitution of the predominantly handmade carinated vases of the Bronze Age with 'a chardon' urns or globular jugs, as well as the inclusion of items of personal adornment of Phoenician pedigree in the tombs. The 'a chardon' urn, in fulfilling the function

³¹ Bénichou-Safar (1982, 357) has rejected the possibility that it was an offshoot of the Carthaginian built chamber tombs type X (7th-6th centuries BC) on architectural considerations.

³² See López Pardo 1990, 34.

³³ Jodin (1960, 27-45) dated it to the 7th-6th centuries BC, Ponsich (1967, 26-30) to the 6th-5th centuries BC.

of a local vessel as an element of the funeral service, attains here a new role, which is consistent with the use of foreign objects in novel ways in “colonial grounds”, as in the case of Greek settlement in the south of France (Dietler 1999, 478-479). In Iberia, for example, in 7th-6th centuries BC indigenous cemeteries, classes of Phoenician metalwork acquire a strictly funerary character they do not necessarily possess at Phoenician sites. The conspicuously rich Tartessian “princely burials” of La Joya and Setefilla, dated to the 7th century BC and 6th century BC, manifest a widespread usage of Phoenician motifs and styles in their material culture, which has been interpreted as potentially indicating concomitant ideological/social changes in the local populations (*e.g.* Aubet 2002c)³⁴.

In 1999 the discovery of the necropolis at Raqqada, Lixus, dated to the second half of the 6th century BC and the 5th century BC yielded jewellery, some of which offer exact typological parallels for those of Tangier (El Khayari 2007)³⁵. At the moment, comparisons of the pottery from Tangier with the ceramic record of Raqqada, which might offer a secure chronology for the former, will have to await the full publication of the Lixitan site³⁶.

Lixus is considered a Phoenician settlement, where segments of “Tartessian” population from Spain perhaps also resided (El Khayari *et alii* 2001, 64-65). Yet in the context of ‘colonial’ studies, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the social categories of ‘indigenous’ and ‘colonist’ are not clear-cut entities but exhibit ‘ethnic’ and cultural porosity³⁷. At a settlement that had been continuously occupied for two or more centuries such as 6th-5th centuries BC Lixus³⁸, the character of the initial population composition cannot have been static.

The discovery of the Lixitan cemetery is of great significance, as for over four decades (Ponsich 1970, 140), the source of inspiration for the material evidence of Tangier had been sought in 7th-6th centuries BC Phoenician settlements in Iberia and in Carthage³⁹. The evidence from Raqqada makes it plausible that interactions between Lixus and Tangier mediated through trading relations, intermarriage or individual mobility led to the transmission of ideas that were adopted and reinterpreted by the inhabitants of Tangier.

In attempting to contextualise the existent funerary evidence and assess its use-

³⁴ Grave goods at La Joya and Setefilla included a variety of Phoenician-style ‘luxury’ objects such as jewels, ivories and bronze jugs and figurines. At Setefilla, the architectural elements of the chamber tombs recall the construction of tombs at the Phoenician necropolis of Trayamar in Malaga (Aubet 2002c.)

³⁵ Among the finds, six golden pendant-like jewels embellished with a small basket, possibly intended as earrings (El Khayari 2007, 147), offer exact parallels for the thirty-five such silver ‘pendaloques’ known from the 7th/6th centuries BC grave of Cap Achacar (Ponsich 1970, 140).

³⁶ Known through a preliminary report, awaiting full publication, see El Khayari 2007.

³⁷ On the subjective and socially-constructed nature of ‘ethnicity’ see Jones 1997, 27.

³⁸ The earliest evidence points to a late 9th/early 8th centuries BC date, see El Khayari 2004, 149.

³⁹ For example, see Ponsich 1970, 140.

fulness as a barometer for social change, the evidence from Lixus becomes important. The pattern of deliberate adoption and non-adoption of cultural ideas is reflected in the burial customs of Tangier, which in terms of disposition of the dead demonstrate cultural continuity with the preceding era, but in terms of personal adornment indicate the close adoption of practices known from the Phoenician-established settlements of neighbouring Lixus, but also Carthage and Utica. An active role in the exchanges on the part of the inhabitants of Tangier explains the use of ceramics of a Phoenician origin in novel ways (e.g. the use of 'a chardon' vases as substitutes for the pre-existing carinated vases), who otherwise maintained other cultural norms, such as modes of disposal. This is not surprising. If it can be tentatively said that the use of the majority of the *necropoleis* overlapped with Raqqada (the very problematic cases of Merchan/Marshan and the Mogogha es Srira notwithstanding), on the basis of the close parallels with aspects of its artefactual record, the "foreign" elements of the former would be the result of an intense cultural dialogue. In such a context, the distinct categories of 'indigenous' and 'Phoenician' need not always have been meaningful identities in late 6th-5th centuries BC Lixus or Tangier.

Conclusions

A far more solid chronology for the indigenous record of both the rock art and the necropoleis will be needed so as to draw firm conclusions about the social implications of the Phoenician presence in Morocco. Although the evidence for the metallurgical activities at Mogador seems incontestable, trade in iron objects with the indigenous populations of the High Atlas cannot at the moment be corroborated by either the rock engravings or the iron objects from Morocco, although the possibility should possibly remain open. Phoenician/Punic elements in the sepulchral traditions of Tangier, possibly *ca.* 6th-5th centuries BC, indicate interactions with settlements such as Lixus, but are probably too late to be considered an immediate result of the incipient Phoenician settlement in the area.

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GRIECHISCHER SEEVERKEHR
MIT DEM ARCHAISCHEN NAUKRATIS IN ÄGYPTEN

Olaf Höckmann

During Egypt's Saïte (26th) Dynasty in the 7th-6th centuries BC there came into being the singular Greek trading settlement (not a colony) of Naukratis that owed its name to the neighbouring Egyptian place of Nokradj, on the westernmost, the Canopic delta branch of the Nile. Naukratis, however, was ca. 100 km distant from the sea, and could not be reached by Greek sea freighters but depended on the transshipment of their cargoes to river craft of baris type, at the Egyptian harbour of Thonis near the mouth of the Canopic Nile.

It is thought that the position unfavourable from a nautical perspective, of Naukratis is caused by military conditions prior to the emergence of the Greek place. The Saïte pharaohs employed multitudes of foreign mercenaries. It is suggested that some Greek and Carian mercenaries were after retirement settled near their former garrison namely at Nokradj, and that this gave rise to the emergence of Greek Naukratis so far from the sea, and as may be thought in a kind of mutual interdependence with Thonis.

Einführung*

Ägypten hat immer in Kontakt mit fremden Völkern gestanden. Neuartig ist (Hdt. 2.154), dass im späten 7. Jh.v.Chr. auf ägyptischem Boden eine permanente Ansiedlung von ionischen, ostdorischen und äolischen Griechen entstehen konnte: der Handelsplatz (das *empóron*)¹ Náukratis am Westrand des

* Glossar: s. S. 125-126, sprachliche Abkürzungen: s. S. 127. Abb. 1 und 9b: Zeichnung Verfasser.

¹ Zu *empória* besonders Bresson/Rouillard 1993; Möller 2000, 19-25, 60-70, 182-215; Vittmann 2003, 211 f. Fast immer besteht eine unmittelbare Beziehung zur Seefahrt (Casevitz 1993; das als Ausnahme zitierte Tartessos/Huelva in Spanien liegt aber näher am Meer als Naukratis). Binnenland*empória* werden erst spät genannt (Étienne 1993). Meines Wissens liegt nur das archäologisch nachgewiesene griechische *empóron* Pistiros im Thrakerland an der Marica in Bulgarien (Bouzek 1996) weiter vom Meer entfernt als Naukratis.

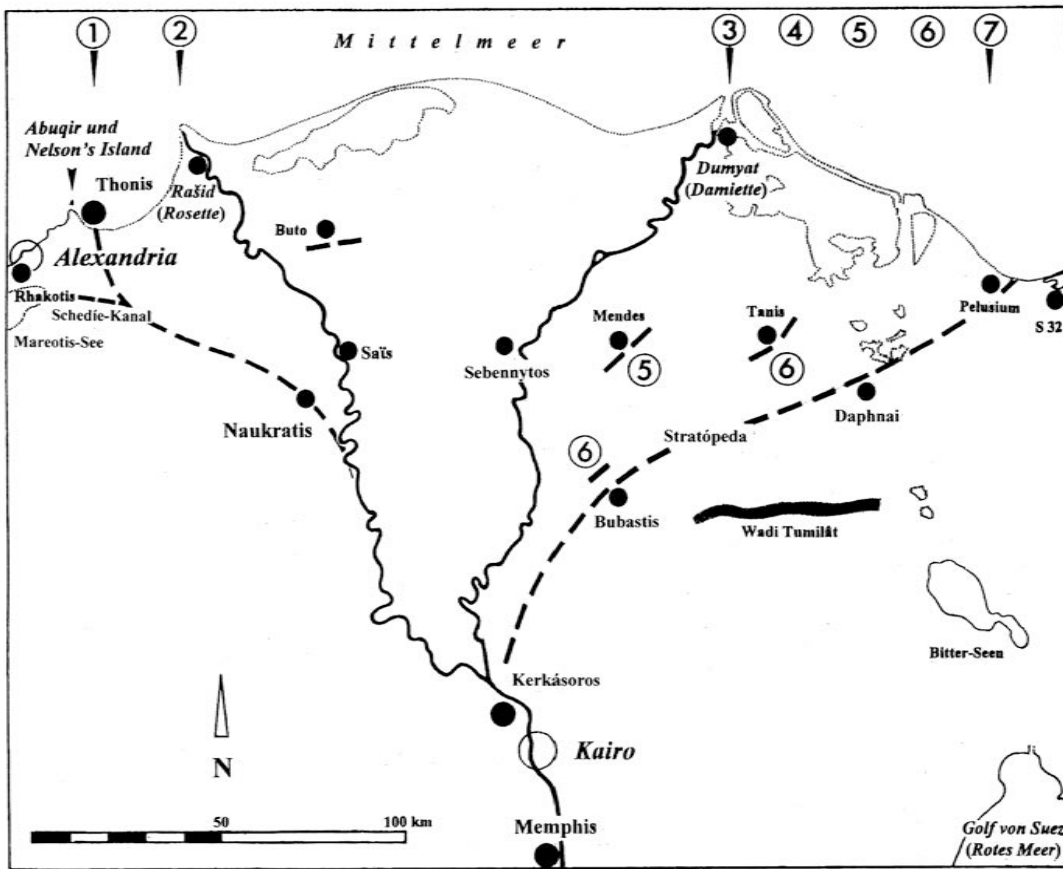
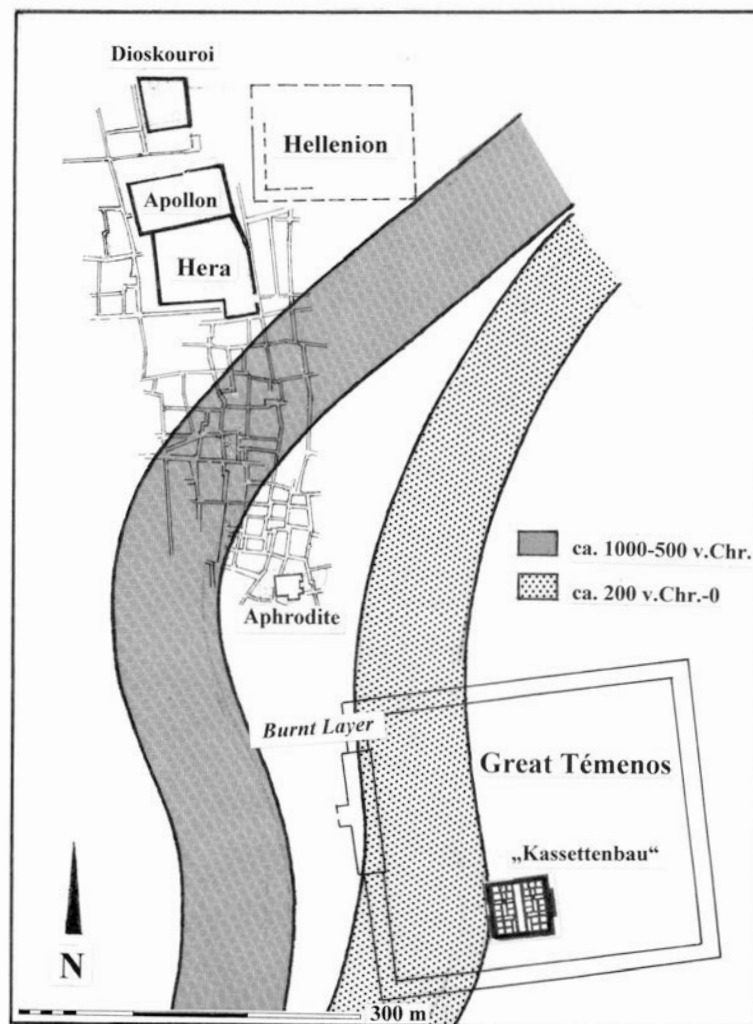


Abb. 1. Das Nil-Delta mit im Text erwähnten Fundstellen und den von Strabon genannten sieben Nil-Armen. Die Lage der antiken Küste und der Nil-Arme ist nicht bekannt. Heutige Küste: punktiert. Flussläufe: 2-3 im heutigen Verlauf, sonst nach vorhandenen Angaben interpoliert; zu 4 keine Angaben. 1 Kanopischer Arm; 2 Bolbitinischer Arm; 3 Sebennytischer Arm; 4 Phatnitischer Arm; 5 Mendesischer Arm; 6 Tanitischer Arm; 7 Pelusischer Arm (cf. *infra*, Addendum, S. 125). Nach Oren (s. auch hier S. 114) hätte die große Fundstelle S 32 des israelischen Survey als Seehafen an der Mündung eines Nil-Arms Thonis entsprochen. Ob dies zutrifft, lässt sich bei dem heutigen Kenntnisstand noch nicht entscheiden (Verfasser). Westlich des Kartenausschnitts: Marea am Westende des Mareotis-Sees und Bates' Island an der Bucht von Marsa Matruh (Libyen), der Küste folgend ca. 280 km westlich von Rhakotis.

Abb. 2. (S. 75) Plan von Naukratis mit zwei Nilbetten (nach W.M.F. Petrie, F.A. Gardner und C.A. Villas, verändert). →



Nil-Deltas (Abb. 1, 2)². Die Verbindung mit den griechischen Mutterstädten (*metrópoleis*) in der östlichen Ägäis, auf die seine Entstehung zurückging, beruhte auf Seeschiffen für die Überquerung des Mittelmeers zu dem Seehafen Thonis an der Mündung des westlichsten – des *Kanopischen* oder *Kanobischen* –

² Berichte über die englischen Ausgrabungen: Petrie 1886; Gardner/Griffith 1888; Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-99, 113-157; Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar. 1905. Neuere Arbeiten, besonders: Von Bissing 1949; Boardman 1981, 138-155; Sullivan 1996, 177-178, 186-190; Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 280-283; Möller 2000; *eadem* 2001a; Vittmann 2003, 212-224; Fabre 2005, 61; Leclère 2009, 113-157.

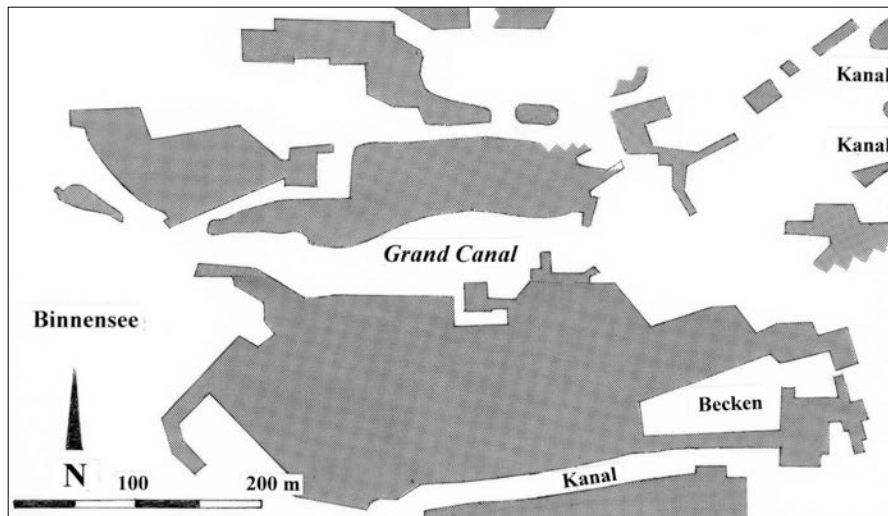


Abb. 3. Die Hafenanlagen in Thonis (nach F. Goddio). Grau: einstiges Land.

Arms des Nildeltas, an dem Naukratis lag³. Naukratis und Thonis standen in enger funktioneller und administrativer Beziehung (cf. *infra*).

In der Luftlinie beträgt die Entfernung *ca.* 70 km, doch da der Nil-Arm nicht geradlinig verlief und kleinräumig mäandrierte, hat sie auf dem Fluss über 100 Stromkilometer betragen. Die Verbindung zwischen Naukratis und sowohl Thonis (Abb. 3) als auch mit Ortschaften Nil-aufwärts wie Memphis beruhte auf Binnenschiffen, die von Herodot (2.41, 60, 96) als *baris* bezeichnet werden. Der Tyname *br* für plumpe Nilboote mit geringem Tiefgang doch großer Tragfähigkeit ist vom 3. Jt. v.Chr. an in ägyptischen Schrift- und Bildquellen bezeugt (Abb. 4)⁴.

Die Lage von Naukratis nicht am Meer, sondern tief im Binnenland hat die

³ Fabre lokalisiert das *empóron* nicht an einem Nil-Arm, sondern an einem Kanal, der den Kanopischen Arm mit der Hauptstadt Saïs verbunden hätte; er müsste ungefähr West - Ost verlaufen sein (Fabre 2005, 47, 62). Nach Fabre sollte die Zollstele in Naukratis (cf. *infra*) "am Anu-Kanal" aufgestellt werden (so auch Leclère 2009, 121). In seiner Quelle (Yoyotte 1958, 430) ist aber nicht von einem Kanal die Rede, sondern von der Aufstellung der Stele an der Mündung des Kanopischen Nils: wie Yoyotte damals noch nicht wissen konnte, in Thonis, und in Naukratis. Auch Möller (2000, 207) sieht im Anu nicht einen künstlichen Wasserweg, sondern den Kanopischen Delta-Arm. Bei Herodot (2.179) liegt Naukratis am Kanopischen Nil, und die Bohrkern-Prospektion von Villas in Naukratis zeigt zwei Stadien des ungefähr Südwest-Nordost verlaufenden Betts dieses Nil-Arms (Villas 1996, 172 f. Abb. 67-68; hier Abb. 2). Ein Südwest-Nordost verlaufender Kanal, der Buto-Kanal, ist erst in der ptolemäischen Periode entstanden und wurde unter den Römern erneuert (Yoyotte/Chuvin 1986a, 40-48; Fabre 2005, 59).

⁴ Landström 1970, 60 f. Abb. 175-184; Fabre 2005, 94 ff, 20-26.

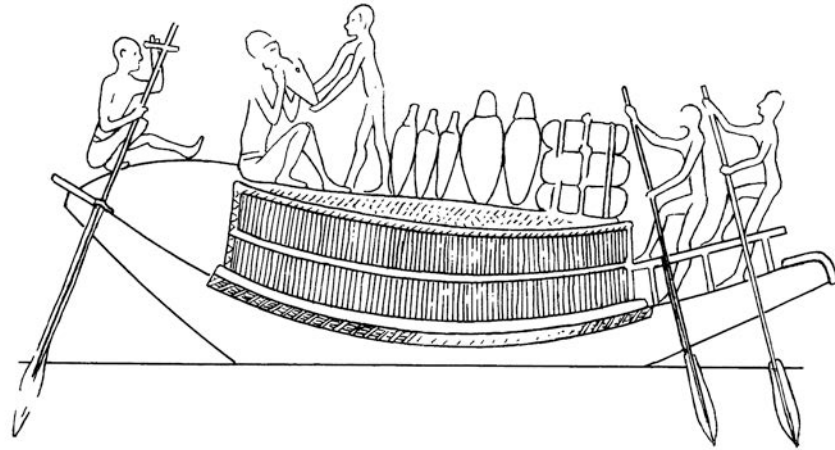


Abb. 4. Rekonstruktion eines Nil-Frachtkahns vom Typ *baris* (nach B. Landström).

Verbindung mit dem ostgriechischen Mutterland zweifellos erschwert. Die Ortswahl muss durch besondere Gründe veranlasst worden sein. Wir werden ihnen nachgehen (cf. *infra*).

Das *empóron* Naukratis war also in jeder Hinsicht auf Transportmittel zu Wasser angewiesen. Aus diesem Grunde mag ein Blick auf Naukratis aus nautischer Perspektive sinnvoll erscheinen.

Dabei kann außer Acht bleiben, dass der griechische Ortsname *Naukratis* (griechisch etwa "Herrscherin der Schiffe") auf eine lautliche Anpassung an das libysche Toponym *Nokradj* zurückgeht⁵. Während der dritten Zwischenzeit hatten sich die Libyer zu Herren des westlichen Deltas gemacht. Der Pharao Psammetich I., der um 650 v.Chr. die vielen nach dem Ende des Neuen Reichs (18.-19. Dynastie) in Ägypten entstandenen Kleinstaaten wieder zu einem Reich (26. Dynastie) vereinte, war selbst libyschen Geblüts.

Die natürlichen Voraussetzungen

Wo die Küste des Nil-Deltas im 1. Jt.v.Chr. verlief, lässt sich nicht präzisieren. Sicher ist allein, dass das heutige Bild für die damalige Zeit nicht zutrifft. Nach dem Ausklingen einer Phase schneller Transgressionen des Meeresspiegels nach dem Ende der letzten Eiszeit hatte er sich um 6000 v.Chr. auf einem Niveau

⁵ Yoyotte 1991-92, bes. 640-644; Haider 1996, 98 ff; Möller 2000, 185; Vittmann 2003, 218; Guermeur 2005, 126.

zwischen 1 m und 3 m über dem heutigen Meeresspiegel eingependelt und sank dann langsam, in unregelmäßigen Schritten, auf einen Stand unter dem heutigen ab (Villas 1996, 171). Das Meer gab also Land frei. Im Delta sind ehemalige Strandwälle erhalten, die heute weit vom Meer entfernt sind (Villas 1996, 165; Butzer 1982a; 1982b; 2002b, 91). Gleichzeitig begann der Nil in einer unabhängigen hydrologischen Entwicklung, die nicht frei von Rückschlägen war, mit seinen Sedimenten die Delta-Ebene aufzubauen⁶.

Im Norden waren der unscharf definierten, sich ständig ändernden Küste Lagunen (ägyptisch: *hōne*: s. Anm. 115) vorgelagert. Eine solche ist auch für die Kanopische Nilmündung bezeugt. Sie lag dem ägyptischen Namen des Hafens Thonis an der Mündung des Kanopischen Nilarms zugrunde (cf. *infra*)⁷. In dieser Zone mit sehr geringem Gefälle mäandrierten die Nil-Arme⁸, wie es in einer solchen Situation durch die Coriolis-Kraft selbstverständlich ist, und änderten häufig ihren Lauf und die Mündungen, wenn sie nicht durch einen felsigen Untergrund fixiert waren.

Naukratis lag nicht am Meer, sondern am westlichsten – *Kanopischen* – Arm des Nil-Deltas. Nach Osten hin folgten dann der *Bolbitinische*, *Sebennytsche*, *Phatnitische*, *Mendesische*, *Tanitische* und schließlich der *Pelusische Arm* (Str. 17.1.4; 17.1.17)⁹. Der von Strabon nicht genannte *Saitische Arm* hat nichts mit der Hauptstadt am Bolbitinischen Arm zu tun, sondern ist ein Synonym für den Tanitischen Arm (Honigmann 1936, 563; Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 272). Zwischen den großen Armen mündeten viele kleinere und kleine vom Menschen gegrabene Kanäle ins Meer.

Für Herodot (2.15.17) war der Sebennytsche Arm, der bei Dumyat (Damiette) mündet, der wasserreichste. Dem Kanopischen Arm, an dem Naukratis lag, war – wenn Herodots Angabe (Hdt. 2.17) Vertrauen verdient – durch den Bau des künstlichen Bolbitinischen (Rašid-)Arms – viel Wasser entzogen worden. Er wurde dadurch bei normalem Wasserstand zu seicht, um für beladene See-Frachtschiffe zugänglich zu sein¹⁰. Das bestätigen später Herodot (2.179) und Strabon (17.1.18 [C 801]) pauschal für alle Delta-Arme (Lloyd 1993, 230; Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 274).

Die Delta-Arme des Nils können nicht sehr wasserreich gewesen sein. Der Nil hat seit seinem Austritt aus dem äthiopischen Hochland keine Zuflüsse mehr, sondern unterliegt überall der Verdunstung durch die starke Sonneneinstrahlung und die Trockenheit der Luft. Zusätzlich diente und dient er dann in Ägypten

⁶ Sestini 1976; Marcolongo 1992; Butzer 2002b, 89.

⁷ Yoyotte/Chuvin 1986b; Briant/Descat 1998, 89; Butzer 2002b, 88, 92; Fabre 2005, 16, 62; idem 2007-08, 254; Baines 2007-08, 274.

⁸ Am unteren Bolbitinischen Arm bei Desuq wurden durch geoelektrische Prospektion sieben ehemalige Betten nachgewiesen. Sie verliefen in unterschiedlicher Richtung, wie es sich beim Mäandrieren eines Flusses ergibt (El-Gamili/Hassan 1989, 144, Abb. 2).

⁹ Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 273 f.

¹⁰ Villas 1996, 166. Für alle Mündungsarme: Butzer 1982b.

einer intensiven Wasserwirtschaft zur Bewässerung der Felder. Die Wassermenge des Stroms war gegenüber Äthiopien schon stark reduziert, als er sich bei Kerkásoros nördlich von Memphis in mehrere Arme auffächerte.

Heute sind zwei Nil-Mündungen aktiv: im Westen der Rašid(Rosette)-Arm und im Osten der Dumyat(Damiette)-Arm. Beide sind vom West- bzw. Ostrand des Deltas ziemlich weit entfernt. Wenn im frühen 20. Jh. für die Mündung des Rašid-Arms eine Wassertiefe von 2,5 m angegeben wird (Meyer 8, 154 s.v. Rosette), so erscheint das unsicher; denn im frühen 19. Jh. galt der Dumyat-Arm mit einer Wassertiefe von "mindestens 7 Fuß" (2,1 m) als die beste Einfahrt in den Nil (Darnell 1992, 71, Anm. 16).

Im Pelusischen Arm hat der Rückgang der Wasserführung schon am Ende des Neuen Reichs dazu gezwungen, die Reichshauptstadt von der ramessidischen Residenz Pi-Ramessé nach Tanis zu verlegen (Butzer 2002a, 482).

Einige Angaben zur Tiefe der Nilarme im Delta lassen sich Diodor entnehmen. Als nach der von den Persern verlorenen Schlacht von Issos gegen Alexander (November 333 v.Chr.) die griechischen, in persischem Dienst stehenden Söldnerführer Amyntas, Aristomedes, Thymondas und Bianor mit (nach Arrian) 8000 (Arr., *Anab. Al.* 2.13) oder (nach Diodorus Siculus) 4000 Söldnern (D.S. 17.48) aus der Armee des Dareios desertierten, bemächtigten sie sich (nach Arrian) in Tripolis 40 persischer Schiffe¹¹. Falls die erstere Angabe zutrifft, entfallen auf jedes Schiff 200 Mann. Das entspricht der Besatzung einer klassischen Trière (Morrison/Coates 1990, 124 f.) und identifiziert die Schiffe als Triären, damals die 'Schlachtschiffe' schlechthin (cf. *infra*). Ihr Tiefgang betrug ca. 1,2 m (Morrison/Coates 1990, 218, Abb. 57). Die Flotte fuhr zunächst nach Cypern, von dort nach Pelusium und dann auf dem Pelusischen Nil-Arm nach Memphis. Der östlichste Pelusische Delta-Arm war demnach außerhalb der Nilschwemme mindestens 1,3 m tief.

Die flachgehenden Triären des Amyntas sind dadurch nicht behindert worden. Das beweist aber nicht, dass dieser Nil-Arm auch für beladene Frachter befahrbar war, denn ihr Tiefgang lässt sich auf mehr als 2 m einschätzen. Der unterschiedliche Tiefgang von Fracht- bzw. Kriegsschiffen muss immer beachtet werden, wenn es um die antike Schiffbarkeit der Delta-Arme des Nils geht.

Als wenig später (320 v.Chr.) der Diadoche Perdikkas seinen einstigen Kameraden Ptolemaios, jetzt Herrscher Ägyptens, von Osten her angriff, existierte im Pelusischen Nil eine Furt, die anfangs seicht genug war, um die Soldaten des Perdikkas "mit dem Wasser bis zum Kinn" (ca. 1,3 m; ein Mann war damals kaum größer als 1,6 m) den Strom überqueren zu lassen (D.S. 18.34). Beide Aussagen Diodors stimmen überein.

Als sich kurz darauf Ptolemaios I. des Angriffs durch die großen Seekriegsschiffe des Antigonos erwehren musste, setzte er kleine Fahrzeuge mit geringem Tiefgang ein, die bei jedem Wasserstand operieren konnten, während die großen

¹¹ Carrez-Maratray 1999, 369.

Schiffe des Feindes nur zeitweilig in Richtung auf Memphis zu vordringen konnten. Darnell bietet die einleuchtende Erklärung für die scheinbar rätselhafte Tatsache, dass sich die Seekriegsschiffe zurückzogen, bevor sie ihr Ziel erreicht hatten: der hinhaltende Widerstand des Ptolemaios hätte das Vordringen nach Memphis so lange verzögert, dass die Schiffe des Antigonos dort in Gefahr geraten wären, beim Sinken des Wasserstands nach der Nilschwemme im Herbst (cf. *infra*) immobilisiert und hilflos den ptolemäischen Angriffen zu Wasser und zu Lande ausgesetzt worden zu sein, bevor sie im folgenden Sommer bei hohem Wasserstand wieder operieren konnten (Darnell 1992, 71).

Naukratis war unabhängig von der Lage der Meeresküste, es lag ja tief im Binnenland. Demgegenüber war es aber unmittelbar von der Mäanderbildung des Kanopischen Nils betroffen. Die wenigen Tiefbohrungen der amerikanischen Expedition unter W.D. Coulson (1977-1981) werden von der Hydrologin C.A. Villas dahingehend interpretiert, dass der Strom zwischen ca. 500 v.Chr. und 200 v.Chr. im Stadtgebiet von Naukratis sein Bett verlagert hätte¹². Er müsste Teile der Bebauung zerstört haben, als er die Stadt zerschnitt (Abb. 3)¹³.

Falls das Modell von Villas zuträfe, würden Schiffbrücken die Verbindung zwischen beiden Stadtteilen hergestellt haben, wie es Diodor (D.S. 1.33.7 f.) beschreibt (Fabre 2005, 73). Sie behinderten natürlich die Schifffahrt.

Flussläufe mäandrieren im Flachland ständig und verlagern dabei ihre Betten. Eine Ausnahme zeigt sich an der Lage der Stadt Rašid (Rosette). Heute liegt sie ca. 15 km oberhalb der Mündung des gleichnamigen Nil-Arms, des antiken Bolbitinischen Arms, doch sie geht auf die antike Mündungs-Stadt Bolbitine zurück. Diese Mündung hat sich also seit dem Altertum nicht grundsätzlich verlagert, sondern nur als eine Art Schlauch weiter nach Norden vorgeschoben, weil der Nil so viel Sediment mitführt. Herodot (2.17) nennt den Bolbitinischen Arm einen künstlichen Kanal¹⁴. Er muss vom Kanopischen Arm abgezweigt sein (Abb. 1).

Mit Kanälen ist schon seit dem Alten Reich zu rechnen. Zur Römerzeit war das Delta von einem dichten Netz von Kanälen durchzogen, von denen viele ins Meer mündeten (Str. 17.1.16; D.S. 1.65.4). Während manche so klein waren, dass sie

¹² Villas 1996, 172 f., Abb. 67-68 (hier Abb. 2). Anders: Möller 2000, 291 Abb. 1 (hier Abb. 2). Zur Verlagerung des Nils in Peru-Nefer bei Memphis und in Avaris/Pi-Ramesse, die Tanis zum östlichen Seehafen Ägyptens werden ließ: Bietak 1994, 131; Fabre 2005, 47, 67, S. auch Anm. 9.

¹³ Im 'Stadtplan' der ersten Ausgrabungskampagne (Petrie 1886, Taf. 41; dazu aber korrigierend wenn nicht überhaupt skeptisch: Hogarth/Edgar/Gutch 1898-9, 16; *idem* Taf. 4) zeichnen sich solche Zerstörungen nicht ab. Da der Befund in Petries Plan in das 6.-5. Jh.v.Chr. datiert ist, ergeben sich Konflikte mit dem älteren Flussbett in Villas' Rekonstruktion. Zu katastrophalen Hochfluten des Nils bis zur Zeit des Neuen Reichs: Favard-Meeks 1989, 43.

¹⁴ Er zweigte vom Kanopischen Arm ab und entzog ihm viel Wasser (Villas 1996, 166). Da die Ufer ägyptischer Kanäle nicht befestigt waren, hätte auch ein Kanal nach einiger Zeit zu mäandrieren begonnen, wenn darin strömendes Wasser verlief.

nur von Fischerbooten befahren werden konnten, spielte ein Kanal, der in Schedie vom Kanopischen Nil abzweigte und ihn mit dem Mareotis-See verband, eine wichtige Rolle für die Versorgung von Alexandria (Str. 17.1.16) (cf. *infra*).

Die Flußschiffahrt auf dem Nil war leistungsfähig. Strabon (17.1.7) schreibt, dass mehr Güter auf Binnenschiffen nach Alexandria gelangt wären als auf Seeschiffen, und es gab einen „Aufseher des Binnenschiffs-Handels“ (Spalinger 1982, 1168). Der Schedie-Kanal und andere Kanäle vom Kanopischen Nil zum Mareotis-See (Str. 17.1.4; 17.1.22) ließen während der Nilschwemme den See anschwellen (Str. 17.1.7).

Das Phänomen der Nilschwemme bestand vor dem neuzeitlichen Bau der Stau-mauern bei Assuan darin, dass etwa 40 Tage im Jahr (Str. 17.1.4) starkes Hochwasser herrschte¹⁵. Auf seinen Sedimenten beruhte die Fruchtbarkeit der Felder Ägyptens (Baines 2007-08; Smith 2007-08). Die Nilschwemme veränderte die Schiffahrtsbedingen einschneidend – so sehr, dass pauschale Berichte ohne Angabe der Jahreszeit, auf die sie sich beziehen, nur eingeschränkt verwendbar sind (Bonneau 1964, 91-93, 418f; Darnell 1992, 70-71).

Während dieser kurzen Periode reichte das Fahrwasser überall für große Schiffe aus. Herodot (2.13; 2.97) nennt einen Wasserstand von 15-16 Ellen (*ca.* 7,2 m) über dem normalen. Das erscheint zumindest im Delta stark übertrieben (Butzer 2002a, 481: *ca.* 1,5 m höher als normal), so dass ungewiss erscheint, ob oder wo Herodot eine Nilschwemme erlebt hat. Dass erfahrene Kapitäne ihre Seeschiffe über die versunkenen Felder hinweg fahren lassen konnten (Villas 1996, 165), ist nicht erwiesen, und die eventuelle Möglichkeit, dass Schiffe aus der Ägäis nach Naukratis fahren konnten ohne Thonis zu berühren, erscheint eher theoretisch. Dass Herodot (2.113-115) diesen See- und Umladehafen fast nur als Ort von mythischem Geschehen aus dem Umkreis Homers erwähnt (*Od.* 4.228; cf. *infra*), lässt keine solche Erklärung zu. Warum er Naukratis als *einzigsten Seehafen* Ägyptens bezeichnet, ist rätselhaft. Wir werden darauf zurückkommen.

Als Herodot – nach einer Reise nilaufwärts, die ihn zuerst nach Memphis (Hdt. 2.112 ff.) und dann nach Elephantine an der Südgrenze Ägyptens (Hdt. 2.29) führte – nach Tyros weiterreiste (Hdt. 2.44), wird er von einem Hafen im östlichen Delta – Daphnai oder Pelusium aus – aufgebrochen sein, der den Verkehr mit der Levante abwickelte. Dass er von Memphis den Umweg über das weit westlich gelegene Thonis gewählt hätte, um von dort nach Tyros zu fahren, ist bei einem so routinierten Reisenden m.E. nicht sehr wahrscheinlich.

Der unterste Lauf des westlichsten Mündungsarms, des heute extinkten Kanopischen Nils, war durch die Natur fixiert, nämlich durch einen niedrigen, von West nach Ost streichenden Kalksteinrücken. Auf ihm liegen Alexandria und Abuqir, und nordöstlich davon ragt die kleine Insel *Nelson's Island* (*Dissouky*)

¹⁵ Butzer (2002b, 95) nennt eine Dauer von 6-8 Wochen im Spätsommer – „6-10 Wochen vom August bis November“ [*sic*]: Butzer 2002a, 481.

aus dem Meer auf (Goddio 2007-08, 77, 85, 87 mit Abb.; hier Abb. 1). Südlich der Insel, d.h. in den Gewässern, wo Lord Nelson 1798 die französische Mittelmeerflotte vernichtete, haben Franck Goddio's surveys unter dem heutigen Meeresspiegel die Mündung und die dort gelegene Hafenstadt *Thonis* (auch *Henu*) nachgewiesen, die mit dem griechischen *Herakleion* identisch ist (cf. *infra*)¹⁶. Nach den bisherigen Funden von datierbarer griechischer Keramik existierte sie vom späten 7. Jh.v.Chr. an¹⁷.

Die Insel war beim damaligen tieferen Meeresspiegel höher und größer als heute¹⁸. Wenn Pomponius Mela (*Chor.* 2.103) von einer "Insel" Kanopos spricht, der Mündung des Kanopischen Nils "gegenüber" gelegen, könnte er Nelson's Island meinen, obwohl normalerweise eine Stadt auf dem Festland diesen Namen trägt. Der unfern mündende westlichste Nil-Arm ist nach dieser Stadt benannt. Der Kalksteinrücken und die Insel bildeten Landmarken, die das Anlaufen von Thonis erleichterten. Grundsätzlich war an der monotonen flachen Alluvialküste des Deltas die Orientierung schwierig (D.S. 1.32.1) und die Gefahr akut, im nicht erkennbaren Flachwasser und den Dickichten aus Papyrus¹⁹ und Strabons (17.01.15) rätselhafter Kyamos-Pflanze²⁰ weit vor der Küste auf Grund zu laufen (Fabre 2005, 18). Piraten bildeten ein zusätzliches Risiko (Yoyotte/Chuvin 1983, 60; Yoyotte/Chuvin 1986a; *idem* 1986b; Fabre 2005, 25; Goddio 2007-08, 69).

Während der Nilschwemme ragten die Städte im Delta wie Inseln aus der Wasserwüste empor (Hdt. 2.25; Str. 17.1.4; D.S. 1.36.8)²¹. Diese Situation setzte etwa im späten Juli oder dem frühen August ein. Demgegenüber begann die Seefahrtssaison nach dem Zollpapyrus von Elephantine schon im März und reichte bis zum Dezember.

Die Bohrprofile von Villas (Anm. 3) lassen nicht rekonstruieren, wie tief der Kanopische Nil in Naukratis außerhalb der Nilschwemme war. Wir können aber davon ausgehen, dass beladene See-Frachter normalerweise nicht nach Naukratis gelangen konnten. Dann diente Thonis/Henu als Vorhafen von Naukratis, wie Bremerhaven für Bremen, Travemünde für Lübeck oder in der Antike Ostia für Rom oder St.-Martin für Narbonne²². Carrez-Maratray erwägt, in der Funktion

¹⁶ Yoyotte 2001; Goddio 2007, 77; Goddio 2007-08, 70 f.

¹⁷ Goddio 2007, 129, 290 f.; Weber im Druck.

¹⁸ Goddio 2007, 23, Abb. 1.22; 25, Abb. 1.25; 29, Abb. 2.1; 69, Abb. 3.1.

¹⁹ Schichten von Papyrusstengeln als Isoliermaterial (?) in Thonis: Goddio 2007, 39, 83, 93; 84, Abb. 3.22; 95, Abb. 3.47.

²⁰ Die Identität der Kyamos-Pflanze (wörtlich: *Bohne*) ist nicht geklärt. Seidenstickers (1999, 97) Studie hat keine Beziehung zu der Pflanze, die Strabon als *ca.* 3 m hoch, im Wasser wachsend und bunt blühend beschreibt.

²¹ Wie Dörfer, die nicht auf alten Siedlungshügeln lagen, die Nilschwemme überdauerten, bleibt bei Herodot offen. Vermutlich lagen sie auf hohen natürlichen Uferwällen der Nil-Arme, die von der Überschwemmung nicht erreicht wurden.

²² Rickman 1996, 283.

des Seehafens von Nokradj/Naukratis sei Thonis Pi-Emro genannt worden²³, was sonst auf Nokradj selbst bezogen wird.

In Thonis wurde die Fracht der Seeschiffe auf flachgehende *baris*-Flußkähne (Abb. 4) umgeladen, die sie nach Naukratis und zu anderen Zielen in Ägypten brachten (Fabre 2005, 72). Soweit meine Kenntnis reicht, wird das Umladen in antiken Schriftquellen nie erwähnt, aus einem einfachen Grund: es verstand sich von selbst²⁴. Polanyi (1983, 93) führt wichtige Häfen grundsätzlich auf Umladepplätze zurück.

Für den Pelusischen Nil ist bezeugt, dass er vom 4. Jh.v.Chr. an wiederholt durch Ausbaggern wieder schiffbar gemacht werden musste²⁵. Der Rückgang seiner Tiefe hatte schon viel früher zur Verlegung der Hauptstadt und des Haupthafens von Pi-Ramesse nach Tanis gezwungen.

Demgegenüber spricht meines Wissens keine antike Quelle davon, dass der Kanopische Arm ausgebagert worden wäre. Anscheinend war er für *baris*-Schiffe noch lange tief genug.

Endgültig verlandete dieser Arm erst lange nach der Antike. Noch im Jahr AD 1483 schreibt der Jerusalem- und Sinai-Pilger Felix Fabri aus Ulm, dass auf diesem Arm viele Nilschiffe ägyptische Kaufleute mit ihren Waren von Kairo nach Abuqir gebracht hätten, dem Nachfolger von Thonis und Kanopos²⁶. Da Fabri im späten Oktober von Kairo abreiste, war die Nilschwemme schon abgelingen.

Damals wurden die Waren dann von Abuqir auf Kamelen nach Alexandria geschafft – eine nach-antike Einrichtung, die den direkten Kontakt zwischen Binnenschiff und Seeschiff zerriss. Der Schedie-Kanal, der in der Antike den kanopischen Arm mit dem Welthafen Alexandria verbunden hatte, war inzwischen verlandet.

Als Zwischenfazit ist für die Antike anzunehmen, dass Waren aus Übersee in Thonis vom Seefrachter in den *baris*-Kahn umgeladen wurden, der sie nach Naukratis brachte.

Weiterführende Erkenntnisse zur antiken Beschaffenheit des Kanopischen Delta-Arms sind von einem laufenden ägyptisch-britischen Projekt zu erwarten.

²³ Carrez-Maratray 2005, 194. Das Wort ("Hafen") begegnet aber auch an anderen Orten, während sich der Name *Per-Meryt* nur auf Naukratis bezieht (cf. *infra*).

²⁴ So schon Goddio 2007, 127. Zum Umladen in Pelusium: Carrez-Maratray 1999, 379; Fabre 2005, 72. Demgegenüber halten Briant/Descat 1998, 66 Anm. 66 die *spynh*-Schiffe im Zollpapyrus von Elephantine (cf. *infra*) für Seefrachter, die in der Lage gewesen wären, die Delta-Arme des Nils bis Memphis zu befahren. Sie nennen aber keine antike Quelle dafür, dass es solche Schiffe gab, oder auf welchem Delta-Arm das möglich gewesen sein könnte.

²⁵ D.S. 18.33. Carrez-Maratray 1999, 372, 397. Zum Arbeitsvorgang: O. Höckmann 2007.

²⁶ Fabri 1996, 240.

Die Bedingungen der Seereise von der Ägäis zum Nildelta wurden noch nicht angesprochen. Dafür zeichneten die Meeresströmungen und jahreszeitlich vorherrschenden Windrichtungen²⁷ zwei Routen vor:

(A) Ruderschiffe konnten zunächst der lykischen und westpamphyliischen Küste nach Osten folgen. Dann konnten sie entweder (1) mit dem Wind und einer schmalen Küstenströmung weiter der Küste entlang nach Kilikien fahren, oder (2) nach Cypern abbiegen. Die Kette von Hafenstädten entlang der cyprischen West-, Süd- und Ostküste lässt annehmen, dass diese Route bevorzugt wurde.

Ruderschiffe konnten dann – entgegen dem vorherrschenden Wind und der Strömung – der Levante-Küste südwärts folgen, um von *Osten* das Delta zu erreichen (Abb. 1).

(B) Alternativ kamen Wind und Strom zusammen, um von einem Bereich an der Südgrenze der Ägäis aus, zwischen Kreta und Cypern, die offene See nach Süden direkt zu überqueren. Daher bot sich diese Route besonders für Segelschiffe an. Im 11. Jh.v.Chr. hat der Ägypter Wenamun diesen Kurs über Cypern gesteuert, um von Byblos in der Levante über Cypern und die Hohe See zum Delta zurückkehren zu können²⁸, und als Odysseus inkognito erst Eumaios (*Od.* 14.247 ff.) und dann den Freiern die Lügengeschichte aufischt, er sei ein kretischer Fürstensohn, der bei einem gescheiterten Piratenunternehmen im Delta in ägyptische Gefangenschaft geraten sei (*Od.* 17.425), gibt er vor, in fünf Tagen und Nächten von Kreta übers offene Meer zum Nildelta gesegelt zu sein (Haider 1988, 216 ff., 230). Nach Strabon (10.4.5) dauerte die Fahrt 4 Tage und Nächte; “andere sagen 3“ (Arnaud 1995, 101).

Archäologische Funde auf Bates’ Island in der Bucht von Marsa Matruh, weit westlich des Deltas, deuten an, dass dieser Kurs schon in der Bronzezeit, aber auch in säitischer und persischer Zeit befahren wurde²⁹. Wenn Nordostwind ein Schiff auf Südkurs aus der Ägäis weit nach Westen versetzte, bot ihm der Nothafen auf dem Inselchen Zuflucht und Trinkwasser. Von dort aus konnte es dann, der Küste folgend, vor Wind und Küstenströmung von *Westen* her das Delta erreichen (Arnaud 1995, 98).

Ein extremes Beispiel für die Risiken auf dieser Hochseeroute ist das Erlebnis des Kaufmanns Kolaïos aus Samos, der im 6. Jh.v.Chr. auf der Reise von Samos nach Ägypten “durch einen Sturm“ bis nach Tartessos (Huelva in Andalusien) verschlagen wurde (Hdt. 4.152)³⁰; im Mittelmeer sind allerdings Stürme, die

²⁷ Höckmann 1987, 62 f., Abb. 9a-b (die Verwendung ohne Quellennachweis durch H.-G. Buchholz war nicht autorisiert). Ähnlich: Haider 1988, 213-215 (West- und Ostroute); Murray 1993; Pomey 1997, 27 f.; Carrez-Maratray 1999, 379 f.; Braemer 1998; Medas 2004, 58, Abb. 25; Fabre 2005, 20-26.

²⁸ Pritchard 1958; Goedicke 1975; Höckmann 1987, 60 f.; Aubet 1993, 296-302; Vittmann 2003, 46-51. Fabre 2005, 184-185.

²⁹ Nibbi 1998, 206; Fabre 2005, 63-65.

³⁰ Wahrscheinlich hat der Wind auch in der Antike niemals viele Wochen lang unausgesetzt in der selben Richtung geweht. Der Kapitän eines Schiffs, das durch Gegenwind irgend

wochenlang in derselben Richtung wehen, heute nicht bekannt. Aufgrund dieser Strömungs- und Windbedingungen war es für Segelschiffe aus der Levante geboten, nach Ägypten über Cypern zu fahren (Rougé 1966, 92).

Für Schiffe, die aus der Ägäis und von Cypern kamen, und für Segelschiffe aus der Levante war Thonis ein Zielhafen, der günstig gelegen war und sich zuverlässig ansteuern ließ.

Die technischen Voraussetzungen

Im 3. und 2. Jt.v.Chr. war Ägyptens Seeschifffahrt in der Welt führend gewesen. Die Expeditionen des Pharaos Sahurê (ca. 2458-2446 v.Chr.) im Mittelmeer, deren Ausgangshafen am Nil unbekannt ist³¹, und die Fahrten im Roten Meer nach dem "Gottesland" Punt im östlichen Sudan und am Roten Meer sind Großtaten der Entdeckungsgeschichte³². Der Kapitän Chnemhotep sagt auf seinem Grabstein, dass er elfmal nach Punt gefahren und immer gut heimgekehrt sei³³.

Im Mittelmeer ist vom späten 3. Jt.v.Chr. an ägyptischer Einfluss auf den kretischen Schiffbau erkennbar³⁴. Mit Kreta bestand Handelsverkehr³⁵, und es scheint, dass ägyptische Vorbilder das Segel in der Ägäis bekannt gemacht haben. Später kehrt die symmetrische ägyptische Rumpfform mit hochgebogenen Rumpf-Enden an den spätminoischen Schiffen der Thera-Fresken³⁶, aber auch an helladischen Vasenbildschiffen von Ägina wieder³⁷. Zu dieser Zeit arbeiten kretische Künstler in Ägypten (Bietak 1996), und minoische wie auch mykenische Funde in Ägypten stellen sicher, dass regelmäßiger Verkehr zwischen der Ägäis und dem Land am Nil bestand.

Die ägyptische Seeschiffbau- und Seefahrts-Tradition riss nach der Schlacht gegen die Seevölker ca. 1186 v.Chr. ab, obwohl Ramses III. die fremden

wo festgehalten war, musste aufgrund seiner Erfahrung entscheiden, ob ein Umschlag der Windrichtung vermutlich lange genug anhalten würde, um das Schiff ans Ziel zu bringen.

³¹ Landström 1970, 63 f., Abb. 187-191; Casson 1971, Abb. 17; Basch 1987, 47, Abb. 70; Fabre 2005, 92 f., 110 f.

³² Kitchen 1993; Fabre 2005, 39-42, 80-81, 92-93, 120-121, 178-184.

³³ Helck 1971, 27; Höckmann 1987, 58; Kitchen 1993, 589; Wachsmann 1998, 19.

³⁴ Vgl. viele Schiffsbilder mit symmetrisch-sichelförmigen Rumpf in frühminoischen Siegelbildern (Casson 1971, Abb. 47-48; Basch 1987, bes. 100-102, Abb. C 3.4.6-9.11, D5-6). Frühminoische Tonmodelle (Casson 1971, Abb. 54; Basch 1987, 83, Abb. 170-171; 85, Abb. 175) und andere Siegelbilder (Basch 1987, 99-100, Abb. B5-8.10) zeigen aber Schiffe mit geraden Kielen und Steven, die in stumpfen Winkel an der Kiel stoßen. Sie sind durch ihre Ähnlichkeit mit frühkykladischen Schiffsbildern (Basch 1987, 78-83, Abb. 152-169) als autochton ägäisch ausgewiesen. Daher erscheinen sichelförmige Rümpfe als intrusiv. Als Vorbilder kommen nur ägyptische Schiffe in Frage.

³⁵ Helck 1971, 27 f.; Höckmann 1987, 61, Anm. 56.

³⁶ Basch 1987, 119-127, Abb. 231-258; 131 f., Abb. 267-269, 271; Wachsmann 1998, 88 ff., Abb. 6.5-6.17.

³⁷ Wachsmann 1998, 82 Abb. 5.24.

Angreifer schlug³⁸. Nun beherrschten Seevölkerstämme die Levante, die am Seehandel mit Ägypten anscheinend nicht so intensiv interessiert waren wie in der Bronzezeit die Kanaanäer, oder ihn selbst beherrschen wollten. Als der Ägypter Wenamun ca. 1080/70 v.Chr. nach Byblos im Libanon reiste, um Zedernholz für eine Kultbarke auf dem Nil zu kaufen, wurde sein Schiff zwar ägyptisch als Seefrachter (*meneš*) bezeichnet, hatte aber einen ausländischen Kapitän; es lässt sich erwägen, dass es nicht ägyptisch war (Fabre 2005, 65, 67). Dass Wenamun ausdrücklich betonen musste, dass sein Schiff ein ägyptisches sei (Vittmann 2003, 49, 82), liegt in dem Sinne, dass es einen Typ vertrat, der nicht als ägyptisch erkennbar war. Ob es in einer Stadt der Seevölker in der Levante oder in Cypern beheimatet war, bleibt aber offen.

Der Befund kann eventuell fragen lassen, ob Ägypten im früheren 1. Jt. überhaupt eigene See-Frachtschiffe besessen hat. Im Zollpapyrus von Elephantine (cf. *infra*) werden jedenfalls keine ägyptischen Schiffe genannt.

Im Folgenden sollen die beiden Haupttypen antiker Schiffe getrennt behandelt werden. Schlanke *Langschiffe* konnten durch zahlreiche Ruderer und bei gutem Wind durch ein Segel eine hohe Geschwindigkeit erreichen. Dadurch eigneten sie sich zu Krieg und Piraterie, doch sie waren zu eng, um Passagiere oder Ladung befördern zu können. Selbst für Trinkwasser und Lebensmittel für die große Rudermannschaft gab es kaum Platz.

Der andere Haupttyp der *Rundschiffe* umfasste demgegenüber Fahrzeuge von breiter rundbauchiger Rumpfform, die primär durch Segel angetrieben wurden. Falls Ruderer an Bord waren, war ihre Zahl gering, gerade ausreichend zur notdürftigen Bewegung auf See bei Flaute, oder zum Manövrieren im Hafen. Die Aufgabe dieser Schiffe war es, mit einer kleinen Besatzung eine möglichst große Menge von Ladung zu befördern, ohne Rücksicht auf die dazu benötigte Zeit. Aus heutiger Sicht arbeiteten sie kostengünstig.

Langschiffe

Die Ioner, die im späten 7. Jh.v.Chr. im Delta landeten und Nokradj zum griechischen Naukratis werden ließen, sind zweifellos auf griechischen Schiffen über das Meer gefahren. Griechische Vasenbilder aus dem späten 8. Jh.v.Ch. zeigen leichte Langschiffe mit niedrigen Bordwänden und Ruderantrieb (Abb. 9a). Wir können uns vorstellen, dass die ionischen Piraten dieser Zeit die Küsten Kilikiens und der Levante (cf. *infra*) mit solchen Schiffen heimgesucht haben. Sie eigneten sich vorzüglich für schnelle Überfälle und eventuell auch für den Kampf auf See, doch sie boten kaum Platz für den Abtransport von Beute in Form von Gefangenen und geraubtem Gut. Ein wichtiger Vorteil war, dass sie durch den Ruderantrieb von Meeresströmungen und Wind unabhängig waren.

Später kamen Ruderschiffe mit Hilfsantrieb durch Segel hinzu, die sich sowohl

³⁸ Basch 1987, 68 f., Abb. 123-130; Wachsmann 1998, 29-32, Abb. 2.35-2.42; 165 ff., Abb. 8.1-8.14; Fabre 2005, 26 f.

als Kampfschiffe wie auch als Frachter verwenden ließen. Sie lassen sich provisorisch unter der Bezeichnung *Pentekontére* zusammenfassen, das heißt Schiff mit 50 Remen, 25 an jeder Seite³⁹. Hierzu gehörte der Mehrzwecktyp der *Sámaina* (Hdt. 3.39.41.124; Thukydides I.13), der im 6. Jh. anfangs die große Flotte des Tyrannen Polykrates von Samos bildete (Mele 1979, 106).

Herodot (1.163) berichtet, die Phokaiern hätten ihre Fernreisen im Westmittelmeer auf Pentekontéren durchgeführt. Als sie 546 v. Chr. ihre Stadt vor den Persern evakuierten, nahmen die Phokäer ihre Familien, ihren Hausrat und ihre Götterbilder an Bord (Hdt. 1.164). Demnach waren die Pentekontéren geräumig und konnten auch als Frachter dienen. Doch als sich die Flüchtlinge in Alalia in Korsika etabliert hatten, dienten ihnen diese Schiffe dann zu einer so erfolgreichen Seeräuberei, dass sich die Karthager und Etrusker als bisherige Herren der Seefahrt im Tyrrhenischen Meer gegen die fremden Piraten verbündeten. Die phokäischen Schiffe eigneten sich also für beide Aspekte der *prêxis*-Seefahrt, die nicht grundsätzlich zwischen Handel und Piraterie unterschied (Mele 1979, 101 f.).

Unter den Frachtern, die im Zollpapyrus von Elephantine erwähnt werden (cf. *infra*), spielt der aramäische Typname von 17 Fahrzeugen *aswt khmwš spynh rbh* in irgendeiner Weise auf die Zahl 5 an⁴⁰ – eventuell auf die Pentekontére, das Schiff mit 50 Remen? Als der Papyrus geschrieben wurde, im 5. Jh. v. Chr., stand dieser Typ schon im Schatten der modernen Triére. Daher vermute ich eher, dass sich die aramäische Angabe nicht auf Pentekontéren bezieht. Andere Erklärungen – “mit 5 Remen an jeder Seite“ (?), oder “nur mit einem Fünftel des normalen Satzes verzollt“ (?) – sind ebenfalls möglich (Briant/Descat 1998, 66).

Herodot (2.154) sah am Pelusischen Arm noch die Reste von Rampen (*holkoi*), auf denen einst Schiffe in Ruhezeiten zum Trocknen aus dem Wasser gezogen worden waren, und nennt solche Rampen auch am Roten Meer (Hdt. 2.159). Eine solche Behandlung ist charakteristisch für Kriegsschiffe, denn wenn ihr Holz nass war, wurden sie schwerer und dadurch beim Einsatz langsamer⁴¹. Da diese Anlagen zu Herodots Zeit Ruinen waren, werden sie in säitischer Zeit entstanden sein. Dazu passt, dass schon Psammetich I. der militärischen Seefahrt Interesse entgegenbrachte (Spalinger 1982, 1167 f.).

In dieser Gegend an beiden Seiten des Pelusischen Nil, nordöstlich von Bubastis (Abb. 1), hatte dieser Pharao einst ausländische Söldner in “Truppen-

³⁹ Für die persischen Pentekontéren bei dem Feldzug von 480 v. Chr. nennt Herodot (7.184) eine Besatzung von 80 Mann: 50 Ruderern und 30 Soldaten.

⁴⁰ Yardeni 1994, 70 mit Anm. 14; Briant/Descat 1998, 66.

⁴¹ Blackman 1995; Carrez-Maratray 1999, 362 f. In Griechenland, Cypern und anderen Ländern am Mittelmeer bildeten solche Rampen den Boden von Hallen für die Lagerung von Kriegsschiffen (*néosoikoi*), und angesichts der winterlichen Regenfälle im Delta erscheint die Annahme plausibel, dass auch die Rampen in den *stratópeda* die Reste von Schiffshäusern waren.

lagern“ (*stratópēda*) angesiedelt: “*Seinen Mitkämpfern* [beim Ringen um die Herrschaft in Ägypten], *den Ionern und Karern, gab Psammetich Land zum Bebauen, eine Strecke zu beiden Seiten des [Pelusischen] Nils, die den Namen Stratópēda erhielt*“ (Hdt. 2.154)⁴².

Die Rampen gehörten zu diesen *stratópēda*. Wallinga bietet die ansprechende Erklärung, dass die Söldner mit ihren eigenen Langschiffen nach Ägypten gekommen wären und sie bei sich behalten hätten, um nach Ablauf des Dienstvertrags von eventuell 4 Jahren selbständig in ihre Heimat zurückkehren zu können (Wallinga 1991, 179-186)⁴³. Dies schließt nicht aus, dass man die Schiffe zuvor bei ägyptischen Feldzügen in der Levante oder in Nubien eingesetzt haben mag. Es könnte scheinen, dass dieses System noch in Kraft war, als Kambyses nach dem Scheitern seines Nubien-Feldzugs die Hellenen in seinem Heer zu Schiff in ihre Heimat zurückkehren ließ (Hdt. 3.25). Allerdings wird nicht gesagt, ob es ihre eigenen Schiffe waren oder ob Kambyses für die Heimfahrt gesorgt hatte.

Die Quellenlage lässt keine Alternative dazu, Rampen auf Kriegsschiffe zu beziehen. Es ist nicht bekannt, dass auch Frachtschiffe an Land getrocknet wurden. Dem “Terminsöldner“-Modell steht das Konzept gegenüber, dass die Söldner in einer einzigen Aktion unter Psammetich I. nach Ägypten gekommen wären und sich dort dauernd niedergelassen hätten (Austin 1970, 18; Haider 1996, 108 f., 114). In diesem Sinne liegt die Beobachtung Vittmanns, dass in einigen Söldner-Graffiti von Abu Simbel, die bei Psammetichs II. Nubien-Feldzug entstanden, keine Angaben zur Herkunft aus einem Staat im griechischen Mutterland enthalten sind. Er schließt daraus, dass manche Söldner nach dem Ende ihrer vertraglichen Dienstzeit in Ägypten blieben und dort Söhne mit griechischen Namen hatten, die wieder in der ägyptischen Armee dienten. Man müsse zwischen frisch im Ausland angeworbenen Söldnern und Söldnersöhnen unterscheiden, die in Ägypten geboren waren. Letztlich wird anzunehmen sein, dass beide Modelle der Söldnerschaft nebeneinander bestanden haben.

Im Zusammenhang mit den Rampen sei erwähnt, dass Nebukadnezar II. von Babylon im 6. Jh.v.Chr. “Ägypter“ an einem Schiffshaus arbeiten ließ, dessen Lage nicht genannt wird (Wiseman 1991). Da der König 562 v.Chr. starb, ist dies die früheste schriftliche Erwähnung eines Schiffshauses in der Antike, die wir kennen. Ob die Spezialisten wirklich Ägypter waren oder aber Griechen/Karer im ägyptischen Dienst, die bei einem babylonischen Angriff auf Ägypten gefangen genommen worden waren, ist ungewiss.

Nach dem oben Gesagten ist anzunehmen, dass die Schiffe der frühen Söldner

⁴² Carrez-Maratray 2000, 162-163; Möller 2000, 34 f., 189; Vittmann 2003, 199, 202, 206, 223.

⁴³ Allgemein zu ausländischen Söldnern: Spalinger 1982, 1165 f.; Haider 1988, 182 f., 223, 228; Haider 1996, 97, 108 f., 114, 153; Möller 2000, 33-36; Haider 2001, 197; Vittmann 2003, 199-209; Luraghi 2006 passim; Smoláriková 2006 passim; Smoláriková 2008, 24.

hauptsächlich Pentekontären waren. Anders als Mele (1979, 101 f., 106) meint, halte ich es aber für eher unwahrscheinlich, dass die Söldner damit während ihres Aufenthalts in Ägypten auch Handel getrieben hätten. Mir ist keine Quelle zu solchen zivilen Nebentätigkeiten von Söldnern bekannt.

Auch in einem saïtischen Graffito zweier Langschiffe auf einer karo-ägyptischen Grabstele aus Saqqâra (Abb. 10) weist nichts auf eine zivile Nutzung der Fahrzeuge hin, und die Darstellung auf einem Grabstein verweist ohnehin auf ein heroisches Milieu⁴⁴. Das größere Fahrzeug hat einen so hohen Bug und so stark geschwungenen Dollbord wie kein anderes Schiffsbild aus dieser Zeit, mit einem Rammsporn mit sehr hoher vertikaler 'Kante'. Es wird von einem kleineren zweiten Schiff begleitet, das einen weit verbreiteten Typ mit horizontalem Dollbord ohne hohes Bugkastell vertritt. Die Bugform spielt auf einen Eberkopf an. Herodot (3.59) nennt dieses Merkmal typisch für die *sámaina*, doch manche Schiffe dieser Art in antiken Darstellungen scheinen eher große Boote als Schiffe zu sein. Der Eberkopfbug war demnach nicht auf die *sámaina* beschränkt.

Zu archaischen Kriegsschiffen sind aus Ägypten noch einige weitere Quellen bekannt. Ein Terrakottamodell⁴⁵ aus dem ägyptischen Kunsthandel ('saïtisch': Landström 1970, 141 mit Abb. 410) verdient große Aufmerksamkeit, doch es ist mir noch nicht aus Autopsie bekannt und ich kann mich zu dem Stück nur mit Vorbehalt äußern. Es gibt ein Langschiff wieder. Kiel und Dollbord sind gerade ohne Überhänge, und das Heck ist hochgebogen. Diese Merkmale fehlen im früheren ägyptischen Schiffbau, während sie an mykenischen, griechisch-geometrischen (Abb. 9a),⁴⁶ assyrischen⁴⁷ und phönikischen Langschiffen (Abb. 7a) normal sind⁴⁸. Die Konstruktion des Bugs mit einer Löwenkopfsprotome ist seltsam, und ein Rammsporn ist nicht angegeben. Die Oberkante des Dollbords ist gewellt und in dichter Folge rund durchstochen⁴⁹. Diese Löcher sind als Ruderpforten zu verstehen.

⁴⁴ Masson/Yoyotte 1956, 21, Abb. 23, Taf. II; Basch 1987, 248, Abb. 525; Vittmann 2003, 164-167 mit Abb. 81.

⁴⁵ Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseum Inv. 1970, 5.

⁴⁶ Casson 1971, 49-53, Abb. 62-72; Höckmann 1985, 47 Abb. 25-29; Basch 1987, 160 Abb. 323; 164-169, Abb. 328-343; 175-179, Abb. 362, 367-373; 178-179, Abb. 374-376.

⁴⁷ Fresko aus Til Barsip am Kanal nach Babylon, d.h. im Binnenland, wo phönikische Vasallenschiffe kaum zu erwarten sind: (z.B.) Höckmann 1985, 108 Abb. 81; Strommenger/Hirmer 1962, Farbtaf. XXXIX; Orthmann 1975, Taf. XXI; Amiet 1977, Taf. 105; Basch 1987, 308, Abb. 649. Dies ist die früheste Darstellung eines eindeutigen, mit Metall verkleideten Rammsporns als Waffe! Sie weist ebenso klar auf assyrischen Kriegsschiffbau hin wie z.B. die Angabe, dass Tiglath-Pileser (734-732 v.Chr.) eine Stadt "mitten im Meer" eroberte, vielleicht Arvad (Culican 1991, 468). Die Beteiligung fremder Schiffe wird nicht erwähnt.

⁴⁸ z.B. Casson 1971, Abb. 76, 78; Basch 1987, 180, Abb. 379; 310 f., Abb. 654-655; 312 ff., Abb. 656-666; Wachsmann 1998, 127, Abb. 7.6; Fabre 2005, 98, Abb.

⁴⁹ Das Detail kehrt plastisch an zwei Tonmodellen aus dem Heiligtum in der Eileithya-Höhle auf Kreta, wo verschiedene Weihegaben aus "dem Osten" gefunden wurden (Basch 1987, 242, Abb. 509), und an einem cyprischen Tonmodell wieder (Basch 1987, 340, Abb. 724).

Runde Ruderpforten kennzeichnen auch einen schiffsförmigen Gold-Anhänger aus der Saitenzeit (Abb. 7b)⁵⁰. Offenbar wird eine spezielle Remen-Lagerung gezeigt, die Ostgriechenland und Ägypten gemeinsam war. Wer war der gebende, wer der nehmende Partner?

Das Goldschiffchen hat zwei Merkmale, die es mit ägyptischen Schiffen aus dem 2. Jt.v.Chr. verbinden, nämlich einen stark geschwungenen Kiel und eine verzierte Hütte. Ein riesiger Rammsporn mit hoher vertikaler Kante hat demgegenüber Entsprechungen an griechischen, karischen und phönikischen Schiffen. Der riesige nach vorn blickende Kopf eines Wasservogels am Achtersteven hat zu dieser Zeit in einem Relief aus Karatepe in Kilikien eine Parallele⁵¹. Offenbar ist der ägyptische Schiffbau jetzt fremden Einflüssen ausgesetzt⁵², so dass auch die auffallende Lagerung der Remen aus dem Ausland stammen dürfte.

Diesen Hinweisen auf Neuerungen in der Saitenzeit stehen Determinativzeichen für Kriegsschiffe (*kbn.wt* [sprich *kebenut*], dazu Darnell 1992) in Grabinschriften des hohen Marineoffiziers Udjahorresnet in Saqqâra, aus dem Beginn der persischen Fremdherrschaft des Kambyses (Abb. 8a-b) gegenüber, die sich an die Tradition des Neuen Reichs halten⁵³. Sie weisen symmetrisch gebogene Rümpfe mit langen Überhängen an beiden Enden auf. In einer Variante sind das Steueruder und eine Art Tierfigur (?) auf dem Deck angegeben. Die symmetrische Grundform kennzeichnet auch die *kbn.wt*-Zeichen (Abb. 8d) im Grab des Seeoffiziers Menekhibnekau in Saqqâra (Bareš *et alii* 2008), und die Lagerung der Ruder an einem vertikalen Pfosten im Heck geht wieder auf eine altägyptische Tradition zurück. Ein dünner Ziersteven oben im Bug (*stolos*) könnte ebenfalls in dieser Tradition stehen, doch begegnet er auch an griechischen, cyprischen und phönikischen Schiffen im 7.-6. Jh.v.Chr.

Ein anderes Element am Bug dieser schiffsförmigen Schriftzeichen ist demgegenüber neuartig, nämlich ein spitzer nach vorn-*unten* weisender Fortsatz am Bug. Da er oberhalb der Wasserlinie endet, kann er kein Rammsporn als Angriffswaffe sein, doch er eignet sich dazu, ein feindliches Schiff defensiv auf Distanz zu halten (Abb. 8c).

Als Parallele ist mir nur ein ähnlicher Bugfortsatz an einem Segel-Kriegsschiff (?) im Kampf mit einem Ruderschiff griechischer Art auf der westgriechischen Vase des Aristonothos aus den Jahren um 675 v.Chr. bekannt⁵⁴. Wo die Heimat

⁵⁰ Landström 1970, 141, Abb. 411; Basch 1987, 335, Abb. 719-720; Fabre 2005, 99, Abb.; Höckmann, im Druck.

⁵¹ Casson 1971, Abb. 79; Basch 1987, 249, Abb. 526; Höckmann, im Druck.

⁵² Eine Kultbarke auf dem Nil, allerdings aus der 25. Dynastie (Landström 1970, 140, Abb. 408), ist von fremden Elementen frei.

⁵³ Grab des Udjahoresnet [hier Abb. 8a, 8c]: Bareš 1999, 38. 53 (steht auf dem Kopf), 57, 60; Grab des Menekhibnekau [Abb. 8d]: Smoláriková 2008, Umschlagbild. Zur wechselnden Bedeutung des Worts *kbn.wt*: Fabre 2005, 92.

⁵⁴ z.B. Casson 1971, Abb. 80; Basch 1987, 233, Abb. 482; Höckmann 2001a, 269, Abb. 16 "CA 11". Eine "griechisch-spätgeometrische" Fibel mit einem ähnlichen Schiffsbild im

des exotischen Schiffs zu suchen ist, lässt sich noch nicht präzisieren. Cypern läge theoretisch nahe, doch bei einem kyprischen Tonmodell (Abb. 6b) ist ein leichter 'Abwehrsporn' in anderer Weise am Vorsteven befestigt (Basch 1987, 252 f., Abb. 536-539), wie auch später in Karthago (Basch 1987, 399 f., Abb. 830-832, 834).

Der Quellenwert der ägyptischen Schriftzeichen für den saïtischen Schiffbau sollte aber nicht überfordert werden. Mit der Präsenz eines ägyptischen Kriegsschiffs im westlichen Mittelmeer zu rechnen, besteht jedenfalls kein Grund.

Für eventuelle Verbindungen des Typs der saïtischen Determinative mit Schiffen im Neuen Reich ist wesentlich, dass die 25. (kušitische) Dynastie über Kriegsschiffe verfügte. Der Assyrer Assurbanipal berichtet, er habe alle Kriegsschiffe des Kušitenpharao Tarkû (Taharka) erbeutet, als dieser vor den Assyrern von Memphis nach Theben floh (Luckenbill 1927, 349 § 901). Die Schiffe befanden sich also auf dem Nil. Ihre Bauart wird nicht erwähnt, doch sie könnte zwischen den ramessidischen Schiffen und den spät-saïtischen Schriftzeichen (Abb. 8a, 8c-8d) vermittelt haben.

Es lässt sich zusammenfassen, dass unter den genannten Langschiffen ägyptischer Art allein der Typ des Goldanhängers mit seinem massiven Sporn (Abb. 7b) eine Chance gehabt hätte, sich gegen moderne Ruderschiffe mit Rammspornen zu behaupten. Gerade dieses Boot war aber, nach seinen Decksaufbauten zu urteilen, kein Kampfschiff. Die Flotten Nechos II. im Mittelmeer und Roten Meer werden auf ausländische Vorbilder zurückgegangen sein, deren Heimat in Phönikien (Abb. 7a) oder Griechenland (Abb. 9a) zu suchen ist.

Dies berührt die Frage nach dem Entstehungsland des berühmtesten antiken Kriegsschiffstyps, nämlich der *Trière* (lateinisch *Trireme*): eines Langschiffs, dem zahlreiche Ruderer auf drei Ebenen und gegebenenfalls Segel eine hohe Geschwindigkeit verliehen (Abb. 9b)⁵⁵. Ein Rammsporn aus Bronze machte es zum reinen Kriegsschiff. Beim Bau der Replik "Olympiás", die sich auf das 4. Jh.v.Chr. bezieht, haben J.F. Morrison und J.S. Coates eine Rudermannschaft von 170 Köpfen sowie 30 Offizieren, Matrosen und Deckssoldaten vorausgesetzt. Die Zahl stützt sich auf Herodots (3.184) Angaben zu den persischen Triären in der Schlacht von Salamis 480 v.Chr. (Morrison/Williams 1968, 254 f.; Casson 1971, 302). Die Ruderer füllten den schmalen, flachgehenden Rumpf fast völlig aus, so dass nur minimale Vorräte von Trinkwasser und Lebensmitteln mitgeführt werden konnten. Wie viel Trinkwasser die Ruderer brauchten, haben die Experimente mit der "Olympiás" gezeigt. Um Wasser zu fassen, abzukochen und zum Übernachten war man auf die Nähe des Landes angewiesen. Für Transport-

Louvre (Charbonneau 1932, 198, Abb. 4; Taf. 8) wurde von C. Rolley als Fälschung entlarvt (Höckmann 2001a, 242).

⁵⁵ Morrison/Williams 1968, 131, 158; Casson 1971, Abb. 62-72; 77-96; Basch 1987, 265-303, 310-317, Abb. 654-668A; Wallinga 1990; Morrison/Coates 1990; Wallinga 1993, 103-118; Wallinga 1995; de Souza 1998, 280.

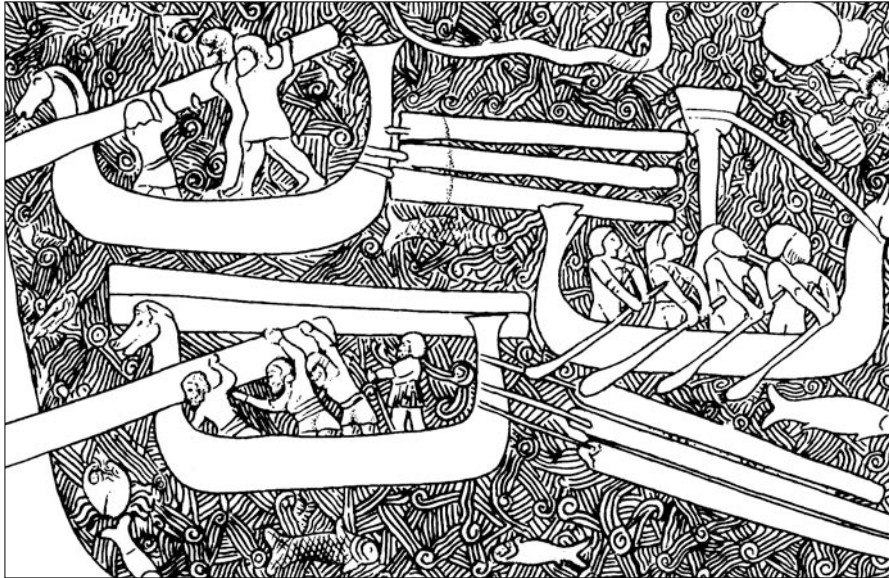


Abb. 5a. Flachrelief aus einem assyrischen Palast in Niniveh, Iraq (um 700 v.Chr.): Zwei phönikische Schiffe mit Pferdeköpfen am Bug schleppen schwimmende Balken und nehmen weitere Balken an Bord. Ein drittes Schiff von gleicher form wird durch den Mastkorb als Kriegsschiff ausgewiesen und von stehenden Ruderern angetrieben. Es ist unklar, ob es zwei schwimmende Balken schleppt, einen Holztransporter schleppen soll, oder davonfährt (London, British Museum).



Abb. 5b. Siegel des hebräischen Seefahrers Oniyahu, 8. Jh.v.Chr.: Frachtschiff mit hohen Bordwänden und Segelmast (Haifa, National Maritime Museum).



Abb. 6a. Attisch-schwarzfiguriges Vasenbild auf Trinkschale aus dem späten 6. Jh. v.Chr.: ein Segelfrachter wird von einem geruderten Piratenschiff (rechts der Bug) angefallen (London, British Museum).

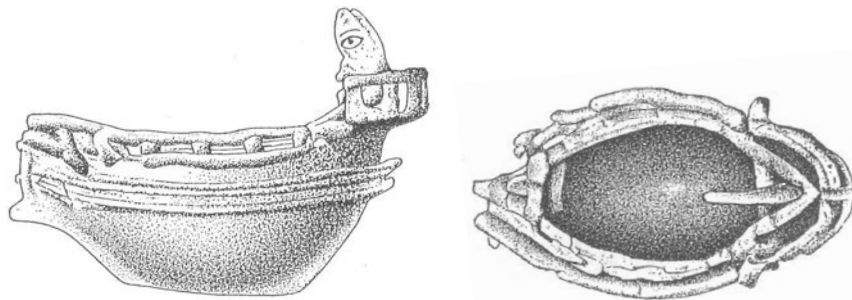


Abb. 6b. Tonmodell eines Frachtschiffs aus Amathous, Cypern (um 600 v.Chr). Besonders der in flachem Winkel schräg aufgehende Bug mit einem kleinen 'Abwehrsporn' weist den Typ als Vorbild des griechischen Frachtseglers in Abb 6a aus. Dort ist der 'Abwehrsporn' fast bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verkümmert (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

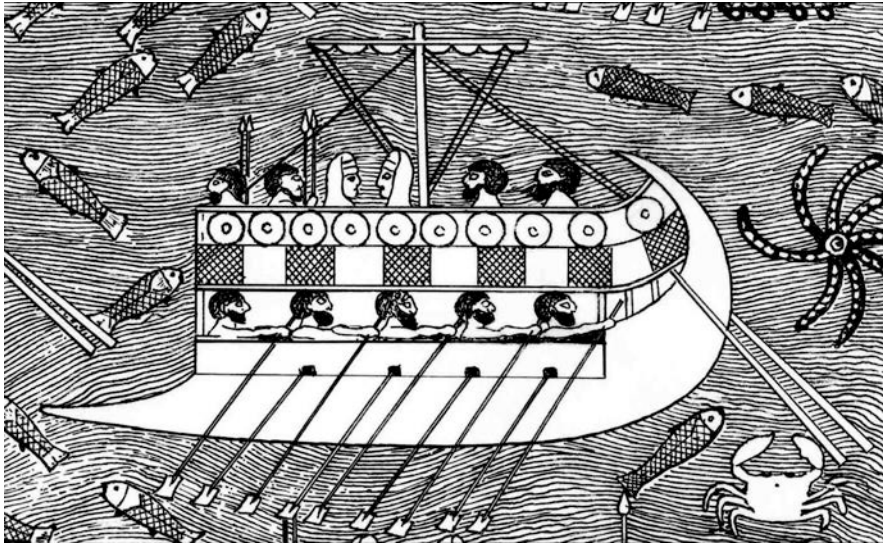


Abb. 7a. Phönikisches Kriegsschiff, um 700 v.Chr. (London, British Museum).

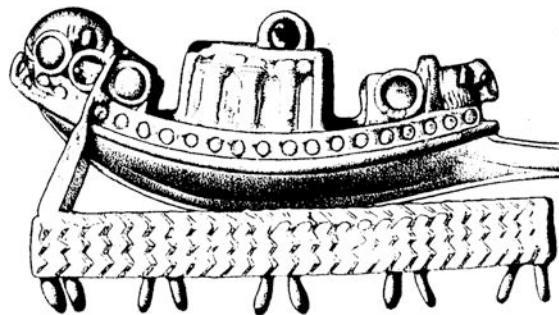


Abb. 7b. Schiffsförmiger säitischer Goldanhänger aus Ägypten, 26. Dynastie (Paris, Louvre).



Abb. 8a



Abb. 8b

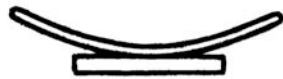


Abb. 8c



Abb. 8d



Abb. 8e

Abb. 8a, 8c-8d. Spätsaitische Determinativzeichen in Gräbern des Udjahoresnet (8a, 8c) und Menekhibnekau (8d) in Saqqâra. Alle Fahrzeuge haben lange Überhänge. Bei Abb. 8b. ist eine Reihe von Remen angegeben wie an griechischen oder phönikischen Schiffen (nach L. Bareš).

Abb. 8b. Ptolemäische Hieroglyphe: Kriegsschiff mit zwei Masten (nach L. Basch).

Abb. 8e. Münze des Marc Anton: großes Kriegsschiff mit gekrümmtem Kiel, 31 v.Chr. (Kunsthandel).

aufgaben und überhaupt für Fernreisen über die hohe See waren die Triéren nicht geeignet⁵⁶.

Theoretisch hätte man auf einer oder sogar zwei Ebenen die Ruderer durch "Passagiere" wie etwa Gefangene ersetzen können, doch auch dann hätte es an Bord kaum Platz für Vorräte oder Ladung wie beispielsweise Beute aus der Plünderung von fremden Ortschaften oder Schiffen gegeben.

Die Angaben in der antiken Literatur zur Entstehung des Triéren-Typs, mit dem die Seeschlachten der Perserkriege ausgefochten wurden, lassen sich sowohl auf Griechenland als auch auf Phönikien beziehen. Dies gilt ebenfalls für die Triéren des Pharao Necho II. um 600 v.Chr. im Mittelmeer und im Roten Meer. Herodot (2.158), Strabon (17.1.25) und später Pomponius Mela (*Chor.* 3.80) berichten, dass Necho mit dem Bau eines Kanals durch das Wadi Tumulât (s. Abb. 1) begann, der den Nil mit dem Roten Meer verbinden sollte⁵⁷. Der Bau wurde nicht vollendet, doch Necho unterhielt trotzdem im Roten Meer Kriegsschiffe. Von hier aus startete auch eine Forschungsexpedition in seinem Auftrag (Hdt. 4.42), bei der phönikische Schiffe Afrika umrundeten und auf dem Mittelmeer nach Ägypten zurückkehrten⁵⁸.

Die Diskussion über die Entstehung der Triére wurde um 1970 lebhaft, als sich Lucien Basch (Basch 1969; 1977; 1987, 265-303) mit guten Argumenten für eine phönikische Entstehung des Schiffstyps aussprach⁵⁹, während A.B. Lloyd (Lloyd 1972; 1975; 1980; 1993, 159-160) die Erfindung durch Griechen als erwiesen darstellte⁶⁰. Ihm folgten P. Haider (1988, 8; 1996, 102) und wohl auch G. Vittmann (2003, 208). Lloyds Argument, Necho habe die Triére nicht aus Phönikien übernehmen können, da er gegen Tyros Krieg führte, ist nicht zwingend, da jeder phönikische Stadtstaat individuell über Krieg oder Frieden mit anderen Staaten entschied.

Mir erscheint es unsicher, dass die Alternative "Phönikien *oder* Griechenland" der Genese des Schiffstyps gerecht wird. Eher dürfte in beiden Ländern den lokalen Pentekontéren eine dritte Ebene von Ruderern hinzugefügt worden sein. Die entscheidende Vorstufe dazu, der Übergang vom Schiff mit Ruderern auf einer Ebene (*monére*) zum Schiff mit Ruderern auf zwei Ebenen (*díkrotos*), war in beiden Ländern unterschiedlich gelöst worden. Bei dem vergleichsweise ein-

⁵⁶ Die heutigen Versuche von Menschen aus Westafrika, in ungeeigneten Booten nach Europa zu gelangen, könnten die negative Bewertung der Triére als Personentransporter in Frage stellen. Mir scheint aber, dass die heutigen Versuche aus einem größeren, verzweifelten Leidensdruck entstehen, als für antike Seereisen anzunehmen ist.

⁵⁷ Tuplin 1991; Lloyd 1993, 153; Redmount 1995; Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 348 f.; Vittmann 2003, 135 f.; Fabre 2005, 77-79, 99; Smoláriková 2008, 31.

⁵⁸ z.B. Culican 1991, 471; James 1991, 720, 723; Aubet 2000, 96; Fabre 2005, 36.

⁵⁹ So schon mit anderen Argumenten: Austin 1970, 18; Katzenstein 1973, 313; Spalinger 1977, 231f., 236; später: de Souza 1998, 284.

⁶⁰ Lloyd hält es für möglich, dass eventuell griechische Besatzungen auf ägyptischen Schiffen gefahren wären (Lloyd 1993, 160), wie es Wallinga (1993, 118-120, 122) für die persische Reichsflotte erwägt.

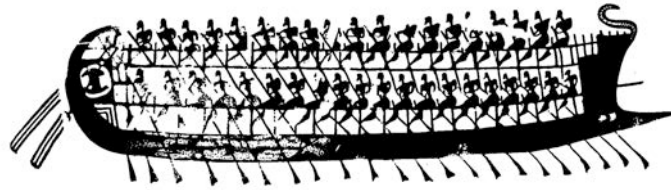


Abb. 9a. Vasenbild mit Darstellung eines griechischen Langschiffs aus dem 8. Jh.v.Chr. aus der Kerameikos-Nekropole in Athen (London, British Museum).

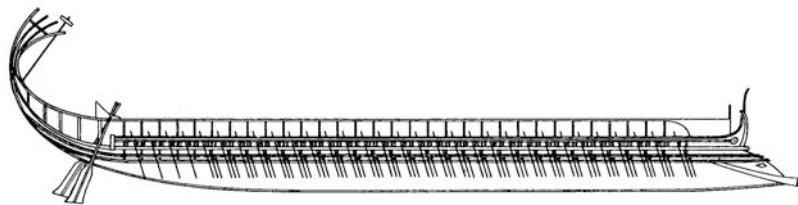


Abb. 9b. Rekonstruktion einer griechischen Triére, 5. Jh.v.Chr. (Verfasser).

facheren Schritt von der Díkrotos zur Triére könnten Kontakte zwischen Griechen und Phönikern mitgewirkt haben. Sie ergaben sich, als 694 v.Chr. der assyrische König Sanherib gefangene Griechen und Phöniker am Tigris Kriegsschiffe ihrer nationalen Typen für einen Feldzug gegen Elam bauen ließ (Braun 1982, 19). Als hingegen 681 v.Chr. Asarhaddon in Ninive eine Flotte für einen Feldzug gegen Babylon entstehen ließ, werden als Werftleute nur "Syrer" genannt. Als Besatzungen erscheinen aber Tyrier, Sidonier und Ioner, die der Assyrenkönig auf früheren Feldzügen gefangen genommen hatte (Haider 1996, 91). Solche Ioner können Kenntnisse über die "syrischen" Schiffe nach Ionien gebracht haben, wenn nicht schon ihre Landsleute nach 694 v.Chr.

Gesichert ist, dass auf griechischen Triéren die Remen der obersten Ebene von Ruderern (*thranítai*) auf einem Auslegerbalken gelagert waren, während Triéren in phönikischer Tradition dieses Baumerkmal nicht aufwiesen.

Während der persischen Herrschaft in Ägypten im 5. Jh.v.Chr. deutet die kunstlose Malerei auf einem Óstrakon aus Saqqâra (Basch 1987, 334 Abb. 718) an, dass die damals in Ägypten bekannten Triéren den Typ der persischen Reichsflotte vertraten (Wallinga 1993, 118-129; Högemann 1991). Das Graffito (Abb. 11a) zeigt ein Schiff mit sehr spitzem Rammsporn, hohem Segelmast und

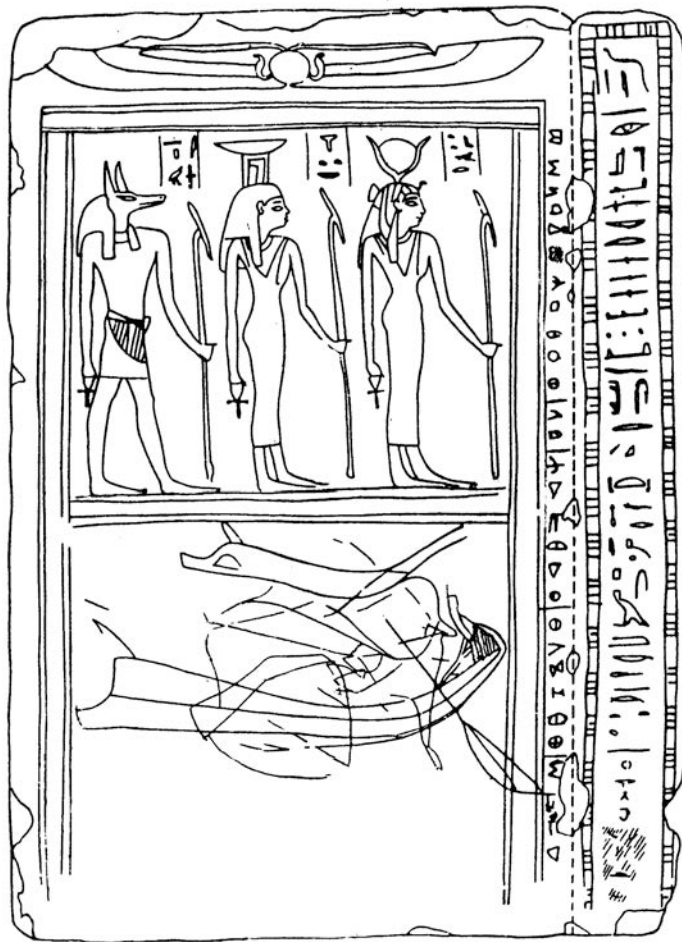


Abb. 10. Graffito auf karischem Grabstein aus der 26. Dynastie von Saqqâra: zwei Langschiffe (Lausanne/Basel) (nach O. Masson /J. Yoyotte 1956).

einem Kiel, der in ganzer Länge geschwungen ist wie auf Siegelabdrücken aus Persepolis (Abb. 11b), in denen drei Ebenen von Remen zu erkennen sind (Basch 1987, 327, Abb. 699-700). Es handelt sich also um Triären. Sie unterscheiden sich von dem griechischen Typ des 5.-4. Jhs.v.Chr. (Abb. 9b) gravierend, denn ihr langer spitzer Rammsporn ließe sich in Griechenland am ehesten mit den Langschiffen aus der Geometrischen Periode (Abb. 9a) verbinden – viel zu früh für einen Zusammenhang. Die Krümmung des Sporns nach oben schließt aber ohnehin eine Beziehung aus. Sie folgt der Kurve des gebogenen Kiels. Da alle Ruderer einer Ebene den selben Abstand von der Wasseroberfläche haben



Abb. 11a. Ostrakon mit Schiffsbild aus Saqqâra, Ägypten, Perserzeit (nach L. Basch).

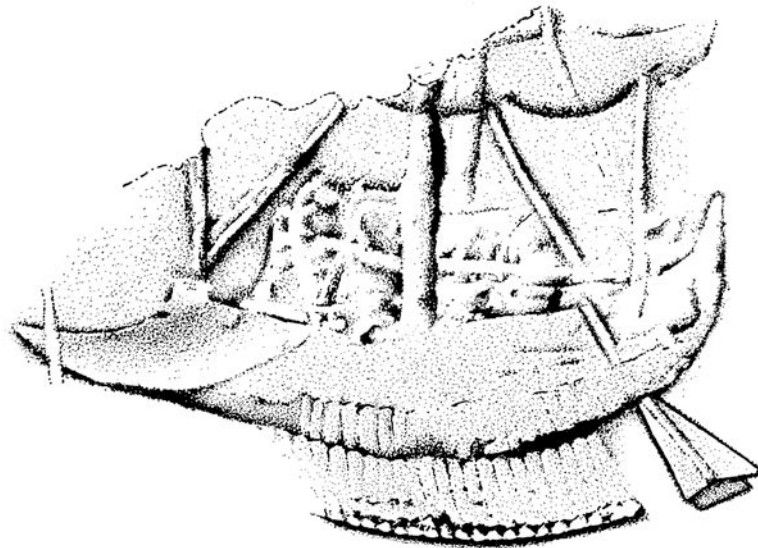


Abb. 11b. Siegelabdruck mit Schiffsbild aus Persepolis (nach L. Basch).

müssen, sollten Rundschiffe im Prinzip einen geraden horizontalen Kiel wie in Abb. 7a und Abb. 9a-b haben. Für die gebogene Form muss immer nach einem besonderen Grund gesucht werden. Sie kennzeichnet seit dem 3. Jahrtausend v.Chr. den ägyptischen Schiffbau und ist noch in ptolemäischer Zeit belegt (Abb. 8b)⁶¹. Noch deutlicher spricht für einen essentiell ägyptischen Charakter

⁶¹ Basch 1987, 346 Abb. 731; Fabre 2005, 100 Abb.

dieser Rumpfform, dass sie sogar noch auf den Münzen Marc Antons als Gemahl der letzten Pharaonin Kleopatra VI. erscheint, die er 31 v.Chr. auf dem Feldzug gegen Octavian prägen ließ (Abb. 8e)⁶².

Die Siegelbilder aus Persepolis deuten somit durch ihr teilweise ägyptisches Gepräge und durch das Fehlen aller griechischen Merkmale an, dass die Trieren der Perser nicht von griechischen Vorbildern abhingen. Wir möchten Basch folgen, der in dem Befund einen Hinweis darauf sieht, dass die Levanteländer unabhängig von Griechenland einen eigenen Typ der Triere entwickelt hatten.

Vom 5. Jh.v.Chr. an ist sicher, dass sich Schiffshäuser in Flottenbasen aller Länder auf Trieren bezogen. Gilt das auch schon für die säitischen Schiffsrampen oder -häuser am Pelusischen Nil⁶³? Trieren konnten zahlreiche Männer an Bord nehmen, doch sie waren darauf angewiesen, täglich an der Küste frisches Trinkwasser zu nehmen und in Hafentorten Lebensmittel einkaufen zu können. Von Möglichkeiten, bei der Heimkehr von säitischen Söldnern in Ägypten hinzugekommene Frauen und Kinder oder größere materielle Erwerbungen auf Trieren in das Heimatland zu befördern, kann aber nach den Erfahrungen mit der "Olympiás" keine Rede sein. Im Rahmen von Wallingas These von "Termin-Söldnern" ist sicher, dass sich Trieren für deren Bedürfnisse nicht eigneten.

Trieren konnten zwar 200 Mann befördern, doch von ihnen bedienten 170 auf drei Ebenen die Remen, während nur 30 Matrosen und Soldaten als passive 'Passagiere' an Bord waren. Wenn kein Gefecht zu erwarten war, konnte man theoretisch eine oder sogar zwei Ebenen nicht mit Ruderern, sondern mit Passagieren besetzen. Doch dagegen spricht, dass die Triere in einer Rolle als Transportschiff kaum Platz für Vorräte oder Ladung geboten hätte. Ferner bedeutete der teure Rammsporn aus Bronze und die Versteifung des leicht gebauten Rumpfs, damit er den Rückstoß beim Ramm-Treffer ohne Schaden überstand, einen erheblichen Aufwand beim Bau eines solchen Kriegsschiffs, der sich bei einer Verwendung als Transporter nicht amortisierte. Und schließlich waren Trieren als möglichst leichte 'Kampfmaschinen' nicht dafür gebaut, um sich alltäglich dem Seegang bei See-Fernreisen aussetzen zu können.

Daher erwägt Wallinga, dass im 6. Jh.v.Chr., als regelmäßig griechische und karische Söldner nach Ägypten reisten, spezielle 'Personaltransporter' konstruiert worden wären⁶⁴. Der Typ mag *kérkouros* geheißen haben. Da dieser Name aus dem assyrischen *qurqurru* entlehnt ist (Casson 1971, 163 f.), ist die Urheimat des Typs wohl im Nahen Osten zu suchen⁶⁵.

Diese Fahrzeuge brauchten nicht für den Schiffskampf spezialisiert zu sein wie die Trieren. Daher konnten die *kérkouroi* breiter und schwerer, d.h. langsamer

⁶² BMC Taf. CXVI, 1.4-6.10; Cr. 544,10.14.15.19.

⁶³ Vittmann (2003, 96) lokalisiert Daphnai am Tanitischen Arm.

⁶⁴ Wallinga 1993, 49, 89-93, 98; Wallinga 1995, 45 f.

⁶⁵ Barnett (1958, 229) verweist auf Eigenschaften der *qurqurru*, die denen der Pentekontere ähnlich sind. Er deutet die *Dikrotoi* des Königs Luli von Sidon als solche Schiffe.

sein als Triären und brauchten keinen teuren Rammsporn mit seiner aufwendigen Verankerung im Rumpf. Dadurch wurde der Bau einfacher und billiger, und zugleich ergab sich mehr Raum für Vorräte und Ladung als in Triären. Vielleicht lassen sich einige Schiffsdarstellungen aus Ionien auf solche Transporter beziehen (Höckmann, im Druck).

Da der kleinasiatische Lyderkönig Gyges dem Psammetich I. in dessen ersten Regierungsjahren lydische Truppen zur Hilfe gegen Assyrien zusandte (cf. *infra*), war das Transportproblem schon damals akut. Hat Gyges den *kérkouros* ‘erfunden’? Wie auch immer, die Beförderung großer Mengen von Truppen über See in ein weit entferntes Land war für die archaische Zeit eine bedeutende logistische Leistung.

Rundschiffe

Die wichtigste Quelle zu Frachtschiffen ist ein aramäischer Papyrus aus dem 5. Jh.v.Chr., der in Elephantine gefunden wurde, ein Palimpsest (cf. *infra*). In der primären Verwendung berichtete das Zollamt in einem Seehafen am Mittelmeer über 42 Schiffe – aus Ionien (36) und aus der Levante (6), deren Ladungen in einem Zeitraum von zehn Monaten verzollt wurden. Dieser Text wurde glücklicherweise nicht gänzlich rasiert, als der Papyrus später mit den Weisheitslehren des Aramäers Ahiqar neu beschrieben wurde. Mit diesem Text gelangte er nach Elephantine.

Im Primärtext werden die Typen der Schiffe genannt, welche die betreffende Ladung in den Zollhafen brachten. Alle ionisch-griechischen Frachter der Typen *spynh rbh* und *’aswt khmwš spynh rbh* sowie phönikische *dwgy qnrt*-Schiffe sind in den Augen der Zollbeamten ‘groß’, d.h. sie trugen ca. 60 t Ladung (Briant/Descat 1998, 68). Drei phönikische *dwgy qnrtšyry* mit wohl ca. 40 t Ladung sind demgegenüber ‘klein’. Der geringe Anteil phönikischer Schiffe gegenüber den ionischen lässt annehmen, dass das Zollamt im westlichen Delta stationiert war – vermutlich in Thonis.

Grundsätzlich unterscheidet der Papyrus nicht nur zwischen ‘großen’ und ‘kleinen’ Schiffen, sondern auch ihren Heimatländern, die aber nicht konkret genannt werden. Aus Ionien (wahrscheinlich haben die Perser die Ostdoris mit eingeschlossen) kommen 36 ‘große’ Schiffe von zwei Typen (*spynh rbh*, *’aswt khmwš spynh rbh*). Wodurch sie sich unterscheiden, bleibt offen. Unter den sechs phönikischen Schiffen sind drei ‘große’ Frachter (*dwgy qnrt*) und drei kleine, deren Typ dem Namen nach (*dwgy qnrtšyry*) irgendwie mit Fischerbooten zu tun hat. Diese Angaben beziehen sich wie gesagt auf Schiffe im 5. Jh.v.Chr., doch sie lassen sich wahrscheinlich auf ionische und phönikische Rundschiffe im 6. Jh. zurückprojizieren, d.h. in säitischer Zeit.

Das Aussehen ägyptischer Frachtschiffe (*Rundschiffe*) aus säitischer Zeit ist unbekannt. Genau genommen wissen wir gar nicht sicher, ob es damals überhaupt ägyptische See-Frachter gab. Wenamun ist auf einem Schiff gereist, das nicht von seinem Aussehen her als ägyptisch zu erkennen war, und im 5. Jh. nennt der Zoll-Papyrus von Elephantine in dem erhaltenen Teil nur ausländische Schiffe.

Der Seehandel im Ostmittelmeer lag weitgehend in phönikischer Hand. Nach Jesaja 23,3 besorgte im 8. Jh. *Sidon* den ägyptischen Getreideexport⁶⁶. Vermutlich waren die dicht besiedelten – z.T. auf Inselchen gelegenen – phönikischen Städte die Abnehmer. Dann läge ein Ausgangshafen im östlichen Delta der Levante am nächsten. Im 11. Jh.v.Chr. war Wenamun von Tanis am Tanitischen Arm im Ost-Delta abgefahren, um nach Byblos in der Levante zu gelangen⁶⁷. Dieser Arm dürfte in einem unübersichtlichen Lagunensystem nur wenig westlich von Pelusium gemündet sein, und es ist denkbar, dass durch die Mäandertätigkeit der Nil-Arme ein Arm an eine Stelle geriet, an der früher ein anderer geflossen war.

Im 6. Jh.v.Chr. könnten ägyptische Getreidelieferungen u.U. Milet gerettet haben, als die Lyder seine Felder verwüsteten⁶⁸. Die Wertschätzung ionischer Söldner durch die säitischen Pharaonen mag den Anstoß zu einer solchen Hilfsaktion gegeben haben. Wir sahen, dass zu dieser Zeit Thonis den Verkehr mit der Ägäis abwickelte.

Für spätere Zeit verweist Austin auf Bakchylides (F. 20 (Snell), II. 14-16), der im 5. Jh.v.Chr. von Getreidedeexporten nach Griechenland spricht. Dazu lässt sich präzisieren, dass Attika in der späteren Phase des Peloponnesischen Kriegs aus Ägypten Getreide importierte. Die Peloponnesier wollten 411 v.Chr. diese Kornschiffe am Kap Triopion an der türkischen Südwestküste abfangen (Thuk. 8, 35). Ob schon 424 v.Chr. Frachter aus Ägypten und Libyen, die Kythera anliefen und dann nach Spartas Hafen Gytheion fuhren, Getreide geladen hatten, wird nicht gesagt (Thuk. 4, 53). Falls es so war, ließe es den späteren Handelskrieg der Peloponnesier am Kap Triopion verstehen.

Bei dem *Massengut* Getreide kann wohl schon mit einheitlich zusammengesetzten Ladungen gerechnet werden, die (als *directed trade*) von einem einzigen Lieferanten an einen einzigen Abnehmer verschifft wurden. Phönikische Rundschiffe, die sich zum Transport von Massengütern eigneten, sind durch Darstellungen aus Assyrien (Abb. 5a)⁶⁹ und Israel (Abb. 5b)⁷⁰ sowie durch Modelle aus Gräbern bei der überwiegend phönikisch geprägten Stadt Amathous in Cypern (Abb. 6b) bekannt⁷¹, während in Griechenland die ersten Bilder von Segelfrachtern erst aus dem späten 6. Jh.v.Chr. vorliegen (Abb. 6a).⁷² Der reine Segelantrieb dürfte kaum früher entstanden sein als im 7. Jh.v.Chr.⁷³.

⁶⁶ Kienitz 1953, 38; Austin 1970, 35 f.; Aubet 1993, 303; Vittmann 2003, 50.

⁶⁷ Fabre 2005, 65, 67, 69, 184 ff. S. auch Anm. 28.

⁶⁸ Gorman 2001, 88; Pébarthe 2005, 172

⁶⁹ Casson 1971, Abb. 78; Höckmann 1985, 97, Abb. 66; Basch 1987, 308 f., Abb. 650-651.

⁷⁰ Avigad 1982.

⁷¹ Casson 1971, Abb. 86-87; Höckmann 1985, 54 Abb. 41; Basch 1987, 259 Abb. 539 A-G.

⁷² Casson 1971, Abb. 81-82; Höckmann 1985, 55, Abb. 43; Basch 1987, 221 f., Abb. 460-464.

⁷³ Porožanov 1990; Wallinga 1993, 38-41; Porožanov 2000; Stronk 1992-93; Dass Herodot (1.163) es als so ungewöhnlich hervorhebt, dass die Phokaier im 6. Jh.v.Chr. ihre Fernreisen mit Pentekontären anstatt von Rundschiffen unternahmen, kann auf anachronistische Rückschau zurückgehen.

Verbreiteter war die *Tramp-Fahrt*. Die Schiffe nahmen in vielen Häfen an ihrer Route Fracht an Bord, von Kaufleuten als ihren Besitzern begleitet, die dann in anderen Häfen abgesetzt wurde. Zugleich wurde dort neue Fracht mit ihren Besitzern an Bord genommen. Auch der 'Kapitän' konnte sich auf eigene Rechnung als Kaufmann engagieren⁷⁴.

Da Frachtboote für die Fahrt auf dem Nil und an der Küste (Abb. 4) bei Herodot noch *baris* heißen wie im Alten Reich (Anm. 5), dürften sie noch in säitischer Zeit in einheimischer Tradition gestanden haben.

Der historische Hintergrund

Nach assyrischen Quellen griffen griechische Piraten (*Iamani* = Ioner) seit ca. 735 v.Chr. Kilikien (*Que*) und die Levanteländer an⁷⁵. In Kilikien ließen sie sich hier und da sogar schon dauernd nieder⁷⁶. Da der früheste Bericht über einen abgeschlagenen ionischen Raubzug von dem assyrischen Gouverneur in Tyros und Sidon ausgeht, hatten die griechischen Seeräuber schon das südliche Phönicien erreicht. Als sie gegen Tyros kämpften, war der Kontakt mit Ägypten vorgezeichnet⁷⁷.

Wenig später floh ein Grieche (*Iamani*), der sich zum Herrn von Ašdod in Palästina gemacht hatte, vor Sargon nach Ägypten: das Land war den Griechen bekannt⁷⁸. Wenn sie ihre Raubzüge in der Levante weiter nach Süden ausdehnten, mussten sie schließlich zwangsläufig Ägypten erreichen – von *Osten* her.

Psammetich I. (664-610 v.Chr.) erhielt im Zuge der Kämpfe gegen seine libyschen Nachbar-Fürsten im Delta, die schließlich zur Wiedervereinigung Ägyptens unter der 26. Dynastie führten, das Orakel, dass ihm "erzene Männer

⁷⁴ Diese Handelsform deutet sich später in der Ladung von Wracks an, eventuell nicht nur als Privileg des "Kapitäns" (Nieto 1984). Aus früherer Zeit fehlen Quellen.

⁷⁵ Saggs 1963, 76-80; Braun 1982, 14 f., 18; Haider 1988, 183, 229, 231; Culican 1991, 469; Lanfranchi 2000, 15-16; Parker 2000; Niemeier 2001; Luraghi 2006, 30 f; Morris 2006, 67; "Ab 715/4": Haider 1996, 80, 85 f., 114.

⁷⁶ Braun 1982, 15; Tandy 1997, 64 ff. Griechen auch in Tarsus, Mersin, Nagidos und Kelenderis: Haider 1996, 79-82.

⁷⁷ Sporadisch erscheint griechische Keramik vom 10. Jh.v.Chr. an als Handelsware in der Levante (Perreault 1993, 62, 70; Haider 1996, 95, 100, 113), doch nichts stellt sicher, dass sie durch *Griechen* an die Fundstellen gelangt ist. Deren Präsenz als Gruppe von tolerierten Fremden in Hafenstädten der Levante deutet sich archäologisch erstmals im 8. Jh. an, falls ein griechisches Graffito auf einer Scherbe aus Al Mina dort entstanden ist (Perreault 1993, 71; Haider 1996, 62-76). Als dauerhaftes Phänomen wird die griechische Präsenz erst im 6. Jh. glaubhaft (Perreault 1993, 72, 75). Eventuelle Verbindungen zwischen diesen kommerziellen Aktivitäten und den nautischen Kriegs- oder Raubzügen der Griechen lassen sich nicht präzisieren. Dies gilt auch für den Befund, dass im 6. Jh. griechische Keramik in Tyros reicher bezeugt ist als sonstwo in der Levante (Perreault 1993, 75) - trotz des Angriffs griechischer Piraten auf diese Stadt.

⁷⁸ Luckenbill 1927, 13 f., Nr. 30; 31 f., Nr. 62; 40, Nr. 79; 41, Nr. 80; 105 f., Nr. 195-196; Kienitz 1953, 12; Gray 1974, Kapitel G 129; Braun 1982, 16; Haider 1996, 81 f., 94, 114; Vittmann 2003, 26.

aus dem Meer“ zu Hilfe kommen würden (Hdt. 2,152). Wirklich landeten bald fremde Piraten, die Bronzepanzer trugen, irgendwo im Delta⁷⁹. Psammetich nahm sie in Sold, und sie leisteten ihm wertvolle Dienste bei dem gewaltsamen Aufbau des Gesamtreichs der 26. Dynastie.

Dem steht Strabons (17.1.18) Bericht gegenüber, Milesier hätten an der Mündung des Bolbitinischen Arms eine Festung (*teichos*) angelegt und von dort aus Naukratis gegründet⁸⁰.

Da Psammetichs traditionelle Hauptstadt Saïs an diesem Nil-Arm lag, erscheint es unvorstellbar, dass Psammetich I. diese Festung toleriert haben könnte. Eher ist denkbar, dass er die Milesier durch irgendwelche lockenden Verheißungen zur Verlegung ihrer Aktivitäten nach Nokradj bewegen konnte. Nach Strabon (*l.c.*) segelten die Milesier zur Zeit von Psammetich I. von ihrer Festung in den säitischen Gau, besiegten den Libyer Inaros in einer “Seeschlacht“ und gründeten Naukratis (Haider 1988, 192-195; Vittmann 2003, 212). Das könnte im Rahmen von Psammetichs Libyerkrieg 655/4 v.Chr. geschehen sein^{80a}. War dieser Inaros ein Kleinkönig im westlichen Delta, der dem Ehrgeiz des im ethnischen Sinne ebenfalls libyschen Psammetich im Wege stand? Oder gehört er gar nicht in die archaische Zeit, so dass überhaupt kein Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung von Naukratis möglich ist (Möller 2000, 186 f.)?

Wenn Strabon (17.1.6) Glauben verdient, haben die säitischen Pharaonen in Rhakotis (später ein Stadtteil von Alexandria) Truppen stationiert, um fremde Seeräuber abzuwehren.⁸¹ Das hätte die Landung der “erzernen Männer“ am

⁷⁹ Während die Landung bei Herodot ein Zufallsgeschehen bei einem Piratenüberfall zu sein scheint, erwägt Austin (1970, 18), dass Psammetich I. die Fremden eingeladen hätte. Es wird erwogen, dass der lydische König Gyges nach seinem Sieg über die Kimmerier (von sich aus oder auf Veranlassung des Ägypters?) ein Bündnis mit Psammetich I. geschlossen und ihm “erzene“ Soldaten zu Hilfe geschickt hätte, damit sich Ägypten von der assyrischen Oberherrschaft lösen konnte (assyrische Quelle: Luckenbill 1927 II, § 785. Sonst: Kienitz 1953, 12; Spalinger 1976; Haider 1988, 164.229; James 1991, 711; Haider 1996, 164-174; Sullivan 1996, 184 f.; Vittmann 2003, 34 f., 155, 199; Höckmann/Vittmann 2005-06; Fabre 2007-08, 61; Smoláriková 2008, 24). Ob überhaupt eine Beziehung zwischen den beiden Überlieferungen besteht, ist offen, denn Gyges war nie Oberherr über das griechische Ionien oder Karien und hatte deshalb keine rechtliche Handhabe, um Griechen oder Karer nach Ägypten zu schicken. Da der Prophet Ezechiel (27,10) aber lydische Söldner im Dienst von Tyros erwähnt (Fantalkin 2001, 142), könnte Gyges eigene lydische Truppen nach Ägypten geschickt haben.

⁸⁰ Das normale Modell für die erste Niederlassung von Griechen in einem Fremdland war es, dafür eine Insel vor der Küste zu wählen. So hatten es schon die Phöniker gehalten (Culican 1991, 495). Im Delta hätte sich Nelson’s Island angeboten, das die Einfahrt zum Kanopischen und Bolbitinischen Nil beherrschte. Die Gründung der milesischen Festung auf dem Festland bei Bolbitine (dazu z.B. Haider 1988, 155, 184, 229) wirft Fragen auf, die noch offen sind (cf. *infra*).

^{80a} Basta 1964; Goedicke 1962, 46-47; Spalinger 1976, 140; *idem* 1978; *idem* 1982, 1166; Haider 1988, 195-197; Vittmann 2003, 215.

⁸¹ Austin 1970, 12; Haider 1988, 105, 153 f.; Haider 1996, 104; Möller 2000, 32. Für griechische Söldner in der Garnison: Vittmann 2003, 223.

Kanopischen Nil und eine Verbindung mit der Entstehung von Naukratis erschwert. Demgegenüber nennt Herodot (2.30) als befestigten Truppenstandort an der Westgrenze des Deltas allein *Marea* (Kôm el-Idris), das er jedoch an anderer Stelle als libysche Stadt bezeichnet (Hdt. 2.18), im Westen des Mareotis-Sees⁸².

Keine antike Schriftquelle bringt die Entstehung von Naukratis mit Piraten oder Söldnern aus Übersee in Verbindung. Das dürfte aber eine Lücke in der schriftlichen Überlieferung sein, wie sich an karischen Funden im frühen Naukratis zeigt. Zwei durch je einen Scherben bezeugte Gefäße aus diesem Ort (Williams/Villing 2006) sind in Karien getöpft worden. Ein drittes karisches Dokument aus Naukratis ist nicht aus Karien importiert. Dies ist ein flaschenartiger Krug, in dessen Oberfläche ein karisches Graffito eingeritzt ist⁸³. Er besteht aus Nil-Ton, so dass er in Naukratis hergestellt worden ist, um dann ebendort in einem griechischen Heiligtum geweiht zu werden⁸⁴.

Karer dienten von der archaischen Zeit an im ganzen Ostmittelmeerraum so häufig als Söldner im Ausland, dass beide Begriffe als Synonyme gelten können⁸⁵. Es berechtigt dazu, die karischen Funde in Naukratis auf Söldner zurückzuführen, und lässt vermuten, dass auch die spärlichen Funde von griechischer Keramik aus dem späten 7. Jh.v.Chr. durch Söldner aus Ostgriechenland nach Naukratis gelangt sind.

Die Funde deuten an, dass die Entstehung des griechischen Naukratis ursächlich mit Söldnern zusammenhängt (U. Höckmann/Vittmann 2005-6). Ihre Präsenz im westlichen Delta lässt es möglich erscheinen, dass der Kanopische Nil vor 655/4 v.Chr. als Wehrgrenze gegen die freien Libyer diente und durch Garnisonen gesichert war, über die Herodot schweigt⁸⁶. Die Karer (und gewiss auch Griechen) werden wohl keine aktiven Soldaten mehr gewesen sein, als sie in Naukratis dem Apollon Weihegaben darbrachten, sondern Veteranen, die dort mit Genehmigung Psammetichs I. angesiedelt worden waren.

Dieses Entstehungsmodell löst das Rätsel, warum Naukratis in so großer Entfernung vom Meer entstand, wobei die Verbindung mit dem griechischen

⁸² Dazu Lloyd 1993, Teil II, 87-88; Pébarthe 2005, 172; Vittmann 2003, 14.

⁸³ Masson/Yoyotte 1956, 12 f., Taf. VIIIc; Schlotzhauer 2006, 308 ff., C; 317, Abb. 10.

⁸⁴ Schlotzhauers Untersuchungen sind unabhängig von älteren Erwägungen (Möller 2000, 136 ff.), dass in Naukratis chiotische Keramik hergestellt worden sein könnte.

⁸⁵ Austin 1970, 18 f.; Möller 2000, 32 ff.; Vittmann 2003, 155 f.

⁸⁶ Aus antiken Schriftquellen ist allerdings nichts darüber bekannt, dass an dieser Stelle eine Grenzfestung gegen die Libyer gelegen hätte, die dann später den Anstoß zu dem Dekret des Amasis gegeben haben könnte. Herodot (2.30) nennt als Garnison im Westen des Deltas nur *Marea*, während Haider (1988, 105, 153 f.; 1996, 104) mit Strabon eine solche zu Rhakotis im Stadtgebiet von Alexandria und anscheinend eine weitere in Naukratis annimmt, zu deren Versorgung die zivile Ansiedlung bestimmt gewesen wäre (Haider 1996, 111). Die Ostgrenze wurde durch Daphnai, die Südgrenze durch Elephantine geschützt (z.B. Spalinger 1976, 138; Smoláriková 2008, 13). Cf. *supra*.

Mutterland von dem ägyptischen Seehafen Thonis abhing. Die ursächliche Beziehung zwischen beiden Fundstellen zeigt sich in Thonis an Funden griechischer Keramik aus dem frühen 6. Jh.v.Chr., d.h. ungefähr aus derselben Zeit wie die früheste griechische und karische Keramik in Naukratis (Anm. 16).

Die Anfangsphase von Naukratis wird auch von Smoláriková (2008) und Fabre (2005, 61) generell mit der Präsenz von griechisch/karischen Söldnern verbunden, zu der Zeit, als Psammetich I. sowohl gegen seine Nachbarfürsten libyscher Abstammung als auch gegen freie Libyer zu kämpfen hatte (dazu auch Sullivan 1996, 191; Vittmann 2003, 215).

Offenbar ist die Siedlung von vermutlich ehemaligen Söldnern bei Nokradj dann von griechischen Händlern zum Ausgangspunkt dafür genommen worden, sich ebenfalls dort niederzulassen und sich zunächst auf die Versorgung griechisch/karischer Söldner mit heimischen Lebens- und Genussmitteln zu spezialisieren.

Ein Gebäude in Naukratis könnte eventuell mit solchen Söldnern zusammenhängen. Smoláriková deutet einen Lehmziegelbau von 55x54 m aus massiven gitterartigen Fundamentmauern innerhalb von Petrie's *Great Temenos* (Abb. 2) im Süden des Siedlungsgebiets von Naukratis als säitischen Militärbau, obwohl der Ausgräber Petrie nur über ptolemäische Funde berichtet⁸⁷.

Das *Great Temenos* wird von Petrie (1886, 23-24; Leclère 2009, 128-138) als Rechteck von innen ca. 262x226 m aus Lehmziegelmauern beschrieben, die bis zu 15 Meter [*sic* !] dick waren. Er deutete es als befestigtes Truppenlager. Wenige Jahre nach seiner Grabung ist es aber Hogarth nicht gelungen, die Einfassungsmauern wieder aufzufinden, so dass er die Existenz des *Great Temenos* ganz in Frage stellte (Hogarth/Lorimer/Edgar 1905, 112). Ein Teil der Anlage hat aber in ptolemäischer Zeit nachweislich existiert und bildete das Heiligtum des Amun-Re-Badjed.

Um auf das annähernd quadratische Gebäude – bezeichnen wir es wegen seines Grundrisses provisorisch als *Kassettenbau* – zurückzukommen, so waren seine Mauern nach Petrie noch 10 m hoch erhalten; er nahm eine einstige Höhe von ca. 15 m an. Hogarth konnte auch diesen Bau nicht mehr untersuchen, da die Fellachen seit Petries Grabung das ganze Areal des *Great Temenos* in Äcker verwandelt hatten. Dennoch stellt er die Existenz des Kassettenbaues nicht in Frage. Der architektonische Typ hat Parallelen in Daphnai/Tell Defenneh^{87a} – wie in Naukratis innerhalb eines weiten Rechtecks aus starken Lehmziegelmauern gelegen, in Migdol/Tell Qedwa (Oren 1984), Tell Abu Sifah, Qasr Allam in der Oase Bahriya an der Wüstengrenze zu Libyen, und in Tell el-Balamun (Spencer

⁸⁷ Petrie 1886, 23-34; Oren 1984, 13; Möller 2000, 108-113, Abb. 6; Smoláriková 2008, 70-77; Leclère 2009, 139 (ptolemäische Funde).

^{87a} Petrie 1888, 54-55; Vittmann 2003, 96; Weber 2006, 145; Leclère 2007; Smoláriková 2008, 77-79.

1995; 1999). Er wird verschiedentlich als säitische Kleinfestung identifiziert⁸⁸. Alternativ werden die Kassettenbauten sonst als Hochtempel (Muhs 1994, 112 f.; so auch Daphnai: Leclère 2007, 15-16), Vorratsspeicher (von Bissing 1951, 57; dazu Vittmann 2003, 214) oder *šena wab* gedeutet, Gebäude zur Vorbereitung der Opfer (Muhs, bei Leclère 2009, 141). Demgegenüber erkennt Smoláriková aber Unterschiede zwischen den Grundrissen der *šena wab* und der Kassettenbauten.

Ihre säitische Datierung ist in Daphnai und Tell el-Balamun gesichert, doch Beweise für die militärische oder irgendeine andere Deutung fehlen noch (Leclère 2009, 140).

Leider lassen die Angaben des Ausgräbers W.M.F. Petrie keine Entscheidung zu, ob der Kassettenbau in Naukratis – falls er nicht erst ptolemäisch ist (Leclère 2009, 139) – früher entstanden sein könnte als das *empóron*, nämlich als Teil einer Befestigungslinie gegen die Freien Libyer. Sie hätte noch in den ersten Regierungsjahren von Psammetich I. ihre militärische Berechtigung gehabt, bis er durch seinen Feldzug 655/4 v.Chr. libyschen Einfällen für immer ein Ende bereite. Ob eventuell die Garnison aus ägyptischen *máchimoi* (s. Glossar) bestand oder aus Söldnern, ist ebensowenig bekannt wie die Frage, ob die Festung noch existierte, als in geringer Entfernung das *empóron* entstand. Austin (1970, 28) hält es für wahrscheinlich und meint, eine Garnison aus ägyptischen *máchimoi* habe den Griechen in dem zivilen *empóron* die Oberhoheit des Pharaos vor Augen führen sollen, während Petrie (1886, 205) eine Garnison aus griechischen Söldnern annahm.

Im Rahmen dieses Modells könnte es scheinen, dass aus einer anfänglichen Militäranlage bei dem ägyptischen Ort Nokradj später, als die Westgrenze des Deltas endgültig gesichert war, auf informelle Weise, unter Beteiligung griechischer und karischer Söldner-Veteranen mit ihren ägyptischen Frauen und ethnisch gemischten Kindern, ein griechisches *empóron* geworden wäre.

Die karischen Gefäße, um darauf zurückzukommen, sind als Votive in einem Heiligtum des griechischen *empóron* zu verstehen, wohl dem des Apollon (U. Höckmann). Es müsste demnach zur Zeit der Präsenz karischer und ionischer Söldner oder Veteranen existiert haben.

Die Heiligtümer der Hera, des Apollon, der Dioskuren und des Zeus in Naukratis lassen sich mit einzelnen griechischen *póleis* verbinden. Wenig später haben sich andere *póleis* kollektiv an dem Heiligtum für "die griechischen Götter", dem Hellenion, in Naukratis beteiligt⁸⁹. Mir ist aber kein Fall bekannt, dass Griechenstädte jemals im Ausland Heiligtümer für ihre dort als Söldner dienenden jungen Männer angelegt hätten: die frühen Heiligtümer in Naukratis sind auf Händler zu beziehen. Die Weihungen karischer Söldner oder Veteranen

⁸⁸ Smoláriková 2000, 571; *idem* 2006, 247; Ebenso: Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 282, 287, 289; S. Anm. 87. Ein ähnlicher Bau stand im Avaris der Hyksoszeit (Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 303). Er wird ebenfalls als Fort gedeutet.

⁸⁹ U. Höckmann/Möller 2006.

setzen also die Präsenz griechischer Kaufleute voraus. Der Befund lässt vermuten, dass sie sich bei einer griechisch/karischen Garnison niedergelassen hatten, um sie mit heimischen Produkten zu versorgen (Haider 1996, 111; zu anderen Abnehmern: Haider 1996, 104; Vittmann 2003, 223).

Dieses Entstehungsmodell kann die Lage von Naukratis fern vom Meer erklären. Die Zollstellen des Nektanebos I. in Naukratis und Thonis aus nachpersischer Zeit lassen aber auch erkennen, dass Handwerker in Naukratis Werte schufen, deren Besteuerung auf dem selben Niveau stand wie der Zoll auf Importe von Luxusgütern aus dem Ausland.

Die Nachfolger Psammetichs I. in der 26. Dynastie nahmen immer mehr griechische, karische und semitische⁹⁰ Söldner in Dienst. Apries soll 30.000 griechisch/karische Söldner in seinem Dienst gehabt haben (Hdt. 2.163)⁹¹. Sie waren anfangs (als Aktive oder als Veteranen?) in "Truppenlagern" (*stratópeda*) an beiden Ufern des Pelusischen Nil nordöstlich von Bubastis angesiedelt worden, wo Psammetich I. ihnen Land zur bäuerlichen Ansiedlung zugewiesen hatte⁹². Später zog Amasis sie oder ihre Söhne als Leibgarde nach Memphis. Herodot sah die *stratópeda* als Ruinen.

In den *stratópeda* hatten die Söldner Kriegsschiffe oder ähnliche Ruder-Langschiffe bei sich. Die Schiffe könnten zum Seekrieg in der Levante verwendet worden sein (gegen Tyros: Hdt. 2.161), zum Truppentransport auf dem Nil z.B. bei Psammetichs II. Nubienfeldzug, oder zur Heimkehr von Terminsöldnern (cf. *supra*).

Der Zoll-Papyrus von Elephantine (Ahiqar Scroll; TAD C 3,7)

Soweit meine Kenntnis reicht, ist z.Zt. nur eine Schriftquelle bekannt, die annähernd zeitgenössische Auskunft über den Seehandel des saïtischen Ägypten mit Übersee gibt. Dies ist ein fragmentarisch erhaltener Papyrus, der in der Nil-Insselfestung Elephantine unweit Assuan an der Südgrenze Ägyptens gefunden wurde, ein Palimpsest⁹³. Im ursprünglichen Zustand listet er in aramäischer Sprache, die ihn in das 5. Jh.v.Chr. datiert, die Amtsvorgänge im Zollamt eines nicht genannten Seehafens am Mittelmeer während der Monate März bis Dezember des Regierungsjahrs 11 eines ebenfalls nicht genannten persischen

⁹⁰ Herodot (2.30) nennt ein *stratópedon* der Tyrier in Memphis, und in Daphnai/Tachpanhes (Tell Defenneh) und Elephantine waren unter anderem jüdische Truppen stationiert, Flüchtlinge vor der assyrischen Eroberung ihres Heimatlandes. In Tachpanhes hatte der alttestamentliche Prophet Jeremia Zuflucht gefunden. Allgemein zu jüdischen Garnisonen in Ägypten: Vittmann 2003, 88, 199.

⁹¹ Die Abwesenheit so vieler junger Krieger könnte sich auf die Kriegsbereitschaft mancher griechischer Staaten ausgewirkt haben.

⁹² Petrie 1891, 50-53; Boardman 1981, 156-166; Möller 2000, 34 f., 110; Vittmann 2003, 66, 199, 206; Leclère 2007; Smoláriková 2008, 45.

⁹³ Porten/Yardeni 1993, C 3.7; Yardeni 1994; Bresciani 1996; Briant/Descat 1998; Vittmann 2003, 103 f.; Fabre 2007-08, 259; *idem*, 23.

Herrschers auf. Später wurde dieser Text unvollständig rasiert und der Papyrus mit den Weisheitssprüchen des Aramäers Ahīqar neu beschriftet (cf. *supra*). Das hat ihm den Namen *Ahīqar Scroll* eingetragen. Der Fundort des Papyrus steht in keiner Beziehung zur Entstehung des ursprünglichen Dokuments.

Das Zollamt, in dem die erste Fassung entstand, lag in einem Seehafen, denn es wird zwischen vier Typen von Frachtschiffen unterschieden, von denen drei als "groß" bezeichnet werden. Zwei sind wahrscheinlich ionisch-griechisch und der dritte phönikisch wie auch der eine "kleine" Typ. Die Art ihrer Ladungen stellt sicher, dass die Handelspartner zivilisierte Länder oder Städte am Mittelmeer sind – nicht das barbarische Nubien im Süden. Angesichts der Zoll-Angaben auf den gleichlautenden Stelen von Thonis und Naukratis⁹⁴ und besonders des Umstands, dass im Papyrus 36 ionischen Schiffen nur 6 phönikische gegenüberstehen, kann in diesem Hafen eher Thonis an der Mündung des Kanopischen Nils gesehen werden⁹⁵ als das beim heutigen Quellenstand als Handelshafen unscheinbar wirkende⁹⁶ Pelusium oder ein anderer Hafen an der Ostgrenze des Deltas (Jaritz *et alii* 1996). Tanis hatte durch eine Verlagerung des Flussbetts schon viel früher seine einstige Bedeutung als Seehafen verloren, nachdem es früher aus demselben Grunde selbst die Nachfolge des ramessidischen Hafens Pi-Ramesse und seines Vorgängers Avaris angetreten hatte.

Es ist schwerlich Zufall, dass in säitischer Zeit der Haupthafen für den Überseeverkehr – anders als jemals zuvor – am Westrande des Deltas lag, nämlich in Thonis als dem Endpunkt der Westroute zwischen der Ägäis und Ägypten. Offenbar waren die Verbindungen mit der Ägäis, d.h. mit Lydern, Ionern und Karern, für den säitischen Staat wesentlicher als jene mit der Levante. Als Grund lässt sich vermuten, dass die Gewinnung von Hilfstruppen und Söldnern aus der Ägäis für die militärischen Ambitionen der säitischen Pharaonen wichtiger geworden war als der Verkehr mit der Levante.

Das im Papyrus genannte Datum im Regierungsjahr 11 bezieht sich eher auf den persischen Großkönig Xerxes, d.h. 475 v.Chr. (Yardeni 1994, 67) als auf einen Herrscher aus dem Umkreis von Artaxerxes I. im mittleren 5. Jh. (Briant/Descat 1998, 61).

Es wird angenommen, dass die Perser die Regeln der säitischen Verwaltung beibehalten hätten⁹⁷, so dass die Zollangaben *cum grano salis* auch als Quelle für den säitischen Handel verwendet werden können.

Die erhaltenen Teile gelten dem Überseehandel durch Schiffe aus zwei Regionen, nämlich weit überwiegend aus dem ionischen Kleinasien (36 Schiffe) und eventuell der ostdorischen Stadt Phaselis in Lykien (Briant/Descat 1998, 63), sowie aus der Levante (6 Schiffe). Deren Heimathafen könnte Gezer gewesen

⁹⁴ Lichtheim 1977 (mit Literatur); Möller 2000, 207; Fabre 2005, 62; Pébarthe 2005, 173; Pfeiffer 2005, 166; Baines 2007-08, 274-276; Yoyotte 2007-08.

⁹⁵ Briant/Descat 1996, 91 f.; Yoyotte 2001; Fabre 2005, 23; Fabre 2007-08.

⁹⁶ Allerdings für Bedeutung des Hafens: Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 289, 294-297.

⁹⁷ Briant/Descat 1998, 88 ff., 93; Vittmann 2003, 131 f.

sein; die im Inland gelegene Stadt müsste dann ein *emporion* am Meer gehabt haben (Briant/Descat *l.c.*).

Die Häufigkeit, mit der die großen oder kleinen Schiffe während der zehn Monate des Berichtsjahrs von März bis Dezember in Thonis einliefen, ergibt ein instruktives Muster (Yardeni 1994, 69 mit tab. 2). Während der vier Monate vor dem Einsetzen der Nilschwemme laufen jeweils nur drei Frachter den Zollhafen an, ausnahmslos große griechische Schiffe⁹⁸. Als im Juli die Nilschwemme einsetzt, steigt die Zahl der einlaufenden großen griechischen Schiffe auf vier, die auch für den August gilt. Mit dem Abklingen der Nilschwelle nimmt die Zahl der großen Frachter weiter zu, auf fünf im September und Oktober und auf sechs im November und Dezember. Dies zeigt, dass die theoretische Möglichkeit zur Schifffahrt quer über überschwemmtes Ackerland oder auf normalerweise nicht befahrbaren Nil-Armen, im Sinne der Wasserstandsangaben Herodots, keine positive Auswirkung auf die Schifffahrt mit großen Seefrachtern hatte, sondern bestärkt eher die Zweifel an ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit (cf. *supra*).

Im Oktober ist erstmals ein phönikisches Schiff bezeugt, im November sind es drei und im Dezember zwei. Der Anstieg der Gesamtzahlen im Spätherbst geht nur auf die Frachter aus der Levante zurück. Die Zahl der griechischen Schiffe ist vom Oktober an rückläufig.

Der Anteil großer griechischer Schiffe liegt vom März bis September unverändert bei 100 %. Es stützt unsere Annahme, dass die Seeschiffe auch während der Nilschwemme nicht in den Nil eingelaufen sind, sondern ihre Fracht in Thonis an Nilkähne übergeben haben, die sie nach Naukratis und anderen Orten brachten.

Bei den Einfuhren ist zu erkennen, dass beide Lieferantengruppen jeweils ein spezifisches 'Paket' von Waren brachten (Bresciani 1996, 60). Die Frachter aus der Levante brachten Holz, Wein, (Parfüm-?) Öl, Eisen, Kupfer, Zinn (?), 'Erde' und Wolle, während die ostgriechischen Schiffe hauptsächlich Wein und Öl, Gold, Silber und Keramik nach Ägypten beförderten. Bei Überschneidungen werden griechischer Wein und Öl von phönikischen Produkten unterschieden. Auch von Eisen gibt es zwei Arten. Ägypten hat Eisen als importierten Werkstoff kaum vor der ersten persischen Herrschaftsperiode im 5. Jh.v.Chr. kennengelernt⁹⁹. Nur die fremden Söldner waren mit Eisen vertraut. Es erscheint daher bemerkenswert, dass im Zollpapyrus ein Schiff 21.000 *karš* (1,764 t) Eisen nach Ägypten brachte und ein anderes sogar 30.000 *karš* (2,52 t)¹⁰⁰. In der archäo-

⁹⁸ Die Behauptung, große Schiffe seien erst ab Juli nach Ägypten gekommen (Darnell 1992, 70 mit Anm. 9), entspricht nicht den Angaben im Papyrus.

⁹⁹ Amborns Analyse der Eisenfunde und Hinweise eher auf Schmiedetätigkeit als Verhüttung in Naukratis kommen zu dem Ergebnis, dass sich angesichts der unsicheren Fundangaben Petries die Schmiedetätigkeit in saïtischer Zeit nicht beweisen lässt (Amborn 1976, 72, 73, 75-77). Das gilt auch für Herodots Erzählung, dass die Star-Hetäre thrakischer Abstammung *Rhodopis* zum Dank für ihren beruflichen Erfolg eiserne Bratspieße nach Delphi weihte, denn Herodot lässt offen, wo diese *obeloi* hergestellt wurden (Hdt. 2.135).

¹⁰⁰ Yardeni 1994, 70; Briant/Descat 1998, 72. 96 f.

logischen Perspektive fällt ebenso auf, dass ‘leere Gefäße’ verzollt werden, von denen ein Drittel in Yardenis Übersetzung mit irgendeiner Art von ‘Überzug’ versehen ist (Yardeni 1994, 70). Es braucht nicht zwangsläufig zu bedeuten, dass ein ratloser ägyptischer Zollbeamter griechische bemalte Feinkeramik, wie sie massenhaft nach Naukratis und Daphnai gelangte, so bezeichnet hat¹⁰¹, doch es erscheint möglich. Als Alternative könnten die ‘überzogenen’ Gefäße ebenso Amphoren gewesen sein wie die nicht ‘überzogenen’ Gefäße. Dann hätte man sich wohl einen Überzug aus Pech vorzustellen, wie er in Weinamphoren geläufig war. Der Gedanke überrascht, dass möglicherweise leere Handelsamphoren importiert worden wären, ist aber nicht ganz undenkbar¹⁰².

Als verzollter *Exportartikel* wird Natron genannt, das für technische Zwecke wie die Herstellung von Glas benötigt wurde¹⁰³. Nur zwei ionische Schiffe und ein phönikisches nehmen die nicht gedeuteten Substanzen *qurt* oder *qurtšyry* in ihre Heimat mit (Yardeni 1994, 70 mit tab. 2). Diese Begriffe begegneten auch bereits im Namen von Schiffstypen.

Es ist in den Angaben in den erhalten gebliebenen Teilen des Papyrus nicht zu erkennen, dass griechische Schiffe unterwegs Levante-Produkte an Bord genommen hätten. Dies lässt annehmen, dass sie die Levante nicht berührt haben, sondern von der Ägäis aus direkt zum Delta gesegelt sind. Auf diesem Kurs halfen ihnen die vorherrschenden Winde und Strömungen.

Das gilt auch teilweise für die Reise von Phönikien zum Delta. Sie war für Segelschiffe am einfachsten, wenn man zunächst – wie einst Wenamun – Cypern ansteuerte, um sich dann westlich der Insel in die Wind- und Meeresströmung einzufädeln, die das Schiff zum Nil-Delta bringen würde¹⁰⁴. Ein einziges phönikisches Schiff, das “Erde/*clay“ (Kaolinit von Samos ?)¹⁰⁵ nach Thonis brachte, könnte durch einen Süd Sturm von diesem Kurs in die Ostägäis verschlagen worden sein. Wohl nur Küstenfrachter (*ákatoi*), die neben dem Segel einige Antriebsruder/Remen führten, konnten – gegen die Meeresströmung und den vorherrschenden Wind – auf Südkurs der Küste folgen (Heilporn 2000, 342).

¹⁰¹ Verfasser ließ 1963 bei der Einreise aus Griechenland in die Türkei einige in Thessalien gesammelte neolithische bemalte Scherben in den Pass eintragen, um bei der Ausreise aus der Türkei keine Schwierigkeiten zu bekommen. Ein türkischer Abteilmachbar übersetzte ihm die Eintragung: “Einige bunte Steine“.

¹⁰² Herodot (3.6) berichtet, dass leer gewordene Amphoren in Ägypten gesammelt und am Horusweg durch die Wüste zwischen dem Delta und Palästina eingegraben und mit Trinkwasser gefüllt wurden, um schnelle Truppenbewegungen durch diese Durststrecke zu ermöglichen.

¹⁰³ Yardeni 1994, 72, 76; Bresciani 1996; Briant/Descat 1998, 88-90.

¹⁰⁴ So auch Fabre 2007-08, 259. Solche Umwege schreckten frühe Seefahrer nicht ab, wenn sie günstigere Reisebedingungen brachten. Als Beispiel sei erwähnt, dass portugiesische Kapitäne auf dem Kurs nach Indien zunächst Brasilien ansteuerten, um von dort nach Südafrika zu segeln (de Brito 1985, 150 f., 153 [H. Dias 1560]; *idem*, 257 [M.G. Cardoso 1585]).

¹⁰⁵ Ich danke der Mineralogin Susanne Greiff (Mainz) für die Auskunft, dass sich dieses Material für die Herstellung von Fayence (in Naukratis, aber auch Rhodos nachgewiesen) vorzüglich eignet.

Die drei kleinen phönikischen Schiffe “nach Art von Fischerbooten“, die nach dem Zolppapyrus nach Thonis kamen, dürften solche Fahrzeuge gewesen sein. Wie genau die Schiffe ihren Zielhafen ansteuern konnten, ist ungewiss. Mit Sicherheit wirkten sich die Wetterbedingungen darauf aus, wenngleich nicht so extrem wie bei der rätselhaften Abdrift des Kolaios nach Spanien. Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint die ägyptische Station auf Bates’ Island in der Bucht von Marsa Matruh, weit westlich des Deltas, wie ein Nothafen: vom Sturm nach Westen versetzte Schiffe konnten dort Unterschlupf finden und nach dem Abflauen des Sturms, entlang der Küste, das Delta von *Westen* her anlaufen¹⁰⁶.

Die Fundstelle Naukratis

Die zentrale Quelle zur nautisch-merkantilen Position von Naukratis ist Herodot (2.179): “*Ursprünglich war Naukratis der einzige Handelsplatz [empóron] in Ägypten; einen anderen gab es nicht. Fuhr ein Schiff in eine andere Nilmündung ein, so musste man schwören, dass es aus Not geschehen sei. Dann musste das Schiff zurück und die Kanopische Nilmündung zu erreichen suchen. Konnte man nicht gegen den Wind aufkommen*¹⁰⁷, *so musste man die Waren [ta phortía] in baris-Schiffen [en barisi; cf. supra zu den br-Schiffen] weiterschaffen und um das Delta bis nach Naukratis herumfahren. Solche Rechte genoss Naukratis*“. Wie die Erwähnung von Waren zeigt, bezieht sich das ‘Monopol’ auf Handelsschiffe, und die Abhängigkeit vom Wind lässt keinen Zweifel, dass es sich um Segler handelt.

Naukratis (Anm. 2) war am Kanopischen Nil-Arm gelegen, in der Luftlinie *ca.* 70 km von dessen Mündung bei Thonis entfernt, die heute unter dem Meeresspiegel liegt. Da der Arm mäandrierte, betrug die Fahrstrecke auf dem Nil-Arm für die Schifffahrt mindestens 100 km. Das bedeutet bei der Fahrt von Thonis nach Naukratis (gegen die Strömung segelnd, gestakt oder getreidelt [Hdt. 2.29.96]; in der 1. Zwischenzeit: Schenkel 1980, 311) eine reine Fahrzeit von mindestens *ca.* 90 Stunden¹⁰⁸. Da auf Flüssen nur bei Tageslicht gefahren wurde, entspricht das mindestens 7 Tagen. In Gegenrichtung, wie am Nil üblich

¹⁰⁶ Dass Bates’ Island (und die unferne Militärstation in Zawiyet Umm er-Racham) als Zwischenstation bei der Reise von der Ägäis nach *Kyrene* dienen sollte, erscheint angesichts der oft gespannten Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und *Kyrene* weniger naheliegend.

¹⁰⁷ Das Argument setzt voraus, dass diese Frachtschiffe nur unter Segel fuhren bzw. trieben, ohne die Unterstützung durch einige Remen. Die von Herodot für den Nil bezeugte Antriebsweise durch Treideln (Schleppen vom Ufer aus) kommt für die Küstenschifffahrt im Delta nicht in Betracht, doch *baris*-Kähne konnten gerudert oder wegen der geringen Wassertiefe vor der Küste sogar gestakt werden.

¹⁰⁸ Dennoch hält Schenkel (1977) diese Lage für einen Hafen im Delta, der von Seeschiffen angelaufen wurde, für normal und verweist als Parallelen auf Tanis und Pelusium im östlichen Delta als “Seehäfen“. Dieser Charakter ist zwar für Tanis durch den Reisebericht von Wenamun erwiesen, doch für eine Zeit, die Jahrhunderte vor der Entstehung von Naukratis liegt. In diesem Zeitraum haben sich die Schiffstypen verändert.

wohl hauptsächlich mit der Strömung treibend, wird die Fahrt kaum schneller verlaufen sein¹⁰⁹. Nur geruderte Langschiffe kamen schneller voran.

In ptolemäischer Zeit ist ein Kanal bezeugt, der nördlich von Naukratis, bei Schedíe, vom Kanopischen Nil abzweigte und ihn mit dem Mareotis-See und Alexandria verband¹¹⁰. Es ist aber unsicher, ob er schon im 6. Jh. existierte; Herodot erwähnt ihn nicht. Der Kanal hat ohnehin den Weg nach Thonis nicht verkürzt. So wie sich die Verkehrslage von Naukratis darstellt, ca. 7 Tagesreisen vom Meer entfernt und nur mit flachbodigen Flußschiffen zu erreichen, entspricht sie kaum den Vorstellungen von einem Hafen für den Überseehandel, unabhängig davon, ob man seinen Status als *empóron* oder als *port of trade* definiert¹¹¹. Ein solcher sollte für Seeschiffe zugänglich sein (Casevitz 1993, 15-20)¹¹².

Abstrakt ließe sich fragen, ob Naukratis eventuell als Hafen der Hauptstadt Saïs konzipiert gewesen sein könnte. Da sie an dem Bolbitinischen Delta-Arm lag, hatte sie aber einen eigenen Flusshafen (cf. *infra*) und dürfte deshalb keinen zweiten am Kanopischen Arm benötigt haben. Der Seehafen Thonis konnte beide Delta-Arme bedienen.

Die Entfernung zwischen Naukratis und Saïs, in der Luftlinie nur ca. 30 km, konnte zu Schiff – auf *natürlichen* Wasserwegen – nur auf einem weiten Umweg¹¹³ bewältigt werden. Ob eventuell ein direkter Kanal existierte, ist nicht bekannt¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ Die Ansätze beziehen sich auf langsame Fracht- und Flußschiffe. Ruder-Langschiffe als ‘Söldnertransporter’ hätten Naukratis schneller erreicht, doch es ist nicht bekannt, ob Naukratis in den Söldner-Verkehr direkt einbezogen war. Herodot (4.86) gibt für das Schwarze Meer die Dauer von Seereisen über nachprüfbar entfernte Orte an, ohne aber die Art der Schiffe zu nennen, auf die sich seine Angaben beziehen. Doch selbst wenn er schnelle Ruderschiffe im Sinne gehabt haben sollte, sind seine Reisegeschwindigkeiten nicht glaubhaft. Zum Vergleich die Angaben bei Casson (1971, 281-291), Arnaud (1995, 95) oder Medas (2004, 40-43).

¹¹⁰ Wenn Wiedemann (1890, 607) von einem ptolemäischen Kanal “von Naukratis nach Alexandria“ spricht, bezieht sich das vermutlich auf den Schedíe-Kanal.

¹¹¹ Zur Diskussion um *port of trade* oder *empóron* besonders: Polanyi 1971; Bresson 1993, 163; Counillon 1993; Möller 2000, bes. 19 ff., 182-215; Möller 2001a; *eadem* 2001b; *eadem* 2005; Fabre 2005, 45-63; Graslin/Maucourant 2005. Als Regel kann gelten, dass ein *port of trade* einem Staat dient und von ihm verwaltet wird, während ein *emporion* als Teil eines Hafens oder einer Hafenstadt wie z.B. Alexandria nicht unmittelbar durch den Staat als vielmehr von eigenen Funktionären verwaltet wird. In Naukratis sind die letzteren, die *prostátai*, erwiesen (Pébarthe 2005, 175-177). Sie waren aber wahrscheinlich dem ägyptischen “Vorsteher der Tore der Fremdländer“ untergeordnet (Vittmann 2003, 220) und die Abhängigkeit vom Pharaonenstaat spricht nicht nur aus der Zollstele, sondern ebenso aus dem Charakter des Pharaos als Grundeigentümer der griechischen Ansiedlung (Austin 1970, 27). Naukratis vereinigt demnach Merkmale beider Typen von Hafensiedlungen.

¹¹² Zu Pistiros s. Anm. 1.

¹¹³ Zunächst Bergfahrt auf dem Kanopischen Nil bis zu dem Punkt, wo der Bolbitinische Arm von ihm abzweigte (Hdt. 2.15.17), und dann auf diesem Arm Talfahrt bis Saïs. Ptolemaios II. reiste von Alexandria über Kerkásoros erst zu Berg auf dem Kanopischen und dann zu Tal auf dem Pelusischen Nil nach Pelusium (Carrez-Maratray 1999, 378).

¹¹⁴ Ich danke Penelope Wilson aus dem britischen Team für ein Gespräch (2006) über diese Frage.

Thonis wird auf der dortigen Zollstele als *hōne* (Yoyotte: “Delta/Lagune am Austritt der großen Nilarme“) von *Sais*“ bezeichnet, nicht von Naukratis¹¹⁵. Es deutet an, dass Thonis über den Bolbitinischen Nil-Arm in direkter Beziehung zu Sais stand – ohne Vermittlung von Naukratis. Von Thonis aus ließ sich auch die Hauptstadt Memphis sowohl auf dem Kanopischen Arm als auch auf dem Bolbitinischen Nil-Arm erreichen. Ein Monopol des Kanopischen Nil-Arms mit Naukratis, wie Herodot es behauptet, wäre nach der limnologischen Situation schwer zu verstehen.

Herodots Beschreibung von Naukratis (nicht Thonis) als des *einzigsten* Seehafens (*empóron*) von Ägypten wirft Fragen auf, denn ähnliche Bedingungen wie in Thonis und Naukratis herrschten auch am Ostrande des Deltas, d.h. am Pelusischen Nil-Arm und in seinem östlichen Vorfelde. Es könnte scheinen, dass er die Bedingungen am Kanopischen Nil im Westen symmetrisch widerspiegeln. E. Oren entwirft das Modell, dass die große Fundstelle S 32 (Beduinen-Spitzname “Luxor“) des israelischen Survey an der Bardawil-Lagune (dem antiken Sirbonis-See) als Seehafen an der Mündung eines Nil-Arms Thonis entsprochen hätte¹¹⁶. Dann wäre anzunehmen, dass der östlichste Delta-Arm, der Pelusische Nil, damals nach Osten abgebogen wäre und durch die Bardawil-Lagune das Meer erreicht hätte, was nur eine relativ geringfügige Änderung seines Unterlaufs voraussetzen würde. Als eigentlicher Zielhafen an diesem Delta-Arm, entsprechend Naukratis, wäre in geringer Entfernung vom Mittelmeer Pelusium¹¹⁷ oder eventuell Saft el-Henna bei Zagazig/Bubastis tief im Binnenland, am Pelusischen Arm zu erwägen, auf dessen einstige Bedeutung der Fund einer saïtischen Statuette des Generals Amasis hinweisen könnte, die in den Tempel des *Pr-Spd* geweiht worden war¹¹⁸.

Alternativ erscheint denkbar, dass der Pelusische Nil schon in saïtischer Zeit bei Pelusium ins Meer gemündet ist, und dass diese Stadt funktionell als Seehafen mit Thonis, und Saft el-Henna mit Naukratis zu parallelisieren wäre. In beiden Fällen dürften in den betreffenden Häfen Zollämter existiert haben, und im Seehafen wäre vom Seeschiff in den *baris*-Kahn für die Fahrt auf dem Nil umgeladen worden.

Eine solche Randlage kennzeichnet ebenfalls die Grenzfestung Daphnai/Tell Defenneh am Ostrande des Deltas, wohl nicht sehr weit von den *stratópeda* am Pelusischen Nil entfernt (Abb. 1)¹¹⁹. Nach Herodot (2.30) wurde sie von

¹¹⁵ Diese Deutung des Wortes *hōne* wurde erstmals von Gardiner (1943) vorgeschlagen und noch 1992 von Cruz-Urbe (1992) abgelehnt, der an der älteren Deutung als ‘Kanal’ festhielt. Zur heute gültigen Deutung z.B.: Yoyotte 1958, 429; Fabre 2005, 16 f., 62; Yoyotte 2007-08, 281, 282. Zu Pi-Emro[ye] s. Anm. 23.

¹¹⁶ Oren 1982, 18; *idem* 1998, 81; Carrez-Maratray 2000, 164; Fabre 2005, 75.

¹¹⁷ Carrez-Maratray 2000; *idem* 2005, 202; Fabre 2005, 71.

¹¹⁸ Rowe 1938, 193 f., Taf. XXVI; Carrez-Maratray 2005, 203 (es handelt sich um eine Statuette, keine Statue).

¹¹⁹ Herodot (2.15) sagt, der Pelusische Arm bilde zusammen mit dem Kanopischen die Grenzen des Deltas.

Psammetich I. gegründet, wie ihre Gegenstücke an der Süd- bzw. Westgrenze Ägyptens, Elephantine bzw. Marea (Vittmann 2003, 14, 88). Die periphere Lage bildet aber die einzige Gemeinsamkeit mit Naukratis. Sie mag sich dadurch ergeben haben, dass in der Gegend von Daphnai Griechen, die als Piraten entlang der Levanteküste nach Süden vorgestoßen waren, in Kontakt mit Psammetich I. kamen und in seinen Dienst traten (cf. *infra*). Die *holkoí* für Ruderschiffe unterstreichen, dass diese griechischen Niederlassungen im Osten des Deltas (dazu Haider 1996, 98) militärischer Natur waren.

Aus den Untersuchungen von Weber und Schlotzhauer (in Vorbereitung) ergibt sich, dass die Griechen im östlichen Delta griechische Keramik zum (großen?) Teil von Naukratis aus erhielten. Allerdings sind rhodische Situlen fast nur aus Daphnai bekannt, allenfalls einmal aus Naukratis¹²⁰. Es deutet an, dass Daphnai auch auf einem Handelswege mit Griechenland in Verbindung gestanden haben könnte, der Naukratis nicht berührte.

Die Fundstellen am Pelusischen Nil und am Bardawil-See zeigen, dass Naukratis bzw. Thonis nicht der einzige säitische Importhafen war¹²¹. Herodots Darstellung, Amasis habe diesem Emporion eine einmalige Sonderstellung verliehen (Hdt. 2.179; Pollux, *Onomastikon* 9.34), ist fragwürdig. Offenbar haben die Naukratiter dem Periegeten ein zu rühmliches Bild von der Bedeutung ihrer Ansiedlung gemalt¹²². Sie haben ihm ja sogar die Abhängigkeit von dem Seehafen Thonis verschwiegen, und es erscheint kaum glaublich, dass es Herodot nicht aufgefallen sein sollte, dass – wenn unser Bild der Schifffahrt auf dem Kanopischen Nil nicht trügt – im Hafen von Naukratis nur *baris*-Kähne gelegen haben dürften.

Bei Herodot klingt es so, als ob es ein Privileg des *Amasis* gewesen wäre, dass sich Griechen in Naukratis ansiedeln durften, wo sie aber nach dem archäologischen Befund schon lange präsent gewesen waren. Weniger schmeichelhaft wäre die Erwägung, dass die Maßnahme dazu dienen sollte, die Aktivitäten griechischer Kaufleute im ganzen Delta an *einem* Ort zu bündeln, so dass die importierten Waren einem einzigen ägyptischen Zollamt unterworfen werden konnten¹²³. Die Maßnahme hätte es Griechen erschwert, überall in Ägypten nach eigenem Gusto Handel zu treiben (Carrez-Maratray 1999, 104 f.).

Zu ihrem Warenangebot um 600 v.Chr. ist bekannt, dass der Lesbier Charaxos, Bruder der Sappho, in Ägypten lesbischen Wein vertrieb (Str. 17,1.31). Seine Liebe zu der Hetäre Rhodopis in Naukratis (Hdt. 2.135; Athenaios 13.596b) bestätigt seine intensive Beziehung zu diesem *emporion* und das exorbitante Niveau des dortigen Unterhaltungsgewerbes. Daraus kann aber nicht geschlossen

¹²⁰ Möller 2000, 145 f.; Vittmann 2003, 206; Weber 2006.

¹²¹ Stern 1982, 140; Fabre 2007-08, 259. Vgl. schon Diodor (D.S. 1.67.9): Psammetich I. ließ *emporía* von Fremden in ganz Ägypten entstehen.

¹²² Zu eventuell 'naukratozentrischen' Perspektiven der dort lebenden Griechen: Möller 2000, 192; Carrez-Maratray 2000 passim.

¹²³ "Bündelung": Kienitz 1953, 45; Austin 1970, 27 f., 44; Lloyd 1993, 26; James 1991, 735, 737. Bresson 1993, 167; Lloyd 1993, 230; Pébarthe 2005, 172.

werden, dass Naukratis ein Seehafen war (so: Bresson 2005, 133), wo die Matrosen von Seeschiffen auf dieselbe Weise Unterhaltung suchten wie der Seemann Kuttel Daddeldu in den Gedichten von Joachim Ringelnatz. Denn in der Antike begleiteten die Kaufleute ihre Waren auf der Seereise, und sie werden gewiss beim Umladen in Thonis auf das *baris*-Schiff umgestiegen und auf diese Weise nach Naukratis gelangt sein, um dort eine zahlkräftige Kundschaft für die wegen ihrer Schönheit berühmten Hetären von Naukratis zu bilden.

Neben dem Import von Wein kann vorausgesetzt werden, dass griechische Schiffe Olivenöl und Eisenwaffen und Eisengerät für die Söldner nach Ägypten gebracht haben, und darüber hinaus haben sie auch Holz, z.T. bearbeitet, aus Griechenland und vermutlich auch Cypern (Burnett 1997) nach Ägypten gebracht¹²⁴. Während die ersteren Güter überwiegend für in Ägypten lebende Griechen wie die Söldner im Dienste des Pharaos bestimmt waren, war Holz für die Ägypter selbst wertvoll, und dasselbe gilt für Gold (die Zeit lag weit in der Vergangenheit, als Ägypten das Goldland par excellence gewesen war) und Silber (Kienitz 1953, 38; Pfeiffer 2005 [Anm. 127]).

Ein weiterer Grund für die ägyptische Zustimmung zur Niederlassung der Griechen am Kanopischen Nil könnte sich durch den geologischen Befund andeuten, dass dieser Delta-Arm in säitischer Zeit einst ein unwirtliches, vermutlich nur dünn besiedeltes Terrain durchfloss (Butzer 2002, 93). Das hätte den Kontakt der Griechen mit Ägyptern reduziert.

Berücksichtigen wir weiterhin, dass der Hafen Thonis den ägyptischen Namen *Hône von Saïs* trug – nicht von *Naukratis* (s. Anm. 115) – und dass Saïs während der assyrischen Herrschaft unter Asarhaddon nach 671 v.Chr. „Hafen des Herrn der Länder“ hieß (Vittmann 2003, 29), so zeichnet sich ab, dass die Bedeutung des Kanopischen Nils im späten 7. Jh.v.Chr. geringer war als die des Bolbitinischen Nils, an dem Saïs lag, und den Griechen aus diesem Grunde überlassen worden sein könnte.

Die Erwägung erhält durch Hinweise, dass griechisch-karische Söldner an der Entstehung von Naukratis beteiligt waren (cf. *supra*), den Akzent, dass der Kanopische Nil während der ersten Regierungsjahre des Psammetich I. noch eine Militärgrenze gegen die freien Libyer bildete, von der die Sicherheit von Saïs abhing. Unter militärischem Vorzeichen waren der landschaftliche Charakter dieses Flusstals und sein landwirtschaftlicher Wert irrelevant. In dieser Perspektive erscheint es möglich, dass vormalige Söldner nach Psammetichs Libyersieg (655/4 v.Chr.) in ihrem einstigen Stationierungsgebiet angesiedelt wurden und dabei seine weniger attraktiven Seiten in Kauf genommen haben. In diesem Fall wird die Lage von Naukratis tief im Binnenland, abgeschnitten vom

¹²⁴ Zu cyprischen Funden in Naukratis: Möller 2000, 161-163; Nick 2001 (Kleinplastik); Vittmann 2003, 14, 66, 216; Jenkins 2001; Pfeiffer 2005, 166; Nick 2006 (Kleinplastik); U. Höckmann 2007; Villing 2006 (cyprische Reibschalen).

direkten Seeverkehr und abhängig von dem Umschlagplatz Thonis verständlich. Dass nach unserer gegenwärtigen Kenntnis die griechischen Funde in Thonis etwa zur selben Zeit, im frühen 6. Jh.v.Chr. einsetzen wie in Naukratis (vgl. Goddio 2007, 75, 99, 105, 117), liegt in diesem Sinne und lässt möglich erscheinen, dass der Seehafen seine Entstehung mindestens teilweise der Aufgabe verdankt, die griechischen und anderen Ausländer in Naukratis mit Importgütern aus ihrer Heimat zu versorgen.

Für die Existenz eines griechisch/karischen Söldner-*stratopedon* in oder bei Naukratis gibt es keine antiken Schriftquellen. Die archäologischen Hinweise auf die Beteiligung von Söldnern an der Entstehung der griechischen Ansiedlung lassen aber die Erwägung zu, dass ihre früheste Phase in einer weder von den Ägyptern noch von den Griechen und Karern langfristig geplanten Weise auf die militärische Situation in den frühen Jahren der Herrschaft Psammetichs I. zurückgeht. Diese Phase ließe sich gewissermaßen als *formativ* bezeichnen. Wie dann – falls unser Denkmodell zutrifft – aus einer informellen Veteranenansiedlung das *empóron* Naukratis geworden ist, lässt sich noch nicht im Detail übersehen.

Der archäologische Befund lässt offen, ob im Sinne Yoyottes (1991-92) schon vor der Entstehung des *Empóron* Naukratis ein ägyptischer Ort Nokradj (eventuell mit einem Kastell zum Schutz der libyschen Grenze) existierte, der dann als Kristallisationskern für die Niederlassung von Söldner-Veteranen diente. Seine These leuchtet aber ein.

Die griechische Niederlassung ist in ihrer Versorgung mit Grundnahrungsmitteln wahrscheinlich nicht autark gewesen. Da von eigener Landwirtschaft nirgends die Rede ist, wird das *empóron* vom Import aus dem eigentlichen Ägypten abhängig gewesen sein. Dann hätte der Pharao die Zufuhr jederzeit sperren können, wenn die Fremden gegen seinen Willen gehandelt hätten.

Thonis: das Tor zum Nil

Wie eingangs gesagt, lag Naukratis mindestens 100 Stromkilometer vom Meer entfernt. Der Kanopische Nil¹²⁵ wurde durch den Hafen Thonis (Abb. 3) – “die *Hône* von Saïs“ (Anm. 116) – an seiner Mündung für den Verkehr mit Übersee erschlossen. Thonis war der Schlüssel zu Naukratis: In diesem Vorhafen am Meer kamen die Frachtschiffe aus Ionien an, welche die Handelsgüter lieferten, durch deren Vertrieb Naukratis wohlhabend war. Zugleich konnte hier verhindert werden, dass feindliche Kriegsschiffe in diesen Delta-Arm einliefen und die ägyptische Hoheit in Frage stellten. Ein weiterer Wirtschaftsfaktor für Thonis waren Salzfisch-Pökeleien (*taricheiai*) in der Nachbarschaft (Hdt. 2.15). Seefrachter konnten Naukratis allenfalls während der Nilschwemme direkt

¹²⁵ Der Name geht auf die Stadt Kanopos zurück (Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 275 f.), die unfern von Thonis an diesem Nil-Arm gelegen war und schon im früheren 6. Jh.v.Chr. von Solon erwähnt wurde (Goddio 2007, 1 f.). Da ihr Name auf den Steuermann des Menelaos zurückgeht, der dort ums Leben kam, gehört die Stadt in den Kontext der urzeitlichen Kontakte zwischen Griechenland und Ägypten.

erreichen. Wir sahen aber, dass diese theoretische Möglichkeit keine praktische Bedeutung hatte. Normalerweise wurden die Importgüter von Thonis aus auf flachgehenden Nilschiffen (*baris*) nach Naukratis, Memphis oder anderen Zielen weitergeleitet.

Thonis war schon Homer bekannt (Yoyotte 1958, 423; 2001, 27). Ein ägyptischer “Hüter der Nilmündung“ namens Thôn (Str. 8.63; 17.1.16) soll sowohl von Paris nach dem Raub der Helena (Hdt. 2.113)¹²⁶ als auch von Menelaos aufgesucht worden sein, als er nach dem Fall von Troja mit Helena nach Ägypten verschlagen wurde (*Od.* 4.228)¹²⁷. Die beiden Ereignisse datieren die Anfänge der Hafenstadt Thonis, die im Zusammenhang mit dem mythischen Thôn zu sehen ist, in den Umkreis des trojanischen Kriegs, d.h. in die Spätbronzezeit um ca. 1190 v.Chr. Dadurch geraten Funde mykenischer Keramik auf dem Inselchen *Bates’ Island* bei Marsa Matruh im östlichen Libyen (cf. *supra*) in Beziehung zu Thonis. Sie können zu dieser Zeit nur auf Seereisen von Griechen nach Ägypten bezogen werden, die westlich des Deltas an der afrikanischen Küste anlandeten. Für ein Schiff, das von Marsa Matruh kommend von Westen her Ägypten erreichte, war der Kanopische Nil mit seinem Seehafen Thonis, der dank dem Kalksteinrücken bei Alexandria und der Insel Nelson’s Island sicher angesteuert werden konnte, das optimale Einfallstor. Als Odysseus in einer von den Zuhörern geglaubten Lügengeschichte behauptet, von Kreta aus als Pirat den Nil angesteuert zu haben (*Od.* 14, *passim*), ist darin der Kanopische oder der Bolbitinische Arm zu sehen. An anderer Stelle sagt Homer (*Od.* 4.350f.), dass man von der Insel Pharos in einer Tagesreise nach Ägypten gelange. Die Insel, auf der in ptolemäischer Zeit der berühmte Leuchtturm von Alexandria stand und heute noch das Fort Qaitbey steht, war in der Antike in wenigen Minuten Bootsfahrt zu erreichen. In einer Tagesreise hätte man aber von dort aus nach Thonis gelangen können, wobei Kap Abuqir umfahren werden musste. Oder war *diese* Insel Pharos etwa in Wirklichkeit Nelson’s Island?

Es erscheint mir wesentlich, dass sich alle frühen Schriftquellen ausschließlich auf das *westliche* Nildelta beziehen. Sie sind also von den griechischen Piratenunternehmungen in der Levante unabhängig und bestätigen, dass Homer nur den westlichen Seeweg von der Ägäis nach Ägypten im Sinne hatte.

Die Griechen kannten Thonis als uralten (Str. 16,1.16) oder sogar “einstmals einzigen“ (D.S. 1.19.4) Seehafen Ägyptens (Yoyotte 1958, 423). Die letztere Aussage verbindet ihn mit Naukratis, dem Herodot dasselbe Epithet verlieh.

Mykenische Keramik ist im Delta nur aus dem Umkreis des Pelusischen Nil bekannt¹²⁸, und weitere Funde an der Nordküste der Sinai-Halbinsel unterstreichen den Eindruck, dass sie über Cypern und die Levante ins Delta gelangt ist. In Pi-Ramesse ist sie ohnehin mit geringen Mengen von Keramik aus beiden

¹²⁶ Fabre 2005, 61; Goddio 2007, 2; Goddio 2007-08, 87.

¹²⁷ Fabre *l.c.*; Goddio 2007 *l.c.*

¹²⁸ Cline 1994, 33 Karte 2: Mostai und Heliopolis. Ergänze Funde in Pi-Ramesse (Mountjoy/Mommsen 2001; Laemmel 2008).

Ländern und sogar “mykenischer“ Ware aus ägyptischem Ton vergesellschaftet (Mountjoy/Mommsen 2001, 125 [Mommsen]). Möglicherweise ist sie nicht in griechischen, sondern cyprischen und levantinischen Schiffen an den Nil gelangt. Dasselbe gilt auch für die massenhaft bezugte mykenische Keramik in Echnatons Hauptstadt Tell el-Amarna und andere Fundstellen in Mittelägypten¹²⁹. Wie eben gesagt, wird sie auf dem Pelusischen Delta-Arm dorthin gelangt sein. Demgegenüber sind die End-Abnehmer für die mykenische Keramik, die auf dem westlichen Seewege nach Marsa Matruh gelangte, archäologisch noch nicht zu erkennen. Auf dieser Route sind die Transporteure sicherlich Griechen gewesen.

Franck Goddios Unterwasserforschungen östlich von Abuqir haben schon jetzt, nach der Untersuchung eines kleinen Teils der gesamten Fundstelle erwiesen, dass Thonis einen Hafen von bedeutender Ausdehnung mit mehreren ausgeschachteten Becken, einer Mole und nicht nur dem großen *Grand Canal* besaß, der ihn einerseits mit dem Kanopischen Nil und andererseits einem im Westen gelegenen Binnensee verband, sondern auch mindestens einen weiteren parallelen Kanal (Abb. 3)¹³⁰. Eine hölzerne Pfostenreihe kann als Kai gedeutet werden (Goddio 2007, 83. 87 Abb. 3.29), wie er für *Per-meryt* den Hafen von Naukratis angenommen wird (s. Anm. 22).

Die Entfernung zur Mündung des Kanopischen Nils kann nicht groß gewesen sein, so dass die zur Küsten- und Flussfahrt geeigneten *baris*-Schiffe (Hdt. 2.179) von dort aus auf Lagunen oder entlang der Küste auch andere Nil-Arme erreichen konnten.

Der Bau des Kanals lässt vermuten, dass der See in irgendeiner funktionellen Beziehung zum Hafen stand. Falls er als Kriegshafen gedient haben sollte, müssten dort Schiffshäuser gelegen haben (cf. *supra*).

Auch insgesamt 550 Anker und Ankerstöcke meist aus Stein, seltener spätere Ankerstöcke aus Blei, sowie zahlreiche Wracks¹³¹ von Frachtschiffen besonders aus dem 5. Jh.v.Chr. in den einstigen Hafengewässern bilden eine Fundkonzentration, die z.Zt. einmalig ist. Sie stellt sicher, dass Thonis ein Hafen von Weltrang war.

Er ist von Menschenhand erbaut worden. Für diese höchst aufwendigen Arbeiten muss ein schwerwiegender Grund postuliert werden. Unter Asarhaddon war noch Saïs der *Hafen des Herrn der Länder* gewesen (cf. *supra*). Da im *Grand Canal* in Thonis ionische Keramik aus dem frühen 6. Jh. ins Wasser geraten ist (Anm. 16) – aus der selben Zeit, aus der in Naukratis ähnliche ionische Keramik und

¹²⁹ Hankey 1995; Panagiotopoulos 2005-06, 45; Hassler 2008.

¹³⁰ Goddio 2007, 74, Abb. 3.6; 106, Abb. 3.66; 116, Abb. 3.87; 124-128, Abb. 3.102-3.107; 3.129; Goddio 2007-08, 90, Abb.

¹³¹ Goddio 2007, bes. 96; 102; 111; 115; 127; 129. Goddio 2007-08, 91 nennt 17 wracks. Die Zahl hat sich inzwischen erhöht.

Heiligtümer für griechische Gottheiten vorliegen – ist ein enger Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Befunden zu vermuten. Es erscheint denkbar, dass die pharaonische Verwaltung den Seeverkehr mit der Ägäis als so wertvoll einschätzte, dass sie den Griechen den neu gebauten Hafen von Thonis als Endpunkt des westlichen Seewegs und als Umschlagplatz vom Seeschiff in den *baris*-Kahn (Abb. 4) angeboten hat, der die Fracht nach Naukratis brachte.

Auch der lokale Güterverkehr an der Küste des Deltas, zwischen den verschiedenen Nilmündungen, wird von Thonis kontrolliert worden sein. Hierfür spricht Herodots Angabe, dass fremde Kapitäne “nur aus Not“ in andere Nil-Arme als den Kanopischen Arm einlaufen durften und dann ihre Ladung umgehend nach “Naukratis“ schaffen mussten, bei extrem ungünstigem Wind sogar in *baris*-Kähnen, die gestakt wurden und dadurch vom Wind unabhängig waren (Hdt. 2, 179). Den Grund für diese Anordnung nennt Herodot nicht. Er ist darin zu sehen, dass die Importe verzollt werden mussten, und zwar zunächst in dem Seehafen Thonis und erst später in Naukratis, das für Seeschiffe gar nicht zu erreichen war.

Die doppelte Verzollung ergibt aus zwei fast identischen Stelen mit Vorschriften des Pharaos Nektanebos I. (380-363 v.Chr.), dass 10% des Einfuhrzolls in Thonis und des Steueraufkommens der griechischen Handwerker in Naukratis dem Heiligtum der Neith in Saïs zufließen sollten. Die Übereinstimmung der Texte zeigt, dass an beiden Orten ägyptische Behörden existierten, die eng zusammenarbeiteten. Angesichts der Politik bewusster Rückgriffe des Pharaos Nektanebos auf die Zeit vor der persischen Fremdherrschaft lässt sich erwägen, dass diese enge Beziehung schon in saïtischer Zeit bestand. Die doppelte Verzollung an bestimmten Routen wurde noch in der ptolemäischen und der römischen Periode praktiziert¹³².

Schon vor den beiden Stelen, nämlich während der ersten persischen Herrschaft in Ägypten (525-404 v.Chr.) ist eine am Meer gelegene Zollstation im westlichen Delta durch den Papyrus von Elephantine bezeugt (cf. *supra*). Die nachpersische Zollstele von Thonis lässt erwarten, dass diese Behörde auch schon früher in diesem Hafen residierte¹³³. Ohnehin wird angenommen, dass die Perser die saïtische Verwaltung Ägyptens beibehalten haben (s. Anm. 98). Dann deuten die beiden Hinweise aus unterschiedlichen Zeiten und Verhältnissen an, daß schon in saïtischer Zeit im Seehafen Thonis und in Naukratis Zollämter existierten, deren Tätigkeit aufeinander bezogen war (Anm. 96).

Wenn von den ostgriechischen Piraten und Abenteurern wie dem “Herrn von Ašdod“, die entlang der Levanteküste nach Ägypten vordrangen, und den

¹³² Carrez-Maratray 1999, 377; Fabre 2005, 61 f. In römischer Zeit wurden aus der Levante kommende Güter erstmals in Pelusium und dann ein zweites Mal in Alexandria verzollt (Heilporn 2000, 339, 345). Beide Zollstätten unterstanden nach dem Papyrus P.Oxy. X 1271 (246) demselben Beamten, dem *proc[urator] Alex[andriae] Pelusi P[araetoni ?]* L. Mussius Aemilianus.

¹³³ Oren nimmt an, der Seehafen wäre “Luxor“ (S 32) gewesen (Abb. 1 und Anm. 116).

Söldnern Psammetichs I. abgesehen wird, sind die ersten griechischen Besucher als Händler in Thonis gelandet, um die Söldner mit griechischen Annehmlichkeiten aller Art zu versorgen (Haider 1988, 223). Haider datiert das um 650 v.Chr., früher als die ersten archäologischen Funde griechischer Herkunft in Naukratis und Thonis.

Der Hinweis der beiden Zollstellen, dass das Steueraufkommen der Handwerker in Naukratis den Vergleich mit den Zolleinkünften in Thonis nicht zu scheuen brauchte, wirft Licht auf einen Aspekt von Naukratis, der bei den englischen Ausgrabungen nur unzureichend erkennbar geworden ist. Gesichert ist eine Fayence-Manufaktur¹³⁴, doch ob sie von Ägyptern betrieben wurde oder ob auch Griechen mitarbeiteten, ist noch offen.

Ferner wies Petrie einen "Massenfund von Eisenschlacken", die auf die lokale Verarbeitung dieses Metalls hinwiesen, der saïtischen Frühzeit von Naukratis zu (Petrie 1886, 39). Zu jener Zeit hatten Waffen und Geräte aus Eisen in Ägypten Seltenheitswert, und die Schmiede waren Ausländer. Der Fundverband kann aber auch in der ersten persischen Herrschaftsperiode entstanden sein, als Eisen schon in größerem Umfang profan verwendet wurde (Amborn 1976, 215), z.B. im Schiffbau (Höckmann 2001b). Bei all diesen Erwägungen muss aber auch berücksichtigt werden, dass W.D.E. Coulson Petrie's "Eisenschlacken" aus Kôm Hadid bei Naukratis als Fehlbrände einer Töpferei anspricht (Coulson 1996, 9).

Es verwirrt, dass die Ansiedlung der Griechen in Naukratis, bei dem ägyptischen *Nokradj*, *Per-Meryt*¹³⁵ oder *Badjed*¹³⁶ nach Herodot erst durch den Pharao Amasis legalisiert worden sein soll (Hdt. 2.178). Er hat damit aber lediglich einen Zustand bestätigt, der de facto schon seit zwei Menschenaltern bestand, denn die griechischen Heiligtümer in Naukratis sind lange vor Amasis entstanden und setzen bereits die Genehmigung durch Psammetich I. voraus.

Die erste Niederlassung von Söldner-Veteranen und griechischen Kaufleuten bei dem ägyptischen oder libyschen Ort Nokradj dürfte eine informelle "Wildweststadt" gewesen sein, die aber schon mehrere schlichte Heiligtümer für die Hauptgottheiten von Samos (Hera), Milet (Apollon) und Aigina (Zeus) besaß. Dort konnten Seefahrer aus diesen Städten ihre Gelübde auf der Seereise einlösen. Auf welche Mutterstadt sich das Heiligtum der Aphrodite bezieht, ist ungewiss.

¹³⁴ Petrie 1886, 38.- Möller 2000, 113-115, 150-154; Vittmann 2003, 216. Leclère 2009, 126 f.

¹³⁵ Möller 2001a, 9; Fabre (2005, 47; 2006, 274) deutet den Namen Per-Meryt ('Hafen') nicht als Synonym für den griechischen Ortsnamen, sondern als Bezeichnung eines Stadtviertels mit einem Hafen, der einen gebauten Kai u.U. mit Ladekränen (?) besessen hätte (dazu Basch 1978, 109). Über Kais aus saïtischer Zeit, die sowohl während der Nilschwemme als auch außerhalb derselben genutzt werden konnten, bei einem erheblichen Unterschied der Wasserstände, ist aber nichts bekannt.

¹³⁶ Im Namen des ägyptischen Hauptgotts in Nokradj/Naukratis, des Amun-Re von Badjed, ist der Name eines Ortsteils enthalten, der in oder nahe bei Nokradj zu suchen ist (Yoyotte 2007-08, 278).

In diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt Herodot ein Heiligtum des "Herakles" an der Mündung des kanopischen Nils (Hdt. 2.113), das zu seiner Zeit schon alt war. Vermutlich gehörte es zum Heiligtum des ägyptischen Gottes Amun-Gereb in Thonis. Goddio hat unter Wasser Reste des hellenistischen Amun-Tempels nachgewiesen, der direkt am *Grand Canal* gelegen war (Abb. 3)¹³⁷. Die Verehrung der Herakles in dieser Gegend bereits in archaischer Zeit ist bis jetzt nur durch Herodot belegt.

Bei der Entstehung von Naukratis könnte eventuell ein Befund in seinem Südteil Beachtung verdienen, den Petrie als *burnt stratum* bezeichnet¹³⁸. Er beschreibt ihn als eine dicke Schicht von Asche und verkohlten Holzstücken, die unmittelbar auf dem sterilen *basal mud* auflag und demnach in der frühesten Phase von Naukratis entstanden sein muss. Petrie führt die Brandreste auf Schilfhütten der allerersten griechischen Ansiedler zurück. Sie dürften aber schwerlich massive verkohlte Hölzer hinterlassen haben. Auch Möllers Vermutung, dass hier an Land gezogene Frachtschiffe verbrannt wären, kann sich auf keine archäologische Parallele stützen. Daher erschien mir erwägenswert, dass hier ein Lager für importiertes Bauholz abgebrannt wäre.

Holz war zu allen Zeiten der wichtigste Importartikel in Ägypten, auch als strategisches Gut. Um 735/2 v.Chr. setzte daher Assur in Tyros ein Embargo gegen Holzlieferungen an Ägypten durch (Vittmann 2003, 22. 46). Später berichtet die Felsinschrift vom Wadi Brisa, dass Nebukadnezar das Langholz vom oberen Orontes zwangsweise nach Babylon dirigierte, so dass es Ägypten nicht mehr zugute kommen konnte (Jidejian 1968, 86). Das Land am Nil hat daraufhin Langholz wahrscheinlich aus Cypern bezogen, wie früher schon Tyros (Ezechiel 27, 1 ff; Jidejian *l.c.*).

Falls das *burnt stratum*, das nach Petries Angaben früher entstanden ist als die griechische Niederlassung, wirklich auf ein Lager von Importholz zurückgehen sollte, so könnte Nokradj schon vor der Niederlassung der Griechen Auslandsbeziehungen gehabt haben. Ein Grund für die Anlage eines Importhafens für ein so wichtiges Gut gerade an dieser Stelle, weit vom Meer entfernt und in einem durch libysche Einfälle bedrohten Gebiet, ist aber nicht zu erkennen.

Die wenigen Artefaktfunde im *burnt stratum* sind nach Petrie ägyptisch oder kyprisch. Griechisches erscheint erst im darüber liegenden Stratum, während es weiter nördlich direkt auf dem *basal mud* aufliegt, dem nicht von Menschenhand bewegten Nil-Sediment. Der Befund muss aber nicht zwangsläufig bedeuten, dass die Brandkatastrophe mit dem Erscheinen der Griechen zusammenhinge (so

¹³⁷ Goddio 2007, 75-100; 76, Abb. 3.8 (site H 1); Goddio 2007-8, 84, 89, 90 Abb.

¹³⁸ Petrie 1886, 5; Haider 1988, 184 f.; Möller 2000, 116 ff.; Smoláriková 2008, 88, Anm. 68; Leclère 2009, 126 f.; Haider (*l.c.* Anm. 141) erwägt einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Brandkatastrophe und dem Erscheinen der Griechen (?). Möller und Leclère halten es für möglich, dass in diesem Bereich beladene Schiffe abgebrannt wären. Nach gegenwärtiger Kenntnis kann aber ausgeschlossen werden, dass jemals beladene Frachter an Land geholt worden wären (Höckmann 2006, 48, Anm. 223).

Haider 1988, 189 Anm. 141). Alles in allem lässt sich noch keine Deutung für das *burnt stratum* vorschlagen, die allen damit verbundenen Fragen gerecht würde.

Im Banne von Herodots einseitig-“naukratozentrischer“ Darstellung pflegen wir im archaischen Naukratis eine griechische Ansiedlung zu sehen, die zwar keinen *polis*-Status, doch weitgehende Autonomie besaß. In Wirklichkeit war sie in das ägyptische Hoheitsgebiet eingebettet und von der Zustimmung der pharaonischen Verwaltung zu allen bedeutenden Maßnahmen abhängig. Die Verwaltung war in Naukratis präsent, mindestens durch einen Zolldirektor, während der *Vorsteher der Tore des Großen Grünen* (des Mittelmeers) oder *der Fremdländer des Meeres* eher im Seehafen Thonis residieren dürfte¹³⁹. Ferner ist aus Herakleopolis ein “Hafenkapitän“ namens Somsutefnacht bezeugt – ein ägyptischer Beamter, der auch sowohl für Thonis als auch für Naukratis vorauszusetzen ist¹⁴⁰. Schließlich hatte das ägyptische Nokradj, Nukleus für die Entstehung von Naukratis oder jedenfalls sein Nachbar und Partner, mit Sicherheit einen pharaonischen Stadtgouverneur.

Es ergibt sich, dass die griechische “Selbstverwaltung“ durch *prostátai* als Vertreter von mindestens neun griechischen *poleis* keinen hoheitlichen Status gehabt, sondern nur intern dem Funktionieren des Handelsplatzes gedient hat, so wie z.B. das Amt des niederländischen *Opperhoofd* (“Oberhaupt“) in der Faktorei Dejima bei Nagasaki in Japan (cf. *infra*). Wir können Vittmanns These folgen, dass die *prostátai* dem ägyptischen *Vorsteher der Tore der Fremdländer* verantwortlich waren (Vittmann 2003, 220).

Bresson weist darauf hin, dass die *empória* griechischer Städte im Mutterland ihre eigene Verwaltung mit eigenen Beamten hatten, *parallel* zu denen der Stadt. Das lässt sich auf die *prostátai* in Naukratis übertragen (Bresson 1993, 166). Unter diesem Blickwinkel lässt sich Naukratis als das *empóron* nicht einer griechischen *polis*, sondern des ganzen Pharaonenstaats Ägypten verstehen, als eine griechische Einrichtung in ägyptischem Dienst¹⁴¹.

Die Situation könnte trotz einiger Unterschiede ähnlich gewesen sein wie viel später bei dem *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, einer in begrenztem Maße selbstverwalteten gemeinsamen Handelsniederlassung deutscher Kaufleute in Venedig (Simonsfeld 1887), dem *Stalhof* der Hanse in London (Werner 1973) oder auf der kleinen künstlichen Insel *Dejima* in der Bucht von Nagasaki, die um 1630 von den Kaufleuten in Nagasaki zur Konzentration und Kontrolle der Händler vom asiatischen Festland aufgeschüttet wurde. Später übergab sie der Shôgun der niederländischen Faktorei in Nagasaki. Auch jetzt sollte die Insellage unkon-

¹³⁹ *Vorsteher der Tore der Fremdländer des Meeres* Nechthorheb: Aufrère/Golvin 1997, 275; Vittmann 2003, 221, Abb. 111. Zu Zollvorstehern: Posener 1947, 118; Baines 2007-08, 275; In Naukratis: Möller 2000, 196, 208, 215; Vgl. später den römischen Oberbeamten (Anm. 132).

¹⁴⁰ James 1991, 709, 732; Briant/Descat 1998, 90; Smoláriková 2008, 26.

¹⁴¹ Austin 1970, 30; Villas 1996, 165; Fabre 2005, 45; Baines 2007-08, 275.

trollierte Kontakte der fremden Händler mit der japanischen Bevölkerung verhindern (Michel 1999, 64-73). Astrid Möller legt dieses Motiv in der Antike allgemein der Gründung von Hafene-*empória* fern von den zugehörigen Mutterstädten zugrunde (Möller 2000, 67 ff., 187).

Zusammenfassung

Herodot stellt Naukratis als griechische Niederlassung dar, der zum Status der Kolonie allein die Rechtssouveränität fehlte. In Wirklichkeit ist es nicht denkbar, dass Naukratis außerhalb der ägyptischen Verwaltung gestanden hat. In seiner unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft lag der ägyptische Ort *Nokradj*, dessen Name in gräzisierte Form dann auch für die griechische Ansiedlung galt.

Herodot nennt sie den einzigen Handelsplatz in Ägypten. Es bedeutet, dass sie das *empóron* dieses Staats war, so wie viele griechische *póleis* ihre *empória* am Meer hatten. Ebenso wie dort, bedeutete die Selbstverwaltung durch die *prostátai* keine staatliche Autonomie.

Naukratis als von Griechen betriebenes *empóron* Ägyptens lag weit vom Meer entfernt. Seeschiffe konnten es wahrscheinlich nicht einmal während der Nilschwemme erreichen. Sonst musste die Ladung von Frachtern im ägyptischen Seehafen Thonis auf *baris*-Kähne umgeladen werden, welche die seichten Nil-Arme befahren konnten. Die ungünstige Verkehrslage des *empóron* erklärt sich voraussichtlich mit seiner Entstehung durch Söldner oder Veteranen aus einer benachbarten Grenzgarison.

Es erscheint fraglich, dass Naukratis im Sinne Herodots ein Monopol auf den Importhandel Ägyptens gehabt hat. Sowohl die Residenz Saïs als auch die Hauptstadt Memphis war von Thonis aus auf dem Bolbitinischen Nil direkt zu erreichen, einfacher als auf dem eventuellen Umweg über Naukratis¹⁴². Ferner wird erwogen, dass auch am Pelusischen Nil im Osten ein Zollhafen existierte¹⁴³.

Wie die zahlreichen, oftmals griechisch signierten Weihungen griechischer Keramik z.T. der Spitzenklasse in den Heiligtümern (und das Amüsiergewerbe) zeigen, ist in Naukratis 'der Rubel gerollt'¹⁴⁴. Es hat demnach in seiner fest etablierten Form von einer spezifischen Handelsfunktion und von der Existenz einer potenten griechisch/karischen Kundschaft für seine Angebote profitiert.

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Für Anregungen, Hinweise und Hilfe bei der Beschaffung von Literatur und Bildvorlagen danke ich Elke Böhr, John Cooper, Fanni Faegersten, Sofia

¹⁴² Homer (*Od.* 4, 350 f.) sagt, dass man von der Insel Pharos in einer Tagesreise nach Ägypten, d.h. zum Nil gelangte. Carpenter (1946, 96 f.; 99 f.) deutet diesen "Nil" als den größten Mündungsarm, den Bolbitinischen Arm, an dem nicht nur die Hauptstadt Saïs, sondern auch das *teichos der Milesier* gelegen wären (Haider 1988, 213, mit Anm. 245).

¹⁴³ Baines 2007-08, 275.

¹⁴⁴ Ähnlich Braudel 2002, 245-247; Smoláriková 2008, 27.

Hägman, Květa Smoláriková, Sabine Weber, Udo Schlotzhauer und Dirk Wicke. Den Anstoß zu dem Aufsatz gaben viele Diskussionen mit meiner Frau bei ihren Arbeiten über Naukratis. Sie hat jetzt meine Studie wesentlich unterstützt. Besonders herzlicher Dank gilt M.D. de Weerd für seine sorgfältige redaktionelle Betreuung meines Manuskripts.

Addendum (24.01.2010)

Es versteht sich von selbst, dass alle durchströmten Nil-Arme im flachen Delta ständig ihren Lauf änderten (z.B. Bietak 1975, 57, Abb. 5). Dadurch wird es hier gegenstandslos, Forschungsergebnisse zum Nil in der Zeit vor (z.B. Daressy 1929) oder nach der säitischen Periode heranzuziehen, wenn in meiner Studie der Zustand des Nil-Deltas in dieser Zeit behandelt wird. Was die lokale Topographie von Naukratis angeht, gilt dies auch für Bietaks fundamentale Darstellung der Entwicklung der Nil-Arme im Delta (Bietak 1975, 47-112).

Für die Dynamik des Nils nach dieser Periode ermöglicht es jetzt die Dissertation John Coopers (Cooper 2008), Veränderungen des Stroms während eines Zeitraums von wenigen Jahrhunderten zu verfolgen. Sie zwingt auch Skeptiker, den Glauben an die Ähnlichkeit des heutigen Gewässernetzes mit dem antiken Netz aufzugeben, das in sich ebenfalls instabil war.

Coopers Arbeit relativiert einige Aussagen meiner Studie. So zeigt er, dass der Kanopische Nil wohl nicht gänzlich extinkt ist (Cooper 2008, 61-63). Cooper identifiziert seinen Oberlauf mit dem heutigen Rašid-(Rosette-) Arm. Das widerspricht Herodot nicht, der den letzteren als Kanal bezeichnet, der vom Kanopischen Arm abzweigte. Nach Norden hin bis Schedíe könnte der Kanopische Arm dem heutigen Abu Diyab-Kanal zugrunde liegen. Demgegenüber hat der Pelusische Nil allerspätstens im 10. Jh. n. Chr. aufgehört, noch Wasser zu führen (Cooper 2008, 64). Die Bewohner von Pelusium (Tell el-Farama) waren gezwungen, ihr Trinkwasser in Zisternen zu sammeln oder sogar im Boot von Tinnîs in der Menzaleh-Lagune heranzuholen.

Coopers Nachweise bestärken mich in meiner Entscheidung, in der Karte (Abb. 1) das Bild des Nil-Deltas im Klassischen Altertum nur schematisch anzudeuten. In meinem Verständnis wären weitere Details, vor allem in chronologischer Hinsicht, zu unsicher, um berücksichtigt zu werden.

GLOSSAR

Ákatos (Plural *-toi*): kleines Küstenfrachtschiff mit Ruder- und Segelantrieb.

Archaische Periode: in Griechenland die Zeit vom späten 7. Jh. bis zum frühen 5. Jh.v.Chr.

'aswt khmwš spynh rbh (aramäisch; Aussprache unbekannt): ein Frachtschiffstyp.

Baris-Schiff (ägyptisch *br*): seit dem 3. Jt.v.Chr. ein Nil-Frachtschiff. Bei Herodot diente es auch zur Fahrt an der Delta-Küste.

Dikrotos: Langschiff (mit zusätzlichem Segel), dessen Ruderer auf *zwei* Ebenen plaziert waren.

Dollbord: der obere Rand der Bordwand eines Ruderschiffs.

dwgy qnrt (aramäisch; Aussprache unbekannt): ein kleiner Frachtschiffstyp.

dwgy qnrtšyry (aramäisch; Aussprache unbekannt): ein großer Frachtschiffstyp.

Geometrische Periode: in Griechenland die frühe Eisenzeit (ca. 900-700 v.Chr.). Die Bezeichnung leitet sich von geometrischen Malmustern auf griechischer Keramik aus dieser Zeit ab.

Holkoí: Rampen auf denen Schiffe in Ruhezeiten zum Trocknen aus dem Wasser gezogen wurden.

Keftiu-Schiffe: in ägyptischen Quellen des 2. Jts.v.Chr. Frachtschiffe für den Verkehr mit Kreta (Keftiu). Es ist nicht geklärt, ob sie aus Keftiu stammen, nach kretischen Vorbildern in Ägypten gebaut waren oder nur – unabhängig von ihrer Bauart – für den Verkehr mit Übersee bestimmt waren.

Kérkouros: Griechisches Frachtschiff (Langschiff) mit Antrieb durch Ruder und Segel (cf. *Qurqurru*), eventuell mit Ruderern auf mehreren Ebenen. Ursprung mesopotamisch, Verbreitung durch Phöniker. Der griechisch-römische *kérkouros* unterschied sich von der Triére dadurch, dass er keinen Rammsporn für den Schiffskampf hatte.

Langschiff: schlankes schnelles Ruderschiff, oft mit Hilfsantrieb durch Segel, sozusagen ‘Kriegsschiff’.

Máchimoi: ägyptische Truppen aus einer traditionellen Krieger-Kaste.

Meneš: seegehendes Rundschiiff, Seefrachter.

Monére: Langschiff (mit zusätzlichem Segel), dessen Ruderer in *einer* Ebene plaziert waren.

Néosoikoi (Singular *-os*): Hallen zur trockenen Lagerung von Kriegsschiffen zwischen ihren Einsätzen.

Pentekontére: ‘Fünfziger’, Sammelbezeichnung für mehrere Varianten von Langschiffen mit Antrieb durch 50 Ruderer und ein Segel. Die *pentekontére* hatte einen Rammsporn zum Kampf gegen feindliche Schiffe, doch auch eine gewisse Kapazität als Frachter.

Qurqurru: mesopotamischer Schiffstyp, vermutlich Vorfahre des griechischen *kérkouros*.

Remen (niederdeutsch, aus lateinisch *remus*): *Antriebs-’Ruder’*. Die hochdeutsche Übersetzung ‘Riemen’ ist verfehlt, denn dieses Wort bedeutet einen schmalen Streifen von Leder oder Schnittkäse.

Ruder: *SteuerRuder* eines Schiffs, in der Antike in Form großer Remen, die an beiden Seiten des Hecks beweglich gelagert waren. Das moderne Blattruder *in der Achse des Kiels* ist lange nach der Antike aus China entlehnt worden. Seltsame ‘Steuerremen’ in der Achse des Kiels an römischen Rheinkähnen haben das Ende der Römerzeit nur lokal (*Lappen*) überdauert.

Rundschiiff: gedrungenes Frachtschiff mit großer Ladekapazität und Antrieb durch Segel und evtl. wenige Remen.

Sámaina: in Samos entstandene Variante der Mehrzweck-Pentekontére. Nach

Herodot ähnelte das Bug-Profil einem Eberkopf.
Spynh rbh (aramäisch; Aussprache unbekannt): ein Frachtschiffstyp.
Stolos: ornamentale obere Verlängerung des Vorstevens.
Thrānitai (Singular *thrānītēs*): die oberste Reihe von Rudern auf Triéren.
Trière: Langschiff, im 5.-4. Jh.v.Chr. mit Antrieb durch 170 Ruderer auf drei Ebenen, und Segel. Ferner an Bord 30 Offiziere, Decksmatrosen und Soldaten. Die Ausrüstung mit einem Rammsporn machte diesen Typ im 5.-4. Jh.v.Chr. zum *Kriegsschiff* par excellence.

SPRACHLICHE ABKÜRZUNGEN

bes.	besonders
d.h.	das heißt
evtl.	eventuell
m.E.	meines Erachtens
Jh.n.Chr.	Jahrhundert nach Christus
Jh.v.Chr.	Jahrhundert vor Christus
Jt.v.Chr.	Jahrtausend vor Christus
u.	und
u.a.	unter anderem
usw.	und so weiter
u.U.	unter Umständen
z.B.	zum Beispiel
z.T.	zum Teil

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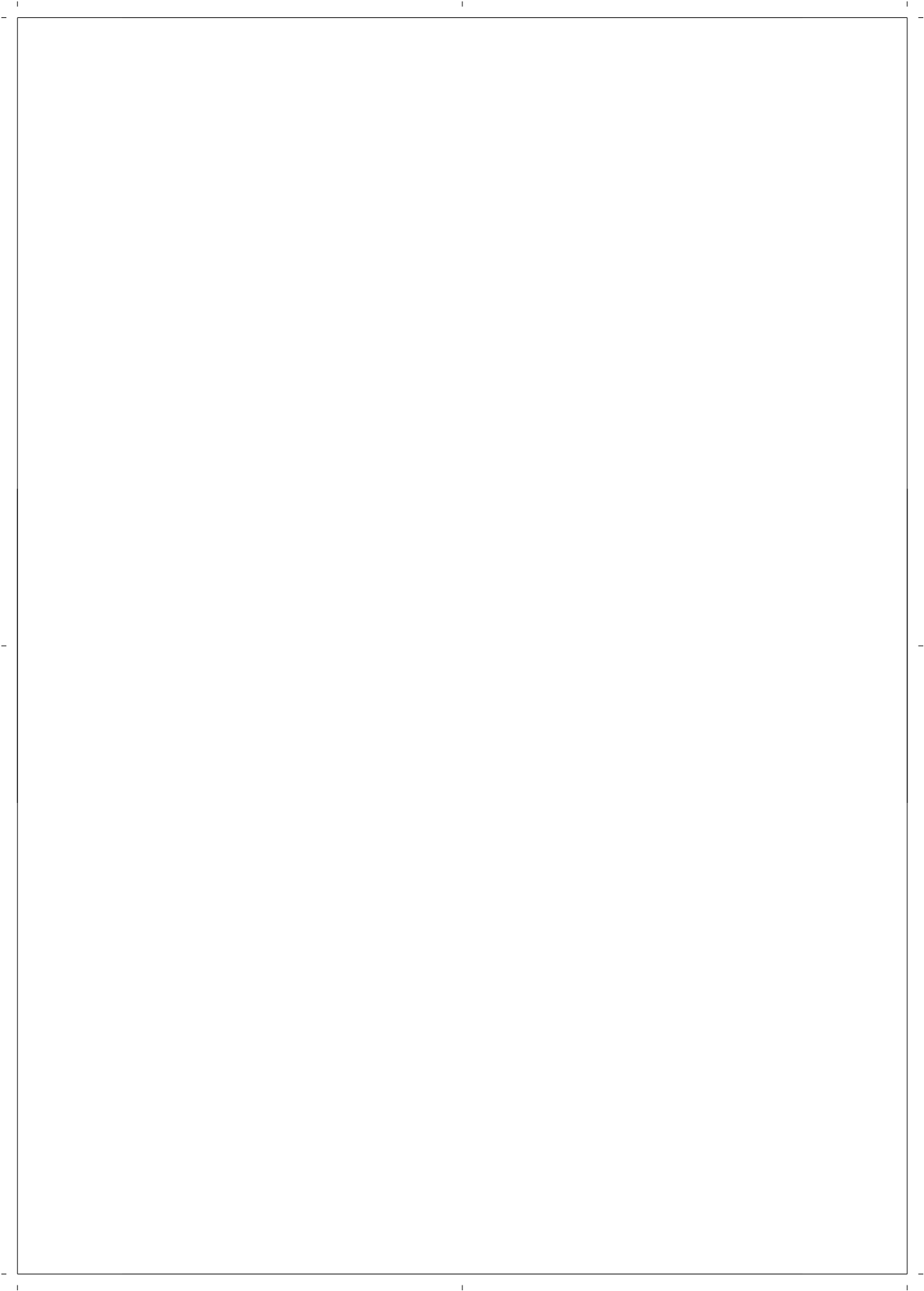
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ZENOBIA IN NUMMIS

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“The Romans scorn the war that I wage against a woman. They are neither familiar with the character, nor with the power of Zenobia”. (*Aurelian addressing the senate of Rome*)

In the year 272, the Roman Emperor Aurelian launched a lightning offensive against the rebellious city-state of Palmyra (also known as “Tadmur”) and its rulers: queen Zenobia and her son Vabalathus¹. In previous years, both Emperor Gallienus (253-268) and his successor Claudius II (268-270) had tolerated Zenobia’s independence, allowing her to annex large stretches in the eastern part of the Empire, including Egypt. In addition, several cities in Asia Minor, including the wealthy city of Antioch, had joined the Palmyrene state, which rapidly developed into an Empire, rather than a peripheral trading town. The rise and fall of Palmyra is to some extent reflected in contemporary coinage. Coins struck during the reign of Zenobia and her son Vabalathus, especially, reflect the changing political realities of their time, with the face of the Roman Emperor—initially on the obverse of the coin—gradually being replaced by that of Vabalathus. In addition, the title of ‘Augustus’, normally restricted to the highest office in the Roman world, was bestowed to the lord of Palmyra—a direct challenge to the legitimacy of Roman rule. In this article, the gradual stylistic changes in Palmyrene numismatics is examined in the light of the political upheaval of the second half of the 3rd century AD.

Preamble

The year 260 represents a dark period of Roman history. Whilst on campaign in the east, the Roman Emperor Valerian is defeated, captured and eventually executed by the Sassanid ruler Shapur I. These events were the cause of great

¹ Vabalathus (“Vaballathus or Wahaballât”): whilst Greco-Roman sources usually refer to “Vaballathus”, Greco-Roman coins usually spell Vabalathus (with a single “l”). In concordance with “Roman Imperial Coinage of the British Museum”, I use “Vabalathus” in this article.

domestic upheaval in Rome, with Valerian's surviving son Gallienus, and Valerian's grandsons Valerian Junior and Salonius failing to restore order to the Empire (See for recent surveys of the notion of crisis in the third century empire, Burgersdijk 2007, John 2006 and 2008; and especially De Blois 2006). The ensuing chaos allowed for the rise of a number of rebellions and usurpers, including the generals Postumus (ruler of the so-called Gallic Empire, 259-273), Ingenuus and Regalianus (in Pannonia, in 260), and Macrianus Senior, Macrianus Junior and Quietus in Syria (260-1). Both of the Macriani were eventually defeated and consequently executed by Aereolus, whereas Quietus was besieged in Emesa by Odaenathos of Palmyra, an ally of Rome. With the death of Quietus at the hands of the citizens of Emessa, Odaenathos was rewarded the honorary title *Corrector Totius Orientis* ("Restorer of the Entire Orient") by a grateful Roman senate. It was this title that would, in later years, serve to legitimize the ascend of Palmyra as a veritable Empire of its own (Stoneman 1992). Initially though, Palmyra served as a convenient buffer state between the Roman Empire and the Sassanid Empire (Watson 1999).

Zenobia; a new Cleopatra or a devious Agrippina?

In the year 267, Odaenathos and his son (from his first marriage) Herodianus died under suspicious circumstances. Historical sources do not provide us with a clear picture, but it appears that the Roman Emperor Gallienus at least held Septimia Zenobia, second wife of Odaenathos, responsible for the latter's death. His intentions to bring Palmyra firmly back in the Roman fold are, however, thwarted by the rebellion of one of his generals, Aureolus. Whilst besieging Aureolus at Milan, the Emperor is murdered by his own staff officers, amongst whom are the future Emperors Claudius II and Aurelian.

In 268, Zenobia seizes power and grants her son Vabalathus the title *Rex Regum*—a move which has been compared with the rise of two other famous women in Antiquity, Cleopatra VII (69-31 BC) and Agrippina Junior (15-59 AD), both of whom sought to establish their own dynasty (see for the equation with Zenobia: Stoneman 1995, 112; Watson 1999, 81; Potter 2004, 267; Southern 2008, 1-2). Three years later, Zenobia adopted a title herself: *Augusta*. There can be no doubt that this title was chosen with care, since *Augusta* was the official title of the Roman Emperor's wife (i.e. the Empress) and had not been in use since the death of Salonina, the wife of Gallienus (who was also murdered in 267). As a consequence and paradoxically, the adoption of this very Roman title was a clear political statement of Palmyrene independence.

Although not reflected in contemporary coins, Zenobia's important step of assuming the title *Augusta* is reflected in coins of a slightly later date, the so-called Antoniniani, which were minted at Antioch². The crude style of minting

² Coins with the original weight of a double Denarius (2,5 – 5 gr.). Introduced by aracalla

seems to reflect the actions of Aurelian in the east, in 272, when Zenobia was already retreating as a result of increased Roman pressure.

It is unclear which reasons lay behind Zenobia's decision to usurp such a loaded Roman imperial title: to the modern eye, Roman retaliation would have been inevitable. Various explanations may be entertained: Zenobia may have intended to use her new title to convince Aurelian to accept Palmyrene power, and perhaps to charm him into jointly ruling the Roman world—again a parallel to Cleopatra (cf. Sueton's "Augustus", 16-7)! Regardless of these considerations, Aurelian decided otherwise. After restoring order elsewhere in the Empire, Aurelian marched his troops to Palmyra. The city fell after a difficult siege in 272 and Zenobia and her son Vabalathus were captured. They were paraded in the Triumph procession of Aurelian in 274, after which they essentially disappear from the historical record. With the suppression of Palmyrene independence, the 'crisis' of the 3rd century, as it is often described, draws towards an end.

Zenobia in Nummis

Coins of Zenobia are rare. With Zenobia's failure to achieve independency, her coins were generally recast. Only a total of about 10 to 15 'Antoniniani', minted on the command of the Palmyrene Queen, are known. They are scattered over several museums throughout Europe (in London, Oxford, Munich and Paris) as well as private collections (i.a. Tanini and Gnecci, in Italy). Three royal mints are known to have minted Zenobia's coins: those at Antioch, Alexandria and Emesa (Ehling 2008, 848). We will turn to these royal mints below.

Antioch

During the 3rd century AD, the mint at Antioch mostly produced bronze coins, such as the Antoniniani. Several 'workshops', or *Officina*, are known to have been active in Antioch during the 3rd century AD: A(1st), B(2nd), G(3rd), D(4th), E(5th), S(6th), Z(7th), H(8th) and the Q(9th)³. Normally, their symbol was visible on the reverse of the coin, below the coin's main design / message (cf. Mattingly 1998). The take-over of Zenobia at Antioch is evidenced by the sudden appearance of Zenobia's profile—watching to the right—on the obverse of the Antoniniani, along with the line S ZENOBIA AUG. The reverse shows a depiction of the goddess Juno, alongside a peacock and the line JUNO REGI-

in 215 AD. The monetary reform of Aurelian in 274 caused a name change to 'Aurelianini'. Cf. Mattingly 1998.

³ A recently discovered bronze coin, very similar in composition to the Antoniniani but as yet not described in numismatic handbooks, may point to the existence of yet another workshop—perhaps not even at Antioch, since stylistic considerations suggest a workshop at Sidon, Tyre or Akko. The coin is heavily worn, making it difficult to identify its provenance, but these three cities are the only centres in the region using Latin, rather than Greek, for their coinage, and therefore would be plausible candidates for a minting atelier.

NA. Some variation is known. A unique coin from the Tanini collection shows a similar obverse (ZENOBIA AUG) but with the line PIETAS AUGG on the reverse. The ‘AUGG’ is a reference to the two Augusti: Zenobia and Vabalathus.

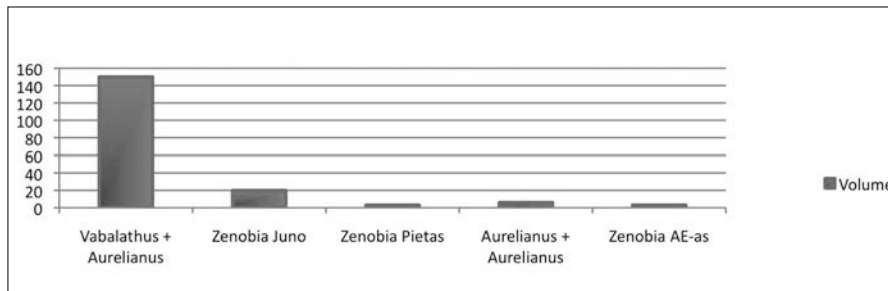


Fig. 1. Frequency of the (known) different types of Antoniniani/AE-as.

In 272, the Antioch mint produced yet another type of coin, this time showing two rulers. On the obverse, the Roman Emperor Aurelian is depicted, with the line IMP C AURELIANUS AUG. On the reverse Vabalathus is shown, with his own distinctive set of titles: VABALATHUS V C R IM D R—Vir Clarissimus Rex IMperator Dux Romanorum. At first glance, there can be no doubt that Aurelian, with his superior title of Augustus, is acknowledged as the most senior of the two rulers. Below Aurelian’s portrait, however, is the mark of the 3rd workshop of the Antioch mint: workshop marks were normally reserved for the reverse of coins—not the obverse. It appears unlikely that this is just a coincidence: coins like these were clearly meant to stress Zenobia’s and Vabalathus’ political agenda of pursuing Palmyrene independence and parity with Rome.

There are several other examples where one can follow the gradual assumption of Imperial titles. Such is the case with the coin from the Tanini collection, where there appears to be a clear connection between the title Augustus and the Palmyrene court. A similar development can be traced on the Antoniniani. I have already mentioned the coins with the titles VABALATHUS V C R IM D R on the obverse and IMP C AURELIANUS AUG on the reverse. A number of coins from the Antioch mint, however, only bear the text IMP C AURELIANUS AUG on both the obverse and the reverse of the coins, whilst retaining the portraits of both Aurelian and Vabalathus. Again, this is unlikely to have been a mistake, but should rather be seen as an attempt to link the highest Roman Imperial title to the Palmyrene ruler Vabalathus (whilst at the same time acknowledging Aurelian as the rightful Roman Emperor).

Alexandria

At the peak of her power, Zenobia even controlled the wealthy province of

Egypt and its metropolis, Alexandria. True to its origins, the Alexandrine mint did not produce Antoniniani like the mint of Antioch, but so-called Tetradrachmes. Stylistically, the Alexandrine coins are easily distinguishable from coins from Antioch—the general execution is cruder and the text is exclusively written in Greek. Though Tetradrachmes originally had been of silver, their value had dropped significantly over the course of the centuries: Zenobia's Tetradrachmes were of bronze, and minted in the short period 271-272. The Alexandrine workshops also refer to the ruling monarch reigning year (ΕΤΟΥΣ or ΕΤΟΥC; cf. Vagi 1999), as opposed to the 'timeless' design of the Antoniniani. Like the mint in Antioch, the Alexandrine mint was also experimenting with double portraits on coins. The first issue of Tetradrachmes struck under Palmyrene rule bears a close resemblance to the 'standard' Antoniniani mentioned above, with the appropriate set of titles for both the Roman Emperor (on the obverse) and the Palmyrene ruler (on the reverse). A later variant, however, shows both rulers facing each other on the obverse—a clear manifestation of parity. The regnal year is stamped on the reverse; the titles of both rulers are difficult to read.

Emessa (?)

A number of Antoniniani, thought to have been struck at Emessa⁴, show the next step in the assumption of Imperial titles by Vabalathus. The text on the obverse of the coin reads IM C VHABALTHUS AUG. Though it is remarkable that Vabalathus' name has been misspelled, the use of the title Augustus to Vabalathus without reference to the Roman Emperor Justinian is even more striking. This type of coin, then, can be seen as a symbol both of the might of Palmyra by the end of the 3rd century AD and of the *hubris* that caused the collapse of the Palmyrene Empire. The usurpation of the title Augustus appears to have been the final straw for Aurelian. Only months after this coin was struck Vabalathus and his mother Zenobia were paraded through the streets of Rome.

Aftermath

Ulpia Severina, Aurelian's wife was awarded the title Augusta after her husband's triumph in 274 AD—the very title that Zenobia had usurped only 6 years

⁴ The coin types with officina symbols are usually ascribed to the Antioch mint. All coins clearly show the title AUG(ustus). The rather crude style of the coins, however, seems different from the normally quite elegant issues from the Antioch mint. Moreover, the patina/discolouration of the coins suggests a different metal composition than is usually the case. It has been suggested that these coins may have been struck at a 'mobile workshop' during the campaigns. At the same time, one might also think of a mint at the city of Emessa, especially since that centre had known a mint in the past with a more or less comparable minting style (coins at Emessa were struck during the reigns of Septimius Severus [198-211], the usurper Uranus Antonius [253-254], and Macrianus and Quietus [260-261]. Cf. Vaggi 1999). It seems reasonably to assume that such a mint at Emessa, if it existed, was active in the spring of 272—after the loss of Antioch to Aurelian.

before. Severina's new status is reflected on several coins, such as the one shown here; an AE-as from 274 AD. The absence of the usual reference to the senate—SC (Senatus Consulto)—is striking and reflects some of the problems Aurelian faced at home, after the defeat of Zenobia. This coin has been struck on the Emperor's own accord, without the Senate's consent, at a time when Emperor and Senate were at loggerheads over Aurelian's proposed reform of the monetary system. In the spring of that same year, Aurelian introduced a new type of coin, the Aurelianus, that was to serve as the basis of the reformed Roman monetary system until the reign of Diocletian (cf. Vagi 1999). The new coin, aptly named after the Emperor himself and struck with a relatively high percentage of silver, replaced the by now devalued Antoninianus.



Fig. 2. Severina Augusta.

Conclusion

The production of coins bearing the portraits of Zenobia and/or Vabalathus was restricted to a relatively brief period in Roman history. Judging the regnal years stamped on coins from Alexandria, it is likely that these coins were struck no earlier than 267, and no later than 272 AD. As I have shown above, the references to AUGUSTA and JUNO REGINA should be seen as Palmyrene attempts to achieve a pact on equal terms between Rome and Palmyra, rather than mere provocations. Palmyrene independence, however, seems only to have been feasible whilst the Roman armies were occupied with more urgent issues elsewhere (the above mentioned usurpations leading to what has been called the 'crisis of the 3rd century'). As soon as those problems had been addressed, however, Roman interest would inevitably turn towards the east. After the fall of Palmyra, Zenobia and her son Vabalathus were paraded through the streets of Rome in Aurelian's triumph, after which they disappear from history. Aurelian build a temple to the "Deus Sol Invictus", the invincible Sun, to commemorate his restoration of the Roman Peace. Its inauguration during the "Dies Natalis Solis Invicti" festival, on the 25th of December, 274 AD, may be seen as marking the end of the crisis of the 3rd century.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

- Fig. 3. Obverse: Aurelian (AD 273/274) as 'Restitutor Orientis' (Restorer of the East)
 Reverse: Sol + 2 captives (Vabalathus & Zenobia?)
 AV-Medallion, "Binio" (1 ½ aureus) 6,31 gr. Rome
- Fig. 4. Obverse: Salonina Augusta, AD 254-268
 Reverse: Juno Regina (Goddess Juno with Peacock)
 AR-Antoninianus, 3,24 gr. Antioch
- Fig. 5. Obverse: S. Zenobia Augusta, AD 271-272
 Reverse: Juno regina (Goddess Juno with Peacock)
 AE-Antoninianus, 3,02 gr. Antioch, Officina 8 (H)
- Fig. 6. Obverse: S Zenobia Augusta (hitherto unpublished coin type R5)
 Reverse: Juno Regina
 AE-as, 23 mm, 14,93 g. Sidon/Tyre/Akko



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

- Fig. 7. Obverse: Julia Maesa (AD ±180 - † 225),
Reverse: Zeus Heliopolites –COLO PTLOE
AE-Assarion, 6,84 gr. Col.Ptolema (Akko)
- Fig. 8. Obverse: Julia Maesa (AD ±180 - † 225)
Reverse: Sacred Chariot of Astarte
AE-Assarion, 16,67 gr., Colonia Sidon
- Fig. 9. Obverse: Julia Maesa (AD ±180 - † 225)
Reverse: Europa on the Bull
AE-Assarion, 8,15 gr. Col.Sidon
- Fig. 10. Obverse: Septimia Zenobia (AD 272) "CEITIM ZHNOBIA CEB"
Reverse: Homonoia (Concordia)
AE Tetradrachm, 8,34 gr. Alexandria 12,62 gr. (L E = year 5)



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

Fig. 11. Obverse: Septimia Zenobia (AD 272) CEITIMIA ZHNOBIA CEB
Reverse: Elpis (Spes)

AE Tetradrachm, Alexandria (L E = year 5)

Fig. 12. Obverse: Septimia Zenobia (AD 272)

Reverse: Selene

AE Tetradrachme 7,97 gr. Alexandrië (L E = year 5)

Fig. 13. Aurelianus/Vhabalathus (AD 271/272) as "Caesar"

AE-Antoninianus 3,63 gr. Antioch, Officina 4

Fig. 14. Vhabalathus/Aurelianus AD 271/272, -V C R IM D R- ("Vir Clarissimus, Rex, Imperator, Dux Romanorum")

AR -Antoninianus 3,83 gr. Antioch, Officina 3 (from a private collection)



Fig. 15a



Fig. 15b



Fig. 16a



Fig. 16b



Fig. 16c



Fig. 17

Fig. 15 a-b. 2 coins with Aurelian and Vhabalathus
Obverse + Reverse: IMP AURELIANUS AVGVSTVS
AE-Antoninianus, 3,92 and 2,62 gr. Antioch, Officina 3

Fig. 16. 3 coins with Aurelian and Vhabalathus
AE-Tetradrachmes: Year 1 and 5.
9,96 gr./8,82 gr./6,38 gr. Alexandria

Fig. 17. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus": IM C VHABALATHUS AVGVSTVS
Reverse: Hercules
AE-Antoninianus 3,82 gr. Antioch, Officina 5 (Emesa?)



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

- Fig. 18. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: VENUS AUG (Venus) –IV[V]EN[T]US AUG- ("the coming Augustus")
 AE-Antoninianus 3,43 gr. Antioch/Emesa?
- Fig. 19. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: AEQUITAS ("balance")
 AE-Antoninianus 2,61 gr. Antioch/Emesa? No identified officina
- Fig. 20. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) als "Augustus"
 Reverse: IOVI STATORI ("avenging Jupiter")
 AE-Antoninianus Antioch/Emesa? No identified officina
- Fig. 21. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: VIRTUS AUG ("Virtue")
 AE-Antoninianus 3,34 gr. Antioch/Emesa? Officina 7



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

- Fig. 22. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: VICTORIA AUG, striding Victoria with laurel
 AE-Antoninianus 3,26 gr. Antioch
- Fig. 23. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: VIRTUS AUG
 AE-Antoninianus, 3,94 gr. Antioch/Emesa
- Fig. 24. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: VIRTUS AUG
 AR-Antoninianus, 3,49 gr. Antioch, Officina 2
- Fig. 25. Obverse: Vhabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"
 Reverse: AETERNITAS, Sol with globe
 AR-Antoninianus, 3,20 gr. Antioch



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29

Fig. 26. Obverse: Vabalathus (AD 272) as "Augustus"

Reverse: standing Homonoia, year 5

Potin-Tetradrachm, 8,47 gr. Alexandria

Fig. 27. Obverse: Aurelianus (AD 272)

Reverse: RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS ("Restorer of the East")

Kneeling Tyche (Antioch) and Aurelianus

AE-Antoninianus, 3,45gr. Antioch

Fig. 28. Obverse: Aurelianus (AD 272)

Reverse: MARS INVICTUS

Mars and Sol with captive (Persian)

AR-Antoninianus, 3,45 gr. Siscia

Fig. 29. Obverse: SEVERINA AUG (AD 274)

Reverse: -JUNO REGINA-

AE-as, 7,92 gr. Rome, Officina 7



Fig. 30

Fig. 30. Obverse: Probus (AD 276-282) VIRTUS PROBI AUG
 Reverse: Tempel van Sol -SOLI INVICTO- SXXT
 Antoninianus, Ticinum (AD 278 AD) 3,59 gr.

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AN 'ETEORETAN' INSCRIPTION FROM PRAISOS
AND THE HOMELAND OF THE SEA PEOPLES

(*Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum* 31)

Luuk de Ligt

The whereabouts of the homeland or homelands of the so-called Sea Peoples have been endlessly debated. This article re-examines this problem by looking at one of the 'Eteoretan' inscriptions from the town of Praisos. It is argued that this text is written in an Indo-European language belonging to the Oscan-Umbrian branch of the Italic language family. Based on this finding it is suggested that this language must have arrived in eastern Crete during the Late Bronze Age, when Mycenaean rulers recruited groups of mercenaries from Sicily, Sardinia and various parts of the Italian peninsula. When the Mycenaean state system collapsed around 1200 BC, some of these groups moved to the northern Aegean, to Cyprus and to the coastal districts of the Levant. It is also suggested that this reconstruction explains the presence of an Etruscan-speaking community in sixth-century-BC Lemnos. An interesting corollary of this theory is that the Sea Peoples were present in the Mycenaean world some considerable time before its collapse in the early twelfth century.

1. Introduction

The problem of the homeland(s) of the Sea Peoples, who attacked Egypt in the eighth year of Ramesses III (1176 BC),¹ has been debated from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. As is well known, one of the most important pieces of evidence is an inscription from Ramesses' mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, which contains the following description of the migratory movements of the Sea Peoples prior to the decisive battles:

As for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their islands. All at once the lands were on the move, scattered in war. No land could stand before their arms: Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arzawa and Alashiya. They were cut

¹ I have followed Drews 1993 and Kuhrt 1995 in adopting the 'low' chronology for the Egyptian New Empire.

off. A camp was set up in one place in Amor. They desolated its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were advancing on Egypt, while the flame was prepared before them. Their league was *Prst*, *Tjkr*, *Škrš*, *Dnn*, and *Wšš*, united lands. They laid their hands upon the lands to the very circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: 'Our plans will succeed'².

Another important text is the Great Papyrus Harris, which describes Ramesses' victories over the traditional enemies of Egypt, including some of the Sea Peoples:

I extended all the boundaries of Egypt. I overthrew those who invaded them from their lands. I slew the *Dnn* (who are) in their isles, the *Tjkr* and the *Prst* were made ashes. The *Šrdn* and the *Wšš* of the sea, they were made as those that exist not, taken captive at one time, brought as captives to Egypt, like the land of the shore I settled them in strongholds bound in my name. Numerous were their classes like hundred-thousands. I assigned portions for them all with clothing and grain from the store-houses and granaries each year³.

Two of the peoples mentioned in these texts, the *Šrdn* and the *Škrš*, also figured among the motley group of allies employed by the Libyan chief Maryare in another attack on Egypt that took place in 1209 BC. Besides the *Šrdn* and the *Škrš* Maryare's allies comprised fighting men from three other non-Libyan peoples: the *Trš*, the *Ikwš* and the *Rwkw*. Interestingly, the non-Libyan troops are described as 'northerners coming from all lands' and as coming from 'the countries of the sea'. It has plausibly been argued that they were mercenaries (e.g. Kuhrt 1995, 386-387).

Some further valuable information is supplied by a group of letters that were found in the palace of the Syrian town of Ugarit. From these it appears that shortly before the destruction of Ugarit in c. 1190 BC the Syrian coast was raided from the sea, and that the raiders included a group of people called the Shikala. There can be no doubt that these are the same people as the *Škrš* of the Egyptian texts (Dietrich/Loretz 1978, 53-56).

As far as the identity of the other 'Sea Peoples' is concerned, it is generally agreed that the *Prst* referred to in the Medinet Habu text are to be identified with the Philistines who inhabited the coastal districts of South-West Palestine from the twelfth century BC onwards. Several passages in the Old Testament seem to refer to these Philistines as immigrants from 'Caphtor'⁴. Although this designation normally refers to Crete, many have interpreted the biblical texts in question as referring less specifically to the coastal districts of the Aegean (e.g. Sandars 1978, 166).

² Edgerton/Wilson 1936, 53; Pritchard 1969, 262-263.

³ Pritchard 1969, 262.

⁴ E.g. Amos 9:7; Jeremiah 47:4.

Mainly on the basis of these few clues, at least four geographical areas have been identified as the homeland of the Sea Peoples:

1. During the mid-nineteenth century it was commonly agreed that the Sea Peoples came from the western Mediterranean⁵. Those who subscribed to this theory identified the *Šrdn* with the inhabitants of Sardinia, the *Škrš* with those of Sicily and the *Trš* with the Tyrsēnoi, the Greek name for the Etruscans. In the case of the *Šrdn* there is some archaeological evidence to support this view: several Egyptian reliefs show them wearing horned helmets similar to those worn by Sardinian warriors in the ninth and eighth centuries BC (Sandars 1978, 196; Woudhuizen 2006, 112-113). Interestingly, the ships used by the Sea Peoples resemble the boat models found in the Villanovan settlements of mainland Italy. These arguments can, however, be countered by assuming migrations from East to West or by positing parallel but mutually independent developments in weaponry⁶. The Villanovan boat models are often explained as reflecting cultural influences from Central Europe, where strikingly similar specimens have been discovered⁷.
2. A completely different theory is associated with the name of the distinguished Egyptologist Maspero. One of the building blocks of Maspero's alternative reconstruction was his assumption that the homeland of the *Trš*, whom he identified with the Etruscans, was near the west coast of Asia Minor. This led him to connect the *Šrdn* with the Lydian city of Sardes and the *Škrš* with Pisidian Sagalassos⁸. During the twentieth century this theory was taken up and further developed in countless publications⁹. A recent variant is to be found in the second volume of Amélie Kuhrt's *The Ancient Near East*. Her main argument is that Danuna was the name of a coastal area north of Ugarit during the fourteenth century BC. In her view, a likely location is Cilicia, where a people called DNNYM is referred to in an inscription of the early seventh century BC. On the basis of this identification she suggests that the Sea Peoples may have originated from southern Turkey¹⁰.
3. According to yet another theory the Sea Peoples came from the Balkan peninsula. One prominent proponent of this view was Eduard Meyer, who placed the homeland of the Sea Peoples immediately north of the Aegean (Meyer 1928,

⁵ For a valuable survey of the views of nineteenth-century scholarship see Drews 1993, 54-55.

⁶ Thus Sandars 1978, 161 and 199-200. Against the notion of large-scale migrations from East to West, see Drews 1993, 70.

⁷ For the 'bird boats' of Central Europe and Etruria, see e.g. Hencken 1968, 107-110, 115-116 and 146-148; Wachsmann 1995, 178-181.

⁸ For an extensive discussion of this theory see Drews 1993, 55-59.

⁹ For a useful survey of research carried out between 1900 and 1970, see Barnett 1975, 359-378.

¹⁰ Kuhrt 1995, 388-390. For the DNNYM of Cilicia, see *ibid.* 415. Cf. also Holst 2005 for the suggestion that the Sea Peoples originated from Anatolia and the Black Sea region.

544-607). In the 1980s a western variant of this theory was developed by Lehmann. After identifying the *Trš* and *Rwkw* with the Tyrsēnoi and the Lycians and placing their homelands in western Asia Minor, he went on to argue that the *Šrdn*, the *Škrš* and the *Prst* came from the Adriatic coast of the Balkans. The main evidence adduced by him consisted of geographical names. In classical times Palaeste was a small town on the South-Illyrian coast, while Pliny's list of peoples inhabiting the more northerly parts of Roman Illyricum include the Siculi and the Sardeates (Lehmann 1985, 42-49).

4. Finally, it has been suggested that some of the Sea peoples came from Greece. An important argument in favour of this view is that the bichrome 'Philistine ware' that was produced in South-West Palestine from the twelfth century onwards was modelled closely on the Late Helladic III C pottery of the Aegean¹¹. This has led some scholars to suggest that the *Dnn* and the *Ikws* are to be identified with Homer's Danaoi and Achaioi, and the *Tjkr* with the Teukroi who are recorded in Crete, in Cyprus and in the Troad. It has also been suggested that the *Prst* were refugees from Pylos in the south-western Peloponnese (Margalith 1994; 1995)¹².

Instead of trying to pin down the homeland(s) of the Sea Peoples by rehearsing the well-known arguments that have been adduced for and against each of these four theories, I want to focus on a piece of epigraphic evidence that has been completely ignored in the debate. The inscription in question was found in 1901 when British archaeologists were excavating the ruins of the Cretan town of Praisos. Although the text was inscribed in Greek characters of the fourth century BC, it quickly became apparent that these had been used to write a non-Greek language¹³. Since in classical times Praisos was inhabited by people who called themselves the 'True Cretans' (*Eteokrêtes*), the natural assumption was that the language of the inscription was that of the pre-Greek population of Crete. This explains why most of those who have studied this text have done so with the aim of shedding some new light on the language of the Linear A tablets of the Second Palace Period (c. 1700-1450 BC)¹⁴. To the best of my knowledge these attempts have failed to produce anything resembling a coherent interpretation.

Given this bleak *status quaestionis*, it is tempting to conclude that the language and meaning of this obscure inscription are unrewarding topics. The principal

¹¹ E.g. Snodgrass 1971, 107-109; Sandars 1978, 166-169; Finkelberg 2005, 152-156.

¹² Similarly, Zangger 1995 interprets the archaeological evidence as indicating an Aegean origin for the Sea Peoples. Woudhuizen 2006 argues that the *Trš* (Tyrsēnoi) and *Prst* (Pelasgoi?) must have come from the islands of the eastern Aegean and from the west coast of Asia Minor.

¹³ For the date see M. Guarducci in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. III: *Tituli Cretae orientalis*, Roma 1942, 137, followed by Duhoux 1982, 69.

¹⁴ For a survey of earlier attempts to make sense of *I. Cret.* III.vi.2, see Duhoux 1982, 208-233. Cf. also Duhoux 1998, 16-17 and 21; Bartonek 1992, 15-17.

aim of this article is to demonstrate that this initial impression is wrong and that the language in which this text was inscribed can confidently be identified. I will also argue that this language is different from that of the Linear A tablets. Finally I will argue in favour of the no doubt unexpected thesis that the text from Praisos has a direct bearing on the ‘insolvable’ problem of the homeland of the Sea Peoples.

2. I. Cret. III.vi.2: a new interpretation

The text with which we will be concerned in this article was first published by Conway in 1902 and most recently by Duhoux in his monograph on the Eteocretan inscriptions (Conway 1901-1902, 125-156; Duhoux 1982, 68-75). Although Duhoux usefully summarizes and discusses a number of variant readings proposed by twentieth-century scholarship, I have come to the conclusion that the most reliable edition of this text remains that of Margarita Guarducci in the third volume of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, which appeared in 1942¹⁵. Since Guarducci’s edition is accompanied by a good photograph, her readings can easily be checked. Perhaps not surprisingly, nearly all of them are beyond dispute. Despite this, two readings are open to challenge. The most important of these concerns the fifth character in line 3, which she identifies as a N. A careful inspection of the photographs accompanying Guarducci’s and Duhoux’ editions shows that only the first vertical bar of the putative N can be discerned with certainty. In my view the traces on the stone are compatible with alternative and more plausible readings, such as IO or even E. Secondly, I think that none of the characters following the N in line 7 can be identified. This means that Guarducci’s tentative identification of one of these as an O is to be rejected¹⁶. A third problem that merits our attention is the identity of the character following the sequence φραισον in line 6. Judging from the photograph accompanying *I. Cret. III.vi.2* this character must have been either an *alpha* or a *delta*¹⁷. In my commentary on the text I will argue that the former reading is correct.

If these minor corrections are accepted, the text of *I. Cret. III.vi.2* should be read as follows:

[...]οναδεσιεμετεπιμιτσα
[...]-δοφ[...]-ιαραλαφραισουιναι
[...]-ρεστ[ε?]-μτορσαρδοφσανο

¹⁵ Unlike Guarducci, Duhoux tentatively identifies the last character of line 2 as a *psi*, the first character after the initial lacuna in line 3 as a *phi*, the last characters of lines 10 and 11 as *phi* and *iota*, and the first character of line 12 as a *mu*. In my view, the first two of these readings are certainly incorrect, while the last three are extremely doubtful.

¹⁶ Thus correctly Duhoux 1982, 70.

¹⁷ The same conclusion is drawn by Duhoux 1982, 70.

[--]σατοιισστεφεσιατων
 [--]ανιμεστεπαλυνγυτατ
 [--]σανομοσελοσφραισωνα
 [--]τσααδοφτεν[-----]
 [--]μαπραιναιρερ[-----]
 [--]ιρειρερειετ[-----]
 [--]ντιρανο[-----]
 [---]ασκεσ[-----]
 [----]οτ[-----]

What hope then is there of identifying the language of this short and damaged inscription? In my view, at least the beginning of a possible answer can be found by looking at the first line, where all editions read [-]οναδεσιεμετεπιμισφα. At first sight this sequence is totally obscure. But what happens if we start from the arbitrary working hypothesis that we are dealing with an Indo-European language? I would suggest that such a reading of the first line makes it attractive to interpret the two Ms as endings of the accusative singular. If this interpretation is correct, it becomes tempting to interpret the sequence ετεπιμ as an adjective or a noun. Having reached this point, it is difficult not to be struck by the similarity between the hypothetical ετεπιμ on the one hand and the Oscan word *eitipes*, ‘they decided’ on the other. It may therefore be hypothesized that ετεπιμ means something like ‘decision’.

Moving on from this point, it becomes tempting to take εσιεμ as an adjective qualifying ετεπιμ and αδ as a preposition governing the accusative. The phrase αδεσιεμετεπιμ would then mean something like ‘up until the/a [...] decision’ or ‘according to the/a [...] decision’. Finally, the seemingly enigmatic sequence ισφα is remarkably similar to *etiiva*, the Oscan word for ‘money’, while the initial [-]ον may be supplemented as [π]ον. Since Oscan *pon* is the equivalent of Latin *cum*, it would then become possible to interpret the first line as the first part of a temporal or motivating clause.

In light of these indications it is surely worthwhile to explore the counterintuitive hypothesis that (some of) the inhabitants of classical Praesos wrote and presumably spoke an Italic language. In what follows I will try to substantiate this theory by providing a word-by-word commentary on the inscription’s first nine lines:

1. [π]ον: cf. *pon* (< *q^uom-de*), the Oscan equivalent of Latin *cum*.
2. αδ: cf. the Umbrian preposition and postposition *az* (< *ads*) and Latin *ad*. For the meaning required by my interpretation cf. the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *ad*, 34: ‘in obedience to, in accordance with’ (e.g. *ad hanc legem*).
3. εσιεμ: acc. sg. of an adjective or pronoun accompanying *etepim*. One possibility which comes to mind is that we are dealing with the Praesian counterpart of the Umbrian pronoun *eso* (nom. sing. fem.) and *essu* (abl. sing. masc.), ‘this’ (< *ek-so-*; see Bottiglioni 1954, 124). The underlying form *ek(e)-so-* has been

analysed by some scholars as a combination of the IE deictic particle *ek(e)*¹⁸ and the demonstrative pronoun *so* (Bader 1982, 152; cf. Untermann 2000, 218). Unfortunately, this hypothesis does not explain the sequence *-iem*. This difficulty disappears if we assume that *esiem* goes back to an earlier form **ek-iōm*, in which *ek-* is the deictic particle and *iōm* the Praisan counterpart of Oscan *ion-k* (< **ēom-k*) and Latin *eum* (Bottiglioni 1954, 125)¹⁹. Note that the development /kj/ > /sj/ required by this theory is attested in Umbrian and Oscan. Cf. e.g. Umbrian *façia* and *šihutu* (acc. plur. masc.), which correspond to Latin *faciat* and *cinctos*, and Oscan *meddixud*, which goes back to **meddikjud* (Von Planta 1892, 533-535; Bottiglioni 1954, 59; Meiser 1986, 200). The demonstrative pronoun *iam* (acc. sg. fem.) appears in the so-called ‘Porta Urbica inscription’ from eastern Sicily, which is generally held to be written in an Italic dialect²⁰. In the Italic languages there seems to be no exact parallel for the development of final /iom/ to /iem/ required by my tentative interpretation. But note that *-im* (< *-iom*) was the regular accusative singular ending of the *io*-stem nouns in Umbrian (Bottiglioni 1954, 108), and that final /ios/ and /iom/ are thought to have developed to /es/ and /em/ in some of the Italic dialects of Bruttium and eastern Sicily (Agostiniani 1990, 139-140).

4. ετεπιμ: accusative singular of a noun meaning ‘decision’. Cf. Umbrian *eitipes*, ‘they decided’, in which the medial /p/ may represent /b/²¹. If this suggestion is correct, we may be dealing with a language in which medial /b/ developed to /p/ and in which /p/ became /p^h/ between vowels and before consonants. Cf. my comments on στεφες in line 4 and on μαπρα-iv in line 8. For the ending *-im* various explanations come to mind: 1. ετεπιμ is a consonant stem noun and *-im* goes back to *-em*; 2. ετεπιμ is a *io*-stem noun and *-im* goes back to *-iōm* (cf. above); 3. The text is written in a language in which final /ōm/ had developed to /im/; 4. We are dealing with a dialect in which the *o*-stem nouns had adopted the accusative singular ending of the *i*-stem nouns. If ετεπιμ goes back to **ekiom*, the first of these explanations is most likely to be correct. Cf. also my comments on [-]ανιμ in line 5.

5. ιτσα: nominative singular of a word meaning ‘money’. Cf. Oscan *eitiuvam* (acc. sing.) and *eitiuvad* (abl. sg.), ‘money’, originally perhaps ‘movable

¹⁸ For this particle see e.g. Mann 1984-87, 236.

¹⁹ Although the similarity between IE *ek(e)* and Latin *ecce* (< *ed-ke?*) may be coincidental (Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *ecce*), the combination of a deictic interjection and a demonstrative pronoun is also exemplified by Latin *eccille*, ‘that one (over there)’, *eccistam*, ‘her (over there)’, and *eccam* (< *ecce + ham*), ‘her (over there)’. A possible trace of the hypothetical pronoun *ek-i-* is Oscan *ekik*, (nom. sg. neutr.), ‘this’, in which the /i/ is enigmatic (Von Planta 1897, 217; Untermann 2000, 216-217). This form might go back to **ek-id-ke*.

²⁰ On this inscription see e.g. Parlangèli 1964-65, 222-226, Prosdocimi/Agostiniani 1976-77, 240-24; Morandi 1982, 166-167; Agostiniani 1992, 139-140; and De Simone 1999, 503-504. The sequence *iam akaram* in the first line is thought to mean ‘this stronghold’ or ‘this town’.

²¹ For this suggestion cf. Von Planta 1897, 357 n. 1.

property' (Untermann 2000, 211-212). I assume that *eituaa* first developed to *eitwa* and then to *itsp^ha*.

6. [αρ]δοφ[-]: a composite noun the first part of which may be compared to Umbrian *arsie* (abl. sg.), 'ritual' (Untermann 2000, 121). Although the etymology of this word is disputed, the underlying form is thought to be either *ad-* or *ard-*²². For the second part cf. Umbrian *ose*, which is thought to be connected with Latin *opus*, gen. *operis*, 'work' (Untermann 2000, 812)²³. In light of these possible parallels it is possible to read [αρ]δοφ (with loss of final -ei/-e?),²⁴ and to interpret this hypothetical sequence as the dative singular of a noun meaning 'sacrificer, sacrificial priest' (**sacri-fex*).

7. [-]ιαρ. Although any interpretation of this sequence is necessarily deeply conjectural, it would be possible to read [δ]ιαρ and to interpret this hypothetical form as the Praisian equivalent of Umbrian *dia* (< **diar* < **dū-iā-r?*), third person singular subjunctive passive of a verb which means 'to give' according to at least some specialists (Meiser 1986, 191)²⁵. As noted by Bottiglioni 1954, 145-146 and 176, all Oscan and Umbrian passives displaying the ending -r seem to have impersonal meaning. His examples include Oscan *ferar* and *ier*, which correspond to Latin *feratur* and (probably) *itum sit*²⁶. But there are good examples of simple r-forms being accompanied by a subject in other Indo-European languages²⁷. According to Schmidt (1963, 261-262), originally only the third person singular passive of strong verbs displayed the ending -or, -tor being the corresponding ending of the weak verbs²⁸.

8. αλα: cf. perhaps Latin *alias*, 'subsequently'. In the Porta Urbica inscription already referred to the sequence *toutoveregaieshekadoala* may well be an

²² Cf. the interesting discussion by Bader 1978, 148-149, who suggests that Umbrian *arsmor*, 'ritual, arrangement' – which is almost certainly cognate with *arsie* – may go back either to *ard-smo-* or to *ard(i)mo-*, and that it may be cognate with Latin *ars* and *arma*.

²³ The form *ose* can be explained as a *locativus* or as an *ablativus loci*. Cf. Meiser 1986, 242, who also considers the possibility that Umbrian *ose* is a genitive singular, in which case it should go back to an earlier form **opezeis*.

²⁴ Final /e/ seems to be retained in *este* in line 6. One possible explanation is that final /e/ disappeared only in words having three or more syllables in which the penultimate syllable did not have the accent.

²⁵ For alternative interpretation see Untermann 2000, 173-174 and 380. Untermann himself opts for a hypothetical meaning 'man soll' (instead of Meiser's 'er wird gegeben, man kann').

²⁶ On these forms see also Von Planta 1897, 387-388; Untermann 2000, 209. I have also considered the possibility that the sequence *ardoff[s]iar* is an impersonal third person singular passive meaning 'sacrifices are made', but this alternative reading makes it difficult to account for the /i/ in the hypothetical ending -iar.

²⁷ E.g. Pedersen 1909-1913, II, 400-401; Szemerényi 1996, 242, both referring to OIr. *ber(a)ir*, 'is carried'. In some other IE language the ending -or(i) is found in the indicative present of deponential verbs: e.g. Hittite *es-ari*, 'he sits', and Venetic *didor*, 'gives' (?).

²⁸ Admittedly, the origin of the simple r-endings is disputed. Cf. e.g. Kuryłowicz 1968-1969, 16-17, for the hypothesis that such endings may have developed independently in various Indo-European languages.

ablativus absolutus meaning something like ‘Toutos, the son of Veregaios, having been overthrown (?) from now on’²⁹. Admittedly, this interpretation is vulnerable to the objection that Oscan *allos* seems to mean ‘whole, entire’ rather than ‘other’ or ‘remaining’ (Untermann 2000, 81). We cannot therefore rule out the possibility that Praisian *αλα* means something like ‘under all circumstances’ or ‘in every case, always’³⁰.

9. φραισοι: almost certainly a locative singular depending on the postposition *iv* (Oscan *-in*, Umbrian *-en*, Latin *in*). In the Italic languages the normal locative ending of the o-stems was *-ei*, which developed into *-i* in Latin. But cf. Greek οἴκοι, ‘at home’.

10. αι[-]ρησ: in view of αρερ[-] in line 8 this mutilated word may tentatively be restored as αι[ρη]ρησ. If this restoration is correct, we may be dealing with the genitive singular of a word meaning ‘sacrifice’ or ‘sacrificial victim’, *-er* (< *-es* < *-eis*) being the ending of the gen. sg. of the consonant-stems in Umbrian (Bottiglioni 1954, 113). For the meaning cf. Oscan *aisusis* (abl. pl. n.), ‘sacrifices’, and Volscian *esaristrom*, ‘(propitiatory) sacrifice’, both of which are derived from the root *ais-*, ‘sacred, divine’. For the development of intervocalic *-s-* into *-r-* see Bottiglioni 1954, 68-69.

11. τ[ε?]μτορσ: perhaps nominative singular of a noun derived from the verbal root *tem-* by means of the suffix *-tor* and meaning ‘cutter’³¹. Cf. Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *aestimo*, for the view that the Latin verb *aestimare* (older *aestumare*) was derived from a noun *ais-temos*, ‘bronze-cutter’ (cf. Greek τέμνειν, ‘to cut’). The final /s/ is anomalous but can be explained as reflecting the influence of the o-stems, the i-stems and many consonant-stems. If this interpretation is correct, the text refers to a specialist being employed to butcher a sacrificial victim³². Cf. my comments on ματρα-iv in line 8.

12. αρδοφσανο: if my interpretation of [αρ]δοφ (?) in line 2 is correct, we must be dealing with the dative or ablative sg. of a verbal noun derived from the denominative verbal root *ardop^hsa-*. Cf. the Umbrian imperative *osatu* (corresponding to Latin *operato*) and the Oscan gerundivum *upsannam* (Latin *operandam*; cf. Bottiglioni 1954, 147 and 178; Untermann 2000, 242). Although the Umbrian and Oscan forms *osa-* and *upsa-* are derived from the same root as Latin *operari*, ‘to work’, they are the semantic counterparts of Latin *facere*. The form αρδοφσανο (< *ardopsando?*) may therefore be regarded as the Praisian equivalent of Latin *sacrificando*.

²⁹ For references see above, note 21.

³⁰ In the Porta Urbica inscription the sequence *hekado ala* might mean ‘completely overthrown’.

³¹ A useful discussion of the suffix *-tor* in the Italic languages is to be found in Watmough 1995-96.

³² For the use of such specialists in the Graeco-Roman world, see Ziehen 1939, coll. 613 and 619-621 (Greece), and Beard *et alii* 1998, 36, referring to Arnobius, *Adv. Nat.* 7.24 (Rome).

13. [οφ]σατο: ablative singular of a passive participle meaning ‘made, done, performed’. Cf. the Umbrian participle *oseto* (Latin *operata*).

14. ισ: the Italic preposition *in* (< *en*). The final /s/ is the result of assimilation.

15. στεφεσ: accusative plural of the Praisian counterpart of Latin *stips*, ‘small payment, fee, small coin’³³.

16. ιατυν: This word seems to be related to ειετ[—] in line 9, and is strikingly similar to the Umbrian supinum *eh-iato* (Bottiglioni 1954, 140). The underlying verb *e-hiaom* is thought to mean something like ‘to release’ or ‘to send away’ (Bottiglioni 1954, 370; Untermann 2000, 200-201)³⁴. The meaning required by my interpretation is ‘to hand over’. Cf. e.g. Greek ἐπιέναι, ‘to send forth, to release, to give (up), to hand over’. If these suggestions are accepted, Praisian ιατυν should mean something like ‘in order to give/to hand over’.

In the Iguvine tablets (*Tav. Iguv.* VIIb, 2) we find the expression *erom ehiato*, in which *erom* is the infinitive of the verb ‘to be’ (Latin *esse*). Although various interpretations of this phrase have been offered (Untermann 2000, 200-201), the prevailing view is that it represents the Umbrian form of the infinitive passive (Latin *vocatum iri*). It would therefore be possible to interpret εστε as the Praisian equivalent of Latin and Umbrian *est* (< *esti*), ‘he/it is’ (Bottiglioni 1954, 152). It is, however, even more attractive to take the Praisian form as the counterpart of Umbrian *est* (< *eiset* < *eiseti*), ‘he will go’ (Bottiglioni 1954, 155; Untermann 2000, 207-209). On this view the supinum ιατυν depends on a finite form of the verb ‘to go’. This use of the supinum is attested not only in Latin but also in Umbrian, for example in *Tab. Iguv.* VIb, 48: *avif aseriato etu*, ‘he must go out to observe the birds’ (*aves observatum ito*)³⁵. If [δ]ανυμ is an accusative singular, our inscription contains a further example of this construction. However, since the supinum is a noun, we cannot perhaps rule out the possibility that ιατυν is followed by a genitive here.

For the appearance of a secondary /i/ before /u/ cf. e.g. Oscan *tiurri* (acc. sg.), ‘tower’; *niumsieis*, ‘Numeridii’; *siuttiis*, ‘Suttius’ (Von Planta 1892, 124; Bottiglioni 1954, 33-34). The final /v/ of ιατυν can be explained as reflecting the influence of the initial /d/ of [δ]ανυμ, although this form is of course hypothetical.

17. [δ]ανυμ: accusative singular or genitive plural depending on ιατυν. The approximate meaning required by my overall interpretation is either ‘(slaughtered) sacrificial animal’ or ‘pieces, cuts’. Since no word resembling the hypothetical form *danim* is attested in Umbrian or Oscan, my restoration is highly conjectural. Nonetheless either of the hypothetical meanings just mentioned can be supported with excellent IE parallels. Cf. e.g. Old Norse *tafn* (< *dap-no-*),

³³ For the religious connotations of Latin *stips* cf. Hackens 1963, 84: ‘Que le mot *stips* doive être réservé aux offrandes monétaires à caractère religieux, cela ressort clairement des textes anciens.’

³⁴ The underlying IE root is disputed. For discussion see Untermann 2000, 200-201.

³⁵ For Latin *ire* + supinum see e.g. Kühner-Stegmann 1955, 722-723; Hofmann-Szantyr 1972, 381-382.

‘sacrificial animal, sacrificial meal’; Armenian *taun* (*dap-ni-*), ‘feast’; Skt. *dānam* (n.), ‘partition, part’; and Greek δάνας, which is explained as μερίδας, ‘parts’, by Hesychius³⁶. For the ending -im cf. my comments on ετεπιμ in line 1. 18. εστε: cf. my comments on ιατυν. The most obvious explanation for the final /e/ is that -te is a weakened form of the IE primary ending -ti. Note that the future indicative displayed the primary IE endings in proto-Italic³⁷.

19. πα: cf. Latin *qua*, ‘in so far as, wherever’.

20. λυγγυατ[—]σ: although the meaning of this sequence cannot be determined with certainty, it is possible to speculate that λυγγ(υ)- contains the same root as Latin *lucta*, ‘struggle’, and *luctari* (< *lug-tari*), ‘to wrestle, to struggle’ (cf. Greek λυγίζειν, ‘to bend’)³⁸. The /v/ in λυγγυ- might be explained as an n-infix (on the assumption that we are dealing with a verbal form), while the second /v/ might be an example of anaptyxis. Cf. the sequence *akaram* (< *akram*) in the Porta Urbica inscription from Sicily³⁹. If these hazardous suggestions are accepted, it is possible to read λυγγυατ[οι]σ-α and to interpret this hypothetical sequence as the ablative plural of the participle of a (deponential) verb meaning ‘to struggle, to be unwilling’ (cf. Latin *luctans*, ‘unwilling, reluctant’), followed by a postposition corresponding to Latin *a, ab, au-*⁴⁰.

Interestingly, the sequence [—]epalu[—] is also found on an inscription from Hybla Heraea in south-eastern Sicily. From this tiny clue some scholars have inferred that the language spoken at this town was related to that of Praisos (e.g. Schmoll 1958, 36). More recently Agostiniani has argued that the language of Hybla Heraea was related to Oscan and Umbrian (Agostiniani 1990, 140-141). My own findings open up the possibility that these seemingly contradictory theories may both be correct.

21. νομοσ: cf. *numer* (abl. plur.), the Umbrian equivalent of Lat. *nummis*. Latin *nummus* is thought to be cognate with Greek νόμος, ‘custom, law’, and originally to have meant something like ‘customary unit of payment’ (Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *nummus*). The ending -os points to a nominative or accusative plural (Bottiglioni 1954, 109-110). The syntax suggests to me that the former interpretation is more likely to be correct.

22. ελοσ: cf. *ulleis* and *ullum*, the Oscan equivalents of Latin *illius* and *illum* (Bottiglioni 1954, 127). In the older literature Latin *ille* is usually explained as going back to *ōl-se* (e.g. Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *ille*), but in view of the Hittite particle *-ila*, ‘-self’ (< **H₂ilo-*) it is also possible to assume an original form **il-ne* (Bader 1982, 119-120). The form *il-* may also lie behind ελ-οσ.

³⁶ For these parallels and for a discussion of related words in other IE languages see Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *daps*.

³⁷ See e.g. Lindsay 1894, 522; Von Planta 1897, 280-281; Meiser 1986, 139.

³⁸ Walde-Hofmann 1964, s.v. *lucto*.

³⁹ On this form see Agostiniani 1990, 140. See also Bottiglioni 1954, 48 for some Umbrian and Oscan examples.

⁴⁰ It would also be possible to read λυγγυατ[ιφ]σ-α (*a luctantibus*).

Alternatively, the initial /e/ may be explained as a weakened /ō/. As in the case of νομοσ, the ending -os suggest that we are dealing with a nominative or accusative plural. For the former possibility cf. e.g. Oscan *ius-c*, which corresponds to Latin *ei*.

23. φραισωνα: abl. sg. of an ethicon derived from the place-name Praisos with the help of the suffix -no- (cf. Bottiglioni 1954, 98-99). If we assume that the adjective is used substantively here, it may denote the territory controlled by the people of Praisos. Cf. e.g. Latin *Hirpinia*.

24. [αρ?]τσα-αδ: since the meaning ‘rituals’ or ‘sacrifices’ seems to fit the context, it is possible to think of Umbrian *arsie* (probably a neutral io-stem noun), for which see above. The hypothetical form *artsa* could go back to *ard-ia*. The ending -a can be explained by assuming that we are dealing with an accusative plural neutre governed by the postposition -ad. Cf. e.g. Umbrian *asam-ař*, ‘to the altar’ (Bottiglioni 1954, 160).

25. οφτεν[δερ?]: third person plur. subj. praes. of a verb derived from the verbal root *op-*, ‘to desire, to choose’ (IEW, 781). Cf. Latin *optare*, ‘to desire, to choose’. For possible examples of Umbrian and Oscan words derived from this root, such as Oscan *ufteis*, ‘chosen’ (?), and Umbrian *opeter* and *upeto*, ‘chosen, selected’ (?), see Bottiglioni 1954, 404 and 447; Untermann 2000, 208-210 and 786. The meaning required by my overall interpretation is ‘are demanded’. The first /e/ in the hypothetical conjunctive *op^htender* can be explained as going back to /-aiē-/. See e.g. Von Planta 1897, 300; Bottiglioni 1954, 138.

26. μαπρα-iv: perhaps the Praisian counterpart of Latin *membra*, ‘limbs’, followed by the postposition -in. Cf. e.g. Ovid, *Met.* 15.141: *boum ... caesorum membra*, and Suet. *Frag.* 176: *laniat lanius, cum membratim discerpit*.

27. αιπερ[—]: cf. my comments on αι[ρε]πεσ in lines 2-3.

28. [—]ιπε: meaning unclear. My deeply speculative reconstruction is based on the idea that we may be dealing with the Praisian equivalent of Umbrian *pire*, which corresponds to Latin *quid* (Bottiglioni 1954, 129; Untermann 2000, 558-559). For the hypothetical *ni* (< *nē*) cf. Oscan and Umbrian *ni/ne* (Bottiglioni 1954, 28-29) and Latin *ne*.

29. ιπερ: cf. perhaps *erer* (also written *irer* < *eiseis*), the Umbrian equivalent of Latin *eius* (Bottiglioni 1954, 125; Untermann 2000, 355). It would also be possible to read [*ni p*]ir *e-irer eiet[er]*, ‘none of them (i.e. none of the limbs) is to be handed over’ (with *irer* < *eisois*), but this alternative reconstruction works only if we assume that /oi/ developed to /e/ before /r/ but not in final position (cf. *Phraisois-in* in line 2).

30. ειετ[—]: as noted above, this truncated sequence seems to be related to ιατυν in line 4. It would be possible to restore ειετ[ερ], which could then be interpreted as a prohibitive subjunctive (< **ehiaietur*?). For the subjunctive ending cf. my comments on οφτεν[δερ?] in line 7.

On the basis of these thirty comments I propose the following reconstruction of the syntax and meaning of the first nine lines of *I.Cret.* III.vi.2:

Praesian text (transcribed):

[P]on ad esiem etepim itsph^ha
[ar]dop^h [d?]iar, ala P^hraisoī-in ai-
[re]res t[e?]mtors ardop^hsanō
[op^h?]satō is step^hes jatium
[d]anim este. Pa lungutat-
[oi]s-a nomōs elōs P^hraisonā
[ar]tsa-ad op^htend[er, ---]
[--] mapra-in airere[s -----]
[ni p]jire irer ejet[er -----]
[--]ntir ano[----]
[--]askes[----]
[--]ot[----]

Latin translation:

Cum secundum hoc?? decretum pecunia
sacrificulo detur, alias in Praeso vic-
timae sectator sacrificio
facto in stipes traditum
victimam? ibit. Quā ab invi-
[tis] nummi illi Praisoniā
ad [sacra?] desideren[tur?, ab]
[eis?] in membra victim[ae caesae?]
[ne] quid eius concedat[ur -----]

English translation:

Because according to this (?) decree money is (to be) given to the sacrificial priest, from now on (?) in Praisos after the sacrifice has been performed the slaughterer of the sacrificial victim must go in order to hand over the butchered animal (?) in return for coins. Wherever these coins are demanded from unwilling people, [...] in return for the limbs of the sacrificial victim no part of it is to be given ...⁴¹

On the linguistic front the inscription points to the following sound laws:

1. intervocalic /s/ > /r/ if followed by /e/: aiReRes, iReR. This development is also found in Umbrian (Bottiglioni 1954, 69; Meiser 1986, 239). Among the very few exceptions are some nouns and adjectives derived from the root *ais-* (e.g. Bottiglioni 1954, 69-70)⁴². It has been suggested that both Umbrian/Oscan *aisos*, ‘god’, and Umbrian *esune* (< *aisōno-*), ‘sacred, divine’, are to be regarded as Etruscan loanwords (e.g. Untermann 2000, 68-70 and 239-240; cf. Etruscan *aisar*, ‘gods’), but as Meiser has pointed out, it is equally possible that the Etruscans borrowed these words from their Italic-speaking neighbours (Meiser 1986, 252). In the Oscan dialect of Bantia intervocalic /s/ is written as /z/. See Bottiglioni 1954, 68.
2. medial /b/ > /p/: etePim, maPra
3. /p/ > /p^h/ between vowels and before consonants, but not in initial position before vowels: istP^ha, ardoP^h, P^hraisoī, steP^hes, P^hraisona

⁴¹ From the evidence collected by Ziehen 1939, col. 619, it appears that Greek priests often received a leg or a thigh-bone of the sacrificial victim. Our text seems to forbid such ‘payments’.

⁴² But see Meiser 1983, 253 n. 5, and Untermann 2000, 231-233 on Umbrian *erus*, which seems to go back to *aisubhos*.

4. /kj/ > /tš/ > /š/: eSIem? This development is also found in Umbrian and in the Oscan dialect of Bantia (Bottiglioni 1954, 59; Meiser 1986, 200; Von Planta 1892, 533-535).
5. /dj/ > /ts/: arTSa? In Umbrian proto-Italic /dj/ appears as /ři/ or /ř/ (-rs) (Bottiglioni 1954, 59). Umbrian *arsie* may go back to **ardje*.
6. /twa/ > /tsfa/: istPha. This development is reminiscent of the development /ti/ > /ts/ in the Oscan dialect of Bantia: e.g. *Bansae* (loc. sg.) < *Bantiae*, and in Marsic: *Martses* (gen. sg.) < *Martieis* (Von Planta 1982, 386). But the form *iatium* strongly suggests that in the Praisian language /ti/ with secondary /i/ survived before vowels.
7. initial and medial /h/ > /-/: Iatiun, eIet[er]
8. unaccented /ei/ > /e/: Etepim, airerEs, irEr?
9. accented /ei/ > /i/: Itsp^{ha}, Irer
10. accented short /i/ > /e/: etEpim, stEp^{hes}, Elos?
11. weakly accentuated /e/ > /i/ (?): In (< en); etepIm?; danIm?. This development is also found in Oscan. Examples include the postposition *-in* (Umbrian *-en*), ‘in’, and the conjunction *inim* (Umbrian *enem*), ‘and’⁴³.
12. final /e/ > /-/: (ar)dop^h?
13. final /iöm/ > /iem/: esiEm? As pointed out above, this change is also attested in the Oscan dialect of Bruttium.

In view of the shortness of our text this list of hypothetical sound changes is rather long. This may seem to undermine the viability of my overall reconstruction. On the other hand, even though some of my readings and interpretations are consciously speculative, the linguistic similarities between the Praisian language and the language of the Oscan-Umbrian language group are so numerous that they are unlikely to be purely coincidental. Needless to say, this argument is reinforced by the fact that an ‘Italic’ reading of the text from Praisos results in an interpretation which is both linguistically coherent and semantically plausible. For both these reasons it remains a reasonable conclusion that the language of *I. Cret.* III.vi.2 is an Indo-European language belonging to the Oscan-Umbrian branch of the Italic family.

Since the surviving part of the inscription contains no more than two sentences, it is extremely difficult to assign the Praisian language any specific place within the Oscan-Umbrian language group. On the one hand the ablative singular ending displayed by *ardop^hsano* [*op^h]*sato in lines 3-4 has exact parallels in Umbrian but not in Oscan⁴⁴. Another ‘Umbrian’ feature is the development of intervocalic /s/ to /r/, although the development /s/ > /z/ is attested at Oscan-speaking Bantia. On the other hand, the appearance of a secondary /i/ before /u/

⁴³ For discussion of this sound change see Meiser 1986, 110-111. Cf. also Untermann 2000, 225.

⁴⁴ In Oscan the corresponding endings were -ād and -ōd (-ud, -od). See Bottiglioni 1954, 108-109.

and the raising of /i/ in the preposition/postposition *in* are ‘Oscan’ features. Similarly, the accusative plural ending of *step^{hes}* is closer to the Oscan ending -s than to its Umbrian counterpart -f (Bottiglioni 1954, 112-113). Finally, we have seen that the sequence *ala* is paralleled in the Italic dialect of eastern Sicily but not in any other Italic language. In light of these contradictory indications it is not possible to go beyond the conclusion that the Praisian language is closely related to Umbrian, Oscan, and Eastern-Sicilian.

Of course it would be interesting to see whether this finding allows us to make sense of any other texts written in ‘Eteocretan’, especially those from Praisos. No other ‘Eteocretan’ text seems to display features that are *certainly* Italic⁴⁵. In my view, this negative finding does not undermine the validity of the foregoing linguistic analysis. It simply confirms the well-known fact that several non-Greek languages continued to be spoken in Crete until the early Hellenistic period.

3. The inscription from Praisos and the homeland of the Sea Peoples

For ancient historians and archaeologists the most important question posed by the foregoing discussion is how the presence of an Italic-speaking community in fourth-century-BC Crete can be accounted for. This problem is all the more urgent because there is no evidence whatsoever for large groups of people migrating from Italy to Crete in archaic or classical times. Moreover, if any unrecorded commercial contacts between Italy and Crete existed before Hellenistic times, the inland town of Praisos is surely a most unlikely destination for Italian merchants. As far as I can see, the only realistic solution to this problem is to assume that a fairly large-scale migration from Italy to Crete took place at an earlier date. This leads us almost automatically to the migrations of the Sea Peoples during the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries BC. As we have seen, several specialists in the field of Late Bronze Age studies have identified Italy, Sicily and Sardinia as the most likely places of origin of most of these peoples. In my view, the inscription from Praisos provides strong support for this theory. By contrast, our text makes it very difficult to maintain that the homeland of the five peoples referred to in the Medinet Habu text is to be placed in Cilicia, in western Asia Minor or immediately north of the Aegean. At most it remains possible to argue that some of these migrants originated not only from Italy but from the coastal districts of the region later called Illyricum. There can, however, be little doubt that the inscription from Praisos puts the onus of proof firmly on those who might wish to argue in favour of this theory⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ *I.Cret.* III.vi.3 contains some sequences that are reminiscent of Latin and other Italic languages (e.g. *dedikar* in line 9) but also some odd features that are not easily squared with an Italic interpretation. These include the appearance of the sequences /dn/ and /ks/ (represented by the Greek character *ksi*), neither of which is found in *I.Cret.* III.vi.2. The sequence /kles/ is found not only in *I.Cret.* III.vi.3 but also in *I.Cret.* III.vi.1, which is almost certainly not written in an Italic language.

⁴⁶ Cf. above, at note 6, for the positive indications linking the *Trš* with Etruria and the *Šrdn* with Sardinia.

The finding that one of the so-called 'Eteocretan' languages of classical Crete was an Italic dialect also affects our interpretation of certain categories of 'foreign' artefacts that turn up in the Aegean in the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries BC. For our purposes the most interesting of these artefacts are the so-called 'handmade burnished ware' of the late Mycenaean period, the Naue II sword, and the violin-bow fibula.

From the late 1960s onwards there has been a tendency among specialists in Mycenaean archaeology to attribute the collapse of Mycenaean civilization to internal causes. This tendency can be seen clearly in the recent debate concerning the historical significance of the appearance of limited quantities of handmade burnished pottery throughout the Mycenaean world from the thirteenth century onwards⁴⁷. Initially many specialists argued that this undistinguished pottery was made by people who had migrated to Mycenaean Greece from the Balkans (e.g. Rutter 1975; Deger-Jalkotzy 1983; Bankoff/Winter 1984; Laslo 1999). An important weakness of this theory is that the geographical distribution of the handmade burnished ware is co-extensive with that of ordinary Mycenaean pottery of the LHIIIB and LHIIIC periods⁴⁸. This seems to suggest that the people producing this type of pottery came from the central areas of the Mycenaean world rather than from its northern periphery. It is partly this peculiar distribution pattern that led David Small to question the assumption that these seemingly foreign ceramics had been made by people originating from outside the Mycenaean world. In his view, this type of pottery may equally well have been produced by the impoverished lower classes of late-Mycenaean society (Small 1990; 1997). It must, however, be emphasized that Small's revisionist theory has met with stiff resistance. Interestingly, some of those who regard the 'barbarian' ware as an intrusive element have advanced the hypothesis that it may have been made by immigrants originating from the western half of the Mediterranean. In an article which appeared more than twenty years ago, Hallager drew attention to the fact that the handmade burnished ware of late-Mycenaean Greece is strikingly similar to certain types of domestic pottery that were produced in South Italy during the Late Bronze Age (Hallager 1985). This interpretation has recently been endorsed by Dickinson, who thinks that the closest parallels for the handmade burnished pottery found in Crete and in various Mycenaean centres on the mainland are South Italian and Sardinian. In his view, 'its appearances seem most likely to represent trade links and possibly small groups of (specialised?) migrants' (Dickinson 2006, 52)⁴⁹.

During the past fifty years a very similar debate has raged over the appearance of the Naue II sword and the violin-bow fibula in late Mycenaean Greece. Since both

⁴⁷ In western Crete (Chania) handmade burnished wares seem to have appeared as early as the Late Minoan IIIA2 period, which is usually dated to the late fourteenth and early thirteenth century BC. See Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2002, 336 n. 10.

⁴⁸ For this important point see Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2002, 79.

⁴⁹ Cf. also D'Agata 2001, 346 and Schnapp Gourbeillon 2002, 81.

types of artefact have clear antecedents in the northern Balkans, they were initially interpreted as evidence for the arrival of an immigrant population from the north. One weakness of this theory is that swords and fibulae very similar to those found in the Balkans were also produced in North-Italy, so that there is nothing to contradict the alternative hypothesis that these artefacts came from the western shores of the Adriatic⁵⁰. In the case of the Naue II sword, the theory of a non-Mycenaean origin runs up against the difficulty that all examples that have been found in Mycenaean Greece (including Crete) came from normal Mycenaean tombs and were accompanied by Mycenaean pottery. Most of them seem to have been made locally (Snodgrass 1971, 310-311; Hiller 1985, 139). These clues have been interpreted as indicating that these swords were made by Mycenaean craftsmen who took their inspiration from a handful of artefacts that reached the Mycenaean world through commercial contacts (Desborough 1964, 54-58). However, as Robert Drews pointed out fifteen years ago, the archaeological evidence is equally compatible with the theory that Mycenaean craftsmen used models that had been brought to Greece by western mercenaries (Drews 1993, 64)⁵¹. As I have already explained, the discovery that an Italic language was spoken in fourth-century-BC Praios can only mean that eastern Crete received a substantial group of Italian immigrants during the Late Bronze Age. This is surely a powerful argument against the views of those anti-diffusionist archaeologists who have tried to eliminate migration as part of the explanation for the appearance of foreign artefacts in Mycenaean contexts. At the same time the inscription from Praios supports the views of those who have identified Italy rather than the Balkans as the most likely place of origin of the migrants who introduced new metal artefacts and a new type of pottery in the late-Mycenaean world.

4. Mercenaries from the West and the problem of Etruscan origins

If speakers of an Italic language moved to Crete during the late Bronze Age, it is surely most economical to interpret the names of the Sea Peoples – or at least the names of the five peoples mentioned in the Medinet Habu text – as referring to geographical areas in or near Italy. It has already been noted that the *Šrdn* and *Škrš* of the Egyptian texts can plausibly be assigned to Sardinia and Sicily⁵². It is then perhaps not far-fetched to identify the *Prst* either with the Palaistēnoi of North-East Sicily or with the inhabitants of Interamnia Palestina

⁵⁰ Harding 1984, followed by Drews 1993, 64. Cf. also Snodgrass 1971, 307, on the appearance of the so-called ‘Peschiera daggers’ in Mycenaean contexts (especially in Crete) from the thirteenth century onwards. It is generally agreed that these daggers are of Italian origin.

⁵¹ Cf. also Schnapp-Gourbeillon 2002, 81: ‘On pense alors à des groupes de mercenaires’.

⁵² As noted above (at n. 6), the identification of Sardinia as the homeland of the *Šrdn* is supported by archaeological evidence. Cf. also Hvidberg-Hansen 1992.

in South Picenum⁵³. Similarly, the *Dnm* may be identified with the inhabitants of Daunia and the *Wšš* with the Ausonians or the Oscans⁵⁴.

If these identifications are correct, it follows that the migrants who first went to Mycenaean Greece and then attacked Egypt as the Sea Peoples came from many different areas⁵⁵. How then do we explain their simultaneous migration to the East? To the best of my knowledge there is nothing to suggest that the explanation lies in the operation of a common push factor, such as a wave of invasions affecting not only central and southern Italy but also Sicily and Sardinia. At the same time there can be no doubt that the various homelands of the migrants were united by one common feature: they were all in direct contact with the Mycenaean world⁵⁶. This suggests to me that at least initially the emigration of substantial groups of Italians, Sicilians and Sardinians was triggered by a common pull factor, which I would identify as Mycenaean demand for western mercenaries.

As we have seen, this theory is in line with the recent view that the presence of 'Italian' artefacts in many parts of the Mycenaean world reflects the arrival of 'barbarian' immigrants who had been recruited for service in the armies of the Mycenaean world. If this reading of the archaeological evidence is accepted, we must abandon the traditional notion that these migrants, whom I would identify with the Sea Peoples, were always and necessarily a destructive force. In fact, we should seriously consider the possibility that, at least initially, the arrival of mercenaries from the West made some of the rulers of the late-Mycenaean world more powerful than ever before. In other words, even if *some* Italian immigrants may have played *some* part in the destruction of *some* Mycenaean palaces (e.g. as mercenaries employed by competing Mycenaean rulers), the archaeological evidence suggests that their migration to the eastern Mediterranean was a gradual process that was initially coordinated and controlled by interested parties within the Mycenaean world.

⁵³ For the Palaistēnoi of NE Sicily see Appian, *Bella Civilia* 5.117; for Interamnia Palestina see *Liber coloniarum* II, p. 259 Lachmann. Drews 1993, 67-69, detects evidence for people fleeing from Crete to South-West Palestine and also thinks that the indigenous population of South-West Palestine appropriated the story of the refugees' flight. Somewhat curiously this does not keep him from interpreting *Philistia* as an indigenous Canaanite toponym. If the Canaanite inhabitants of SW Palestine came to regard themselves as 'the remnant of Caphtor', why should not they have also appropriated the ethnical designation of the Cretan refugees?

⁵⁴ For the latter identification cf. Woudhuizen 2006, 115-116. While some classical authors identified Ausonians and Oscans, others seem to have regarded them as two separate peoples. See e.g. Salmon 1982, 10 and n. 40.

⁵⁵ A corollary of this inference is that only *some* of the Sea Peoples were speakers of an Italic language. Despite this caveat the similarity between the Philistine name Goliath and Latin *galeatus*, 'wearing a helmet', may not be coincidental. Cf. 1 Sam. 17:4-5: 'A champion came out from the Philistine camp, a man named Goliath, from Gath; he was over nine feet in height. *He had a bronze helmet on his head ...*'.

⁵⁶ See e.g. Drews 1993 and Dickinson 1994, indices s.vv. Italy, Sardinia and Sicily, and the valuable survey by Buchholz 1999, 78-84.

A final point concerns the migration of the *Trš*, who have often been identified with the Etruscans. In my view, the majority of modern scholarship is absolutely right in placing this people in Italy during the Italian Bronze Age⁵⁷. Yet the view that the Etruscans already lived in Italy at this early date has always run up against one major difficulty. If the Etruscans did not come from western Asia Minor, how do we explain the curious fact that a language closely related to Etruscan was spoken in the island of Lemnos in archaic times? The answer given by some specialists in the field of Etruscan studies is that the languages of the Etruscans and the Lemnians must represent two isolated remnants of a non-Indo-European language that was once spoken in large parts of Mediterranean Europe⁵⁸. A fatal weakness of this theory is that it fails to explain how two languages can remain so similar after developing independently for at least 2000 years⁵⁹.

In my view, the inscription from Praisos suggests a plausible solution to this old problem. If the presence of an Italic dialect in classical Praisos can be explained as reflecting a migration from Italy to the Mycenaean world that took place during the Late Bronze Age, why should not precisely the same explanation hold for the Tyrsênoi of Lemnos?⁶⁰ In short, like the similarity between Praisian and Umbrian, that between Etruscan and Lemnian can be explained in terms of a migration of people from Italy to the East rather than by any movement of Tyrsênoi from East to West.

The exact circumstances in which a group of Etruscan-speaking people ended up in the northern Aegean cannot be recovered. According to Herodotus (6.137) the Pelasgoi received land in Attica in return for building the wall surrounding the acropolis of Athens. Although the historical reliability of this legendary tale is extremely doubtful, there is at least a remote possibility that it preserves a dim recollection of the arrival in Attica of a group of foreign immigrants and of their subsequent departure to another part of the Aegean world. Regardless of the value of such stories, it does not seem unlikely that mobility in the eastern Mediterranean increased as a result of the political disintegration which affected large parts of mainland Greece from about 1200 BC onwards. It does not seem

⁵⁷ As many specialists have pointed out, there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever to support the theory of migration from the East. See e.g. the brief but useful survey of Aigner-Forresti 2001.

⁵⁸ Pallottino 1955, 62-63. Recent proponents of this view include Rix 1995 and Aigner-Forresti 2003, 19.

⁵⁹ On this point I am in complete agreement with Beekes 2003, 26, who estimates the time depth between Etruscan and Lemnian at some 2500 years and raises the question of 'whether so long a time distance is linguistically possible for these languages'. Cf. also Briquel 1992, 22: 'la proximité, très étroite, du lemnién et de l'étrusque nous paraît rendre douteux qu'il puisse s'agir de deux sortes de blocs erratiques, remontant à une lointaine préhistoire'.

⁶⁰ During the past thirty years only Gras 1976 has tried to explain the similarities between Etruscan and Lemnian along these lines. De Simone 1996 also argues that Lemnos was settled by Etruscans from Italy but assigns the arrival of these migrants to the archaic period. Cf. also Briquel 1992, 22.

far-fetched to speculate that at least in some cases this led to the expulsion or voluntary departure of groups of foreign mercenaries who had been recruited by various Mycenaean rulers during the thirteenth century. In other words, both the Italic-speaking population of fourth-century Praisos and the Pelasgoi inhabiting Lemnos in the sixth century BC may have been the descendants of groups of Italian mercenaries who had migrated to various parts of the Mycenaean world during the Late Bronze Age.

An advantage of this speculative theory is that it helps us to explain why the material culture of the coastal area of South-West Palestine, which was controlled by the Philistines in the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC, displays so many 'Mycenaean' features. As many scholars have pointed out, the simplest explanation for this is that both the Philistines and most of the other Sea Peoples were immigrants from Mycenaean Greece and Crete. It would, however, be completely wrong to infer from this that these newcomers must have spoken a Greek dialect. In my view, we must at least reckon with the possibility that most of them spoke one of the languages which were used in Sicily, in Sardinia and on the Italian mainland during the Late Bronze Age.

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ON THE NORTH PICENIAN LANGUAGE*

(*Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum* 32)

Václav Blažek

Introduction

In his well-known monograph *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy* from 1933 J. Whatmough designated the inscriptions from ancient Picenum as 'Old Sabellian' (II, 207-257). He classified them as East Italic and divided them in North and South ones. The Osco-Umbrian provenance of the South Picenian inscriptions had been identified already by Blumenthal (1929). Thanks to the later edition of Marinetti (1985) Rix and others demonstrated a close relationship of South Picenian and the language of the Sabines, the northern neighbours of the Romans. As North Picenian were defined by Whatmough the inscriptions numbered in his edition (PID) as 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347. But the language of the inscription Nr. 347 was later determined as Umbrian and in the inscription Nr. 346 both Latin and Etruscan texts were recognized as such, each consisting of four words and two abbreviations. From the remaining inscriptions three are heavily fragmentary:

Amulet unearthed near Rimini [PID 342]: *ANOIAN | VESIS̄ | TNES̄ | AVEI*
Fragment of the stele from Novilara [PID 344]: ..] *LŪPES | ...MDEGEEP·T*
Sandstone perhaps from the locality Fano; on its opposite side there is depicted the scene of a battle against pirates [PID 345]: *·PA · SAT · IGOT |.. KEŠŌTERI*
| ...AMDET : NK | ...] ...K ... I [

At the end of the 19th century near Novilara by the Adriatic coast on the line connecting Fano and Pesara in the immediate neighbourhood of the South Picenian inscriptions a sandstone stele with reliefs and the longest North

* Throughout this text, I have used the following abbreviations: IE Indo-European, Lat. Latin, Marr. Marrucian, Mars. Marsian, Osc. Oscan, Pael. Paelignian, SPic. South Picenian, Umb. Umbrian, Venet. Venetic, Vol. Volscan, LL Liber Linteus. This study was prepared in cooperation with the Centre for the Interdisciplinary Research of Ancient Languages and Older Stages of Modern Languages (MSM 0021622435) at Masaryk University, Brno, and thanks to the grant No. IAA901640805.

Picenian inscription consisting of 12 lines was found. It is written in a script which is not too different from the North Etruscan script. It differentiates the signs \mathfrak{D} and \mathfrak{K} , transcribed as *g* and *k* respectively (with regard to existence of *k* the transcription *c* of the sign \mathfrak{D} , proposed by von Planta, Brandenstein, Rosenkranz and Pisani, makes no sense; Whatmough, Lejeune, Poultney, Eichner prefer the transcription *g*). The sign \mathfrak{J} should be transcribed as *d*, like in the Oscan script, in agreement with Whatmough, Pisani, Lejeune, Poultney, Eichner, more probably than *v/w*, proposed by von Planta, Lattes, Brandenstein, because for *v* the sign \mathfrak{A} was used in the North Picenian script. Doubtful remains the transcription of the last signs in the 4th and 5th lines. In the 4th line it is more probable to distinguish the pair of signs $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}$, read from the right to the left side as *vi* (Eichner), than the sign \mathfrak{M} , transcribed as *š* (Poultney). The last sign in the 5th line seems to be more probably \mathfrak{M} *š* according to Poultney than \mathfrak{M} *m*, proposed by Eichner. Poultney (1979, 53) thinks that the signs \mathfrak{M} *s* and \mathfrak{M} *š* have the same origin, where \mathfrak{M} *š* should represent a palatalized variant of *s* before *i* as in *NEŠI* or before *û* as in *TASÛR*, *ETŠÛT*, *TISÛ*. He does not except that the palatalization could also touch the velar as in the case of Umbrian *d*, which is traditionally transcribed as *ç* or *š*. Accepting it, the equivalent of North Picenian *NEŠI* could also be Lat. *neci*. Whatmough used the symbol *û* to transcribe the sign \mathfrak{V} in agreement with the Oscan alphabet; it should be a vowel between *o* and *u*. The sign \mathfrak{B} is transcribed as *b* in agreement with its form and function in the West Greek, Old Etruscan (only in list of signs), Umbrian, and Oscan alphabets. Only one time the sign \mathfrak{O} (6th line) appears which is known in both West Greek and Etruscan alphabets and bears the phonetic value *θ*. This sign is also known in the Camunian script, where it is transcribed as *φ* or *ψ*. It is necessary to mention that in the poor North Picenian corpus the sign for *f* is missing. In Etruscan, Umbrian and Oscan scripts the sign \mathfrak{F} is used for this function, in the archaic Latin texts \mathfrak{F} , while some Etruscan and the Venetic alphabets prefer the digraph consisting of the signs *v+h*: $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{A}$ (archaic Etruscan alphabet: from the right to the left side) or $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{H}$ *vh* or $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{B}$ *hv* (Venetic alphabet: from the left to the right side). In the known North Picenian inscriptions the sign for *h* is also missing. The author of the following transcription is Poultney (1979, 50), who basically accepted the reading of Whatmough (1933):

Line	← - - →
1	ΜΑΡΑΤΜΑΔΑΑΔ - ΤΥΔΑ - ΜΙΥΜΙΥ - <i>MIMNIS · ERÛT · GAARESTADES</i>
2	ΜΥ - ΥΑΤΔΑΙ - ΥΙΥΑΥ - ΥΑΥΤΟΔ - <i>ROTNEM · ÛVLIN · PARTEN · ÛS</i>
3	ΤΑΤ - ΥΟΔΙΑΜΙ - ΥΑΥΟΙ - <i>POLEM · ISAIRON · TET</i>
4	ΙΑΥΔΑ - ΙΥΑΥ - ΤΑΔΤ - ΤΥΜ - <i>SÛT · TRAT · NEŠI · KRÛŠ</i>
5	(or Υ?) ΥΑΥΤΟΔ - ΥΑΥΙ - ΤΥΔΤ - ΔΑΥΑΤ - <i>TENAG · TRÛT · IPIEM · ROTNEŠ (or -M?)</i>
6	ΥΥΑ - ΥΟΙΔΑΙΜΙ - ΥΥΑΘ - ΜΙΥΤΥΥ - <i>LÛTÛIS · ØALÛ · ISPERION · VÛL</i>
7	ΔΥΑΤ - ΥΑΥΙΑ - ΥΑΥ - ΥΑΥΤΟΔ - ΜΑΥ - <i>TES · ROTEM · TEÛ · AITEN · TASÛR</i>
8	ΑΥΤΑΥΑΥ - ΥΟΥΔΑΥ - ΔΑΥΤΟΜ - <i>SOTER · MERPON · KALATNE</i>
9	ΥΔΑ - ΥΑΥΑΙ - ΜΟΥΑΥΑ - ΜΙΥ - <i>NIS · VILATOS · PATEN · ARN</i>

10 **Τ**Α - ΜΥΜΑ - ΔΑΥΑΤΜΑΙΑΒ - ΜΙΥ - *ŪIS · BALESTENAG · ANDS · ET*
 11 **Β**ΑΤΑΙΑΤ - **Μ**ΑΤΑΙΑΤ - ΤΥΚΑΙ - ΤΥΜ - *ŠŪT · LAKŪT · TRETEN · TELETAŪ*
 12 **Μ**ΥΑ - ΜΙΚΤΟΜ - **Υ**ΜΙΤ - **Μ**ΑΙΟΙ - **Μ**ΑΙ - *NEM · POLEM · TIŠŪ · SOTRIS · EŪS*

It was already Brandenstein (1941, 1190-1191) who formulated the opinion that the text was written in metrum. Poultney (1979, 54-55) proposed a use of the trochaic tetrameters with the initial stress. Heiner Eichner (1988-90, 201) also offered a metrical interpretation of the text which allowed him to connect some words continuing from one line to the other. Besides a rather different orthography (*ū = u, š = s₂*) in his reading several marginal differences from the reading of Poultney appear which are designated by the bold letters (see the palaeographical analysis above). Another change consists in the separation of the segments *GAARES TADES* in the first line and, conversely, the connection of two segments separated by a dot in the word *TRATNES₂I* in the 4th line:

*MÍMNIS ÉRUT GÁARES TÁDES
 RÓTNEM ÚVLIN PÁRTEN ÚS
 PÓLEM ISÁIRON TÉTS₂UT TRÁTNESI
 KRUVÍTÈNÁG TRUT ÍPIÉM
 RÓTNEM LÚTŪIS T^HÁLU ISPÉRÌON
 VÚLTES RÓTNEM TÈŪ AITÈN
 TÁS₂UR SÓTER MÉRPON KÁLÀTNENIS
 VÍLATOS PÁTEN ÁRNUÍS
 BÁLÈSTENÁG ANDS ÉTS₂UT LÁKUT
 TRÉTEN TÉLETÁU NÉM
 PÓLEM TÍS₂U SÓTRIS ÉUS*

With regard to the lack of historical information concerning the inhabitants of this territory in the ancient period, the language of the inscriptions ## 342-345 is called North Picenian according to the location of the inscriptions. Numerous attempts to interpret these probable tomb inscriptions dated to the mid of the 1st millennium BC were not successful. Till the present time no personal names were identified. For this reason the genetic affiliation of the North Picenian language remains ambiguous. There are supporters of both the hypotheses of its Indo-European appurtenance (Herbig 1927; Durante 1962, 1978; Poultney 1979) and non-Indo-European characterization (Imperato 1994; Sverdrup 2009).

The following comments refer to specific features of the North Picenian language in comparison with other languages of ancient Italy.

Phonetic features

The occurrence of voiced stops: *b-* *BALESTENAG*; *-d-* *TADES, ANDS*; *g-* *GAARES, -g* *BALESTENAG, KRUVITENAG / KRŪŠTENAG*. The presence of the voiced stops would exclude the Etruscan and probably Raetian languages, although the scarcity of

the voiced consonants can be more probably explained through borrowing from a language in which the voiced stops are typical.

A final *-m*: *IPIEM*, *POLEM* (2 times), *ROTEM*, *ROTNEM* (after Eichner 2 times), *NEM* or *TELETAUNEM*. This feature is characteristic of both Etruscan and many of the Indo-European languages, e.g. Indo-Iranian, Italic, Lusitanian, Celtic in Celtiberian, Lepontic and Gaulish of Gallia Narbonensis. The change **-m > -n* appears in the central and northern dialects of Gaulish, including Cisalpine Gaulish, further e.g. in Messapic, Greek, Phrygian, Anatolian.

The basic set of five vowels *i - e - a - o - u* is well documented in North Picene. The vowel *o* is foreign to Etruscan, but usual in the Italic and Celtic languages. The doubled *aa* in the word (or a foreign proper name, on account of the initial voiced *g*-?) *gaares* can indicate that the language differentiated /a/ and /ā/. It is natural to ask, if there are the long correlates to other vowels. In the inscription PID 344 the doubled *ee* appears (...*MDEGEET*). The long **ō* can be hidden behind *ū*, at least in the final syllables. Similar development is known from the Osco-Umbrian and Celtic languages. An unambiguous counter-argument is not provided by the word *SOTER* from the 8th line, although it represents an adaptation of Greek σωτήρ “saver, rescuer, saviour, liberator”, gen. -ῆρος, voc. σωτήρ. The adaptation is apparently late, and *o* is not in the final syllable.

In the text PID 343 there are 14 different consonants which occur 132 times in sum, in the following order: **⚗** *t* 33 (25,0%), **⚗** *n* 19 (14,4%), **⚗** *s* 18 (13,6%), **⚗** *r* 17 (12,9%), **⚗** *l* 10 (7,6%), **⚗** *m* 8-7 (6,1-5,3%), **⚗** *p* 6 (4,5%), **⚗** *š* 6-5 (4,5-3,8%), **⚗** *v* 4-3 (3,0-2,3%), **⚗** *k* 3 (2,3%), **⚗** *g* 3 (2,3%), **⚗** *d* 2 (1,5%), **⚗** *b* 1 (0,8%), **⚗** *θ* 1 (0,8%).

Remarkable is the high frequency of the stop *t*, it represents a quarter of all given occurrences. This fact cannot be explained only by the role of the final *-t* as a grammatical marker. In the final position *-t* appears 6 times (if the words *TET|SŪT* and *ET|ŠŪT* would be wrongly reconstructed, then 8 times), which is comparable with *-s* (8 or 9 occurrences, depending on connection or separation of *GAARES TADES*) and *-n* (7 times). It is necessary to propose that the sign **⚗** designated more consonants than only *t*. The voiced correlate *d* is the first candidate which should be taken in account. It is identified in the sign **⚗**, but only in medial position (*TADES*, *ANDS*), similarly in PID 345: *AMDET*. Maybe a similar prefix resembling the continuants of Italic **amb^hi-* in the Osco-Umbrian languages (Osc. *AMNŪD* “around”) is expectable in PID 344: ...*MDEGEET*. In the initial and final position only one dental appears – in the inscription PID 343 it was recorded by the sign **⚗**, up to this time transcribed as *t*. If this sign was read not only as *t*, but also as *d*, or, if need be, some other consonants with similar articulation. Thanks to this assumption other forms and idioms may receive a sense: *TEŪ · ... · ... · SOTER* resemble the Greek vocative ὦ Ζεῦ σωτήρ “ó Zeus liberator!” Original *d-* was preserved e.g. in Laconian and Boeotic Δεύς.

Among vowels and diphthongs the sign \aleph *e* is most frequent, it occurs 27 times, not taking in account the diphthongs, including *eũ* with 2 and *ie* with one occurrence(s). The sign \mathcal{A} *a* follows with 15 occurrences, plus *aa* 1 time and the diphthongs *ai* 2 times and *ai* 1 time. Further occurrences: Υ *ũ* (13), plus *ũi* (2), \mathcal{I} *i* (13-12), \mathcal{O} *o* (10), plus *io* (1). The significant difference in representation of the sign \aleph *e* in comparison with all other vowels indicates that this sign could express more vowels or diphthongs, e.g. \bar{e} , reflecting either the original quantity or the diphthong **ei*; this one is not attested directly (with exception of PID 342, where the form *avei* appears).

Morphological features

In inscriptions of this type predominantly occur nominal forms, frequently proper names. For this reason the interpretation of the noun inflexion is most promising. Nom. sg. of *o*-stems: *VILATOS* – it can be an adaptation of Greek εὐήλατος “very merciful (epithet of Apollo and other deities)” (Durante 1962, 68) or of a proper name of the type Etruscan *Filatas*, which itself is apparently of Greek origin (Morandi 1985, §6).

Nom. sg. of \bar{a} -stems or *n*-stems, or nom.-acc. sg. ntr. of *u*-stems: θ ALŪ, TIŠŪ – cf. Osc. *víú*, Umb. *MUTU* or Lat. *homō*, Umb. *KARU* or Lat. *cornu*, Umb. *TRIFU*.

Nom. (or gen.?) sg. of *i*-stems: *MIMNIS*, *KALATNE|NIS* – cf. Lat. *turris*, Venet. *EKVOPETARIS*.

Nom. sg. of \bar{o} -stems: *TAŠŪR* – cf. Lat. *victor*, Osc. *KEENZSTUR*, Umb. *AŘFERTUR*, Mars. *CETUR*, Pael. *SALAUATUR*.

Nom. sg./pl. of \bar{e} -stems or nom. pl. of the consonant stems: *GAARES* & (*s*)*TADES* (in orthography of the inscriptions the geminates are not reflected), *VŪL|TES*; further *LŪPES* in PID 344.

Gen. sg. of *r*-stems: *SOTRIS* from *SOTER* as Lat. *PATRIS* from *PATER*, Osc. *MAATREÍS*, Umb. *MATRES*, Marr. *PATRES*, all from **-eis*. Although *SOTER* apparently represents an adaptation of Greek σωτήρ “saver, rescuer, saviour, liberator”, the genitive σωτήρος, and any other case cannot be a source of the form *SOTRIS*.

Dat. sg. of *r*-stems: *...KE(=)ŠOTERI* (PID 345), cf. Osc. *PATEREÍ*, SPic. *PATEREÍH*, *MATEREÍH*, Mars. *PATRE*, Umb. *JUVEPATRE*, Lat. *patrī*, Venet. *VHRATEREI*.

Dat. or loc. sg. of *i*-stems: *AVEI* (PID 342), cf. Lat. *avī* < **-ei/*-eiei* (dat. sg.) or **-ei* (loc. sg.), Venet. dat. sg. *KANEI*, Umb. dat. or loc. sg. *OCRE*.

Acc. sg. of consonant or *i*- or \bar{e} -stems: *POLEM* (2x), *ROTNEM*, *ROTEM*, maybe also *IPIEM*, *TELATAŪ|NEM*, cf. Lat. *mentem*, *hominem*, *rēgem*, *diem*; Umb. *UVEM*. Poultney (1979, 59) added still the *-io*-stems.

Dat.-abl. pl. of *o*-stems: *ARN|UIS*, *LŪTŪIS*, cf. OLat. *QUROIS*, Lat. *lupīs*, Osc. *FEÍHŪIS*, Umb. *VESKLES*, Vol. *UESCLIS*, Mars. *PUCLES*, Pael. *PUCLOIS*, SPic. *PUCLOH* (see also Poultney 1979, 60; Untermann 2000, 599).

In some words the pronouns may be identified:

ŪS – cf. Umb. *URU URU* “illo”, abl. sg. f. *URA-KU*, dat.-abl. pl. *URES*, where *-r-* < **-s-*.

EŪS – cf. OLat. *EIUS*, Lat. *eius* - gen. sg. from OLat. *EIS*, Lat. *is*; the function of the gen. is supported by the preceding word *SOTRIS*, which was already identified as the gen. sg. *SOTER*.

ET|ŠŪT – it can correspond to the Lat. demonstrative *iste / ista / istud*, Umb. *ESTU* ‘istum’, *ESTE* ‘istud’ or Umb. abl. sg. *ESSU* < **EK-SŌD*.

Concerning verbs, Poultney (1979, 60-61) thinks that at least some words terminating in *-t* represent verbs in the 3sg. and the final *-n* indicates the 3pl. ending **-nt*. In the singular the following forms should be taken in account: *ERŪT*, *TRŪT*, *AKŪT*; maybe also *TRAT*, if it does not form one unit with the following word *NEŠI*. From the point of view of the internal structure of the Indo-European verb there is only one grammatical category which can be identified in the forms in *-ŭ-t*, namely the IE thematic optative in **-oi-*, originally from the thematic vowel **-o-*, plus the own optative marker **-ieH₁-/*-iH₁-* (Brugmann 1916, 557-561; Szemerényi 1996, 260). The development **-oi-* > *ū* is also known in the Italic languages: Lat. *ūnus* “one” m., Umb. *UNU* “one” ntr. < **oino-*. The final *-n* appears in the following forms: *ŪVLIN*, *PARTEN*, *ISAIRON*, *ISPERION*, *AITEN*, *MERPON*, *PATEN*, *TRETEN*, plus *ANOIAN* in PID 342. The development **-nt* > *-n* is known e.g. from the Venetic language. Durante (1962, 69) mentioned that the forms in *-on* can indicate their Greek origin, while in the final *-en/-in* the ‘postposition’ *en* can be identified. It is a feature characteristic for the Osco-Umbrian languages, cf. SPic. *AKREN* < **agrei en*, Osc. *HŪRTÍN* < **hurtei en*. Presence of verbal forms in other persons than the 3rd one is hypothetically possible, but less probable (naturally in this case their nominal functions discussed above are excluded):

1. sg. in **-eio-m(i)*: *ROTNEM* & *ROTEM*, *POLEM*, *IPIEM* (**epi-ei-(e)iom(i)?*);
1. sg. in **-(i)ō*: *ŌALŪ*, *TIŠŪ*;
2. sg. in **-ei-s(i)*: *ROTNEŠ* (: *ROTNEM!*), *NEŠI* or *TRAT·NEŠI*;
2. pl. in **-tes*: *VŪL|TES*.

Another hypothetical verbal form can be the word *TET|ŠŪT*. It is attractive to see here the form **dedstōd* of the verb **dō-* (**deH₃-*) “to give” or **(s)tist(V)tōd* from the verb **stā-* (**steH₂-*) “to stand”; the termination resembles the Umbrian 3 sg. imp. *TEŔTU* & *DIRSTU* < **dedH₃etōd* or *sestu* < **sistH₂etōd* (cf. Untermann 2000, 175-178, 674).

Lexicon

Relatively easiest is the identification of loans. According to Durante (1962, 68) the following words are of Greek origin: *POLEM* ~ πόλις, *ISPERION* ~ ἐσπέριον, *SOTER* & *SOTRIS*, maybe also (-) *ŠOTERI* ~ σωτήρ, *VILATOS* ~ εὐίλατος, *MERPON* ~ deverbative of the verb μέλπομαι, *BALESTENAG* ‘ballistarius’ ~ *βαλλιστή, *TELETAÚ* ~ τελευταῖος, *TIŠŪ* ~ θυσία. It is possible to add the form *TEŪ*, if it reflects the voc. sg. *Δεῦ (see above). Ribezzo (1950-51, 193-194) proposed several Etruscan etymologies of the words from the inscription of Novilara: *TRŪT* ~ *TRUTNVT* ‘fulguriator’ (bilingual from Pesaro); *LŪTŪIS* ~ *LUT*, *LUΘ* ‘temple’ (LL; -*ui* has to be a feminine marker); *VŪL|TES* ~ *VOLTA* ‘infernal deity’ = *VELΘA* (LL); *ARNŪIS* ~ **Arnui*, female counterpart of the man’s personal name *Arna*; *KALATNE|NIS* ~ *CALATNAM* (LL). As it seems, the Etruscan influence is visible especially in adaptation of the proper names, titles, and cultural terms, which do not allow us any unambiguous conclusions concerning the genetic affiliation of the North Picenian language on the basis of lexicon.

Conclusion

The language of the stele of Novilara and other Northern Picenian fragmentary inscriptions is written by the alphabetical script of Etruscan origin which did not differentiate the voiced and voiceless consonants, except when in some proper names or culture words, both of foreign origin. If the phonetic inventory is supplemented by the phonemes which merged in the script, it is possible to conclude that Northern Picenian seems to be a language with Indo-European morphology closely related to the Italic branch.

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PID - see Whatmough 1933.

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PHRYGIAN & GREEK*

(*Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum* 33)

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INTRODUCTION

The following survey of the Phrygian language elaborates on Woudhuizen 1993, with the noted difference that here alongside material from Old Phrygian inscriptions, dated to the late 8th to early 5th century BC, also evidence from their New Phrygian counterparts, predominantly dating to the first 3 centuries AD, is included. The exclusion of New Phrygian forms from the demonstration of the intimate relationship of Phrygian with Greek in the aforesaid work was intentional because I believed at that time that New Phrygian was influenced by the *lingua franca* in the east-Mediterranean region from the Hellenistic period onwards, *i.e.* Greek, to the extent that it actually was well on its way to become a provincial dialectal variant of Greek. I now hold this to be an error of judgment: Phrygian retained its authentic character until its latest attestations! The Old Phrygian texts are, of course, numbered and transliterated in accordance with the corpus by Brixhe & Lejeune (1984). Still indispensable aids for the study of especially the New Phrygian texts are Haas 1966 and Diakonoff & Neroznak 1985, to which may be added to fruition Orel 1997, but numerous improvements as to their understanding as well as newly published texts or improved editions of texts already incorporated in the aforesaid works can be found in the proceedings of the conference on Phrygians and Phrygian of 1997, see especially the contributions by Brixhe & Drew-Bear, Neumann, and Lubotsky in this publication. Very helpful, too, were the articles in *Kadmos* 28 of 1989 by Lubotsky (1989a-b) and the handsome and highly informative grammatical sketch by Blažek 2005, 16-22 (= section IA).

* My thanks are due to the expert Mycenologist Frits Waanders for proofreading the manuscript and, in doing so, saving me from some grave errors as well as providing me with numerous suggestions as to its improvement (see also his appendix to this contribution). It must be admitted, though, that this contribution is focussing on the elucidation of Phrygian texts on the basis of the etymological relationship of the Phrygian language with Greek and that the task to systematically account for every phonological development implied remains a *desideratum*.

In my treatment of a selection of Old Phrygian texts of 1993 I referred several times to Brixhe & Lejeune's suggestion that the *yod*-sign for the glide [y] constitutes an early 6th century BC innovation as a possible dating criterion for the inscriptions in question. In doing so, I did not fully realize the implications of the fact that this sign is already found in M-01b from Midas City, which, as duly stressed by Brixhe in 1991, cannot be dissociated from the inscription on the Tyana black stone (T-02), and like the latter may hence safely be assigned to the reign of king Midas during the second half of the 8th century BC (according to Eusebios: 742-696 BC). It naturally follows from this observation that the *yod*-sign for the glide [y] formed part and parcel of the Phrygian alphabet from its earliest attestation onwards. The latter inference can further be supported by the fact that corroborative evidence for variation in form of the *yod* is provided by the Phrygian dedicatory inscriptions on bronze and silver omphalos bowls, small silver cauldrons, and a silver ladle from a tumulus burial near Bayındır in Lycia of a female person (Wittke 2004, 304-306), who during her lifetime probably performed a cultic function (priestess according to Vassileva 2001, 60), dated to the late 8th century BC. One of these (on the bronze omphalos bowl no. 7) reads *at₁ies* with the secondary [t]-sign in form of an arrow, paralleled for the Lydian alphabet and ultimately originating from the Cyprian syllabic sign for *ti* (Woudhuizen 1982-3, 108-111; Woudhuizen 1984-5, 97-100), followed by a five-stroked variant of the crooked *iota*, and cannot be interpreted otherwise than as a reference to the Phrygian GN Ἄττις (NPhr *Attie* (D sg.)) as attested for one of the variants of the apodosis of the damnation-formula, where he acts as dispenser of divine retribution, see New Phrygian nos. 45, 26, 86, and 62 (in the latter instance he occurs in combination with *deos*, i.e. the gods in general, with which he is expressly paired by the double use of the enclitic conjunction *-ke* "and") below (Varinlioğlu 1992).

It is interesting to note in this connection that Vassileva 1997 identifies the various legends as a reference to male initiates of the mystery cult *representing* the Son (or *paredros*) of the Phrygian Magna Mater Kybela, i.e. Attis, which comes tantalizingly close to the correct interpretation. However, her basic tenet that the legends on the bowls cannot have a bearing on the *divine* name Attis is ultimately based on Lynn Roller's rather influential study on the Phrygian Mother Goddess Kybela of 1999 according to which the deification of Attis is a 4th century BC Hellenic innovation and male deities in general were entirely absent in early Phrygian religion (which is even seriously suggested to be in fact monotheistic!)—a thesis flatly refuted by the evidence from the Old Phrygian inscriptions, note especially the mention of Attis in form of *Atoi* (D sg.) in the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the inscription from Uyučik (= B-04), where, in like manner as in the aforesaid New Phrygian variant, he acts as dispenser of divine retribution, be it this time in combination with the Good Goddess, likely to be interpreted as the daughter of the Mother goddess or the Phrygian equivalent of the Eleusian Persephone, and Bas!

LIST OF LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PHRYGIAN AND GREEK

Phrygian	Greek
1. <i>a(-)</i>	ἀ- “un-” (privative alpha)
2. ἄδρηστος (MN)	ἄ-δραστος or ἄ-δρηστος “failing to run away or escape (from fate)” (cf. ἄδραστος (MN))
3. <i>adikesai</i> (2nd pers. sg., imp., middle)	ἀδικέομαι “to undergo injustice”
4. <i>aey, ay</i>	ἦ, ἦέ “or” (conjunction)
5. <i>agaritoi</i> (D sg.)	ἀ-χάριτος “ungracious”
6. <i>aglavoy</i>	ἀγλαός (< * <i>aglawos</i>) “shining”
7. (-) <i>agtaei</i> (D sg.)	ἄγω “to lead”
8. <i>akara(-)</i>	ἔσχάρα (cf. Myc. <i>e-ka-ra</i>) “hearth, altar”
9. <i>akkalos</i> “water”	Ἰαχελῶος (river name in the province of Phthia)
10. <i>Akrisias</i> (GN)	ἄκρα, ἄκρος “high” (cf. Ἰακρίσιος (MN))
11. <i>an</i>	άν (modal particle)
12. <i>an(-)</i>	άν- “up” (preverb)
13. <i>ananka</i> “fate, necessity”	ἀνάγκη “force, constraint”
14. <i>anar</i>	άνήρ “man, husband”
15. <i>anegertoy</i> (3rd pers. sg., past tense, middle)	άν-εγείρω (c. δόμον, δώματα) “to build”
16. <i>aow</i> (G sg.)	ἀώρως “prematurely”
17. <i>Apelan</i> (GN)	Ἰαπέλλων, cf. esp. Doric Ἰαπέλλων and Cyprian Ἰαπέλων (cf. Myc. [<i>a</i>]- <i>pe-</i> <i>ro₂-ne</i> (D sg.)) (GN)
18. <i>ap<o>(-)</i>	ἀπό “away” (preverb)
19. <i>apnekroiun</i> (3rd pers. pl., opt., pres. tense (?))	ἀπο-νεκρόομαι “to die, be killed”
20. <i>areyastin</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	ἄριστος “best, bravest”
21. <i>argo-</i> (<i>argou</i> (G sg.))	ἀρχή “beginning, origin”
22. <i>Artimitos</i> (GN)	Ἰαρτεμις (cf. Myc. <i>a-te-mi-</i> <i>to</i> (G sg.), <i>a-ti-mi-te</i> (D sg.)) (GN)
23. <i>Atanies</i> (MN) (<i>Ataniyen</i> (N-A(n))	Ἰαθηναῖος (MN) ¹

¹ Cf. also Hittite *Attaniya*, see Laroche 1966, 48, no. 199.

	sg. in <i>-n</i> of adjectival derivative in <i>-y-</i>)	
24.	<i>Ates</i> (MN), Ἄττις (GN)	ἄττα “daddy”
25.	<i>avtos</i> , <i>avtay</i> (D sg.)	αὐτός “him- or herself”
26.	Ἄζαμία (TN), <i>Azanoi</i> (ethnonym)	Ἄζάν, <i>Azeus</i> (MNs)
27.	<i>ber-</i> (<i>beret</i> , <i>abberet</i> or <i>asperet</i> , <i>abberetor</i>)	φέρω “to carry, bring”
28.	<i>bonok</i> , <i>banekos</i>	βανά (Aiolic), βονά (Cyprian) “wife”
29.	<i>brater-</i> (<i>bratere</i> (D sg.)), <i>brateraiś</i> (D pl.))	φράτηρ, βρά (Eleian) “brother”
30.	<i>da-</i> (<i>daǰet</i> or <i>daket</i> , <i>dakaren</i> , <i>egdaes</i> , <i>edaes</i> , <i>edatoy</i>)	τίθημι (cf. Myc. <i>te-ke</i>) “to place, put”
31.	<i>Das</i> (G sg.)	<i>Da-</i> “Earth” (< <i>*gda-</i>) as in the GNs of ultimate Pelas- gian origin Δαμάτηρ (cf. Lin. A <i>da-ma-te</i>) “Mother Earth” and Ποσειδόν (cf. Myc. <i>po- se-da-o-ne</i> (D sg.), <i>po-se-da- o-no</i> (G sg.)) “Lord of the Earth”
32.	<i>de</i>	δέ (adversative particle)
33.	<i>dekmoutais</i> (D pl.)	δεκάτη “tithe”
34.	<i>deto-</i> (<i>deton</i> (A(m/f) sg.), <i>detoī</i> (D sg.))	θετός “placed, set” (verbal adjective of τίθημι)
35.	<i>devos</i> (D pl.), <i>deos</i> (D pl.)	Ζεύς, Διός (G) (cf. Myc. <i>di- wi-jo</i>) (GN)
36.	<i>die</i>	διά “through, by means of, during” (preposition)
37.	<i>diθur-</i> (as in διθύραμβος “Vier- schritt”)	τέσσαρες (cf. Myc. <i>qe-to-ro-</i> < PIE <i>*k^wetwor-</i>) “four” ²

² Note, however, that the development of the PIE labiovelar **k^w* into dental *d* (or *t* as in the exceptional form of the enclitic conjunction *-te* < PIE **-k^we*, corresponding to Greek *-τε*, which occurs alongside more regular *-k* in an Old Phrygian inscription from Uyučik in Mysia (B-04), as well as in the composite *o-te* (cf. Greek οὔτε < Myc. *o-u-qe* “and not”; cf. also *tele(-)* < **k^wēle*) as attested for Old Phrygian inscriptions from Bithynia (B-01) in the west and Pteria (P-04) in the east) is, contrary to the opinion of Haas 1970, 47 ff., exceptional for Phrygian, the regular outcome of this labiovelar development being velar *k*, as in, the relative *kos* < PIE **k^wo-*, the aforesaid enclitic conjunction *-ka*, *-ke*, *-k* “and” < PIE **-k^we*, the numeral *pinke* “five” < **penk^we-*, *Moxo-* < Myc. *mo-go-so*, and *akkalos* “water” < PIE **ak^wā-* or **eg^wh-*. As it seems, then, the labiovelar development which, amongst others, affected Greek sometime during the Early Iron Age and the Luwian dialects Lydian and Lycian in western and southwestern Anatolia after *ca.* 700 BC, either did not, or, insofar it could be argued to have done, did only incidentally, radiate to the highlands of Phrygia in the interior of the latter peninsula.

38.	(-) <i>dike-</i>	δίκη “justice”
39.	<i>Diounsīn</i> (= <i>Dionusin</i>) (A(m/f) sg.)	Διόνυσος (cf. Myc. <i>di-wo-nu-so</i>) (GN)
40.	(-) <i>dos(-)</i> (as in <i>sit₁idosakor</i> : container for grain offerings)	δόσις “the act of giving, dose” (< * <i>dó-ti-</i> ; cf. Myc. <i>do-so-mo /dosmōi/</i> “as a present”)
41.	<i>duma, doum(e)</i> (D sg.) (cf. Δύμας (MN))	Myc. <i>du-ma-</i> (title of official) (cf. Δύμας (MN))
42.	* <i>duoi</i> (cf. GN Δοιάς (twin-brother of <i>Ákmōn</i>), geographic name Δοίοντος πεδίων “two lowlands”)	δουῖν (D-G) (cf. Myc. <i>du-wo-</i>) “two”; cf. esp. Greek gloss δοιάς “duality” ³
43.	δουρῖται (pl.)	θύρα “door”
44.	<i>eg-</i> (<i>egdaes</i> : 3rd pers. sg., pres. tense)	ἐκ-, ἐξ- “out, from, away” (preverb)
45.	<i>eitou</i> (3rd pers. sg., imp.)	εἶτω (Doric) < εἰμί “to be” < PIE * <i>esmi</i>
46.	<i>ekey</i>	ἐκεῖ “there”
47.	<i>en-</i> (<i>enstarna</i> : 3rd pers. pl., pres. tense, middle-pass.; <i>eneparkes</i> : 3rd pers. sg., past tense, act.)	ἐν- “in” (ἐν-ίστημι “to place inside > to see to it, supervise”)
48.	<i>eti, ηti</i>	ἔτι “moreover”
49.	<i>eugi(-), eukin</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	εὐχή “vow”
50.	<i>Eugixarnan</i> (A (m/f) sg.) “Fulfilling Prayer”	εὐχη + ἐξ-αρνέομαι
51.	<i>ev(-), eve(-)</i>	εὐ- (cf. Myc. <i>e-u-, e-wa-</i> or <i>e-we-</i> < * <i>esu</i>) “good” ⁴
52.	<i>-ev(a)is/-ivais</i> (patronymic)	υῖός or υῖύς “son” (cf. Myc. (-) <i>i-je-we</i> (D sg.))
53.	<i>eveteksetey</i> (D sg.)	εὐ-τοκέω “to give birth successfully”
54.	<i>evtevey</i> (D sg.)	cf. Myc. * <i>ew(e)-diwija</i> “good goddess”
55.	<i>eixa</i>	ἐξῆς “in a row, following, successively”
56.	(-) <i>ixarnan</i> (A(m/f) sg.) “fulfilling, realizing”	ἐξ-αρνέομαι “to deny, refuse”
57.	<i>thalamei</i> (D sg.)	θάλαμος, θαλάμη “chamber”
58.	<i>θri-</i> (as in θρίαμβος “Dreischritt”)	τρεις (cf. Myc. <i>ti-ri-</i>) “three”
59.	<i>garit(o)- (agaritoi</i> (D sg.),	χάριτος “gracious”

³ Blažek 1999, 166.

⁴ Note that Phrygian in this particular case, as well as that of *ir-* < **iser-* presented below, shares with Greek the phonetic development of *[s] > [h] > ø in between vowels.

	<i>gegaritmenos</i> : part. perf., middle-pass.)	(ἐγκεχαρισμένος “at the mercy of”) ⁵
60.	(-)gav-, (-)gay- (as in the religious title <i>akenanogavos</i> (N sg.) and the indications of an altar for fire offerings <i>akinanogavan</i> (N-A(n) sg.) and <i>akaragayun</i> (A sg.))	κοίης or κόης “priest of the mysteries of Samothrace” (corresponding to Lydian <i>kaveś</i> “priest” and Sanskrit <i>kavi</i> “poet-seer, priest”)
61.	<i>gdan-</i> (as in <i>Gdanmaa</i> (TN))	χθών “earth”
62.	<i>glouros</i>	χλωρός “yellow (< gold)” (cf. Χλωρίς “Goldy (FN)”) Γόρτυν (cf. Myc. <i>ko-tu-we</i> (D sg.)), Γυρτώνη (TNs); note that the typical Greek reflex of the same PIE root is χόρτος “fenced courtyard”
63.	Γόρδιον (TN), Γορδίης (MN)	χρίω “to scratch, inscribe”
64.	<i>grei-</i> (<i>gegreimenan</i> : part. perf., middle-pass.)	ὔδωρ “water”
65.	ὔδωρ	ὅς (cf. Myc. <i>jo-</i>) “who” (relative pronoun)
66.	<i>ios, yos</i>	ἰ(ε)ρεύω (< * <i>iser-</i>) “to sacrifice”
67.	<i>irter</i> (3rd pers. sg., pres. tense, pass.)	εἰς “in” (preposition)
68.	<i>is-</i> (as in <i>isnou</i> (G sg.))	ἴσχω (< * <i>siskhō</i>), reduplicated form of ἔχω “to have, hold”
69.	<i>isgei-</i> (<i>isgeiket</i> : 3rd pers. sg., pres. tense or fut.)	εἶμι “to go”
70.	(-)itavos	εἶμι “to go”
71.	<i>itovo, ituv, eitou</i> (3rd pers. sg., imp.)	εἶμι “to be” < PIE * <i>esmi</i>
72.	-ka, -ke, -k	-τε (cf. Myc. <i>-qe</i>) “and” (enclitic conjunction)
73.	<i>kakos</i>	κακός “bad”
74.	<i>kakuioi</i> (D sg.)	* <i>kakoiios</i> (adjectival derivative of κακός “bad”) Lin. A <i>ka-nu-ti</i> (MN)
75.	<i>Kanutie-</i> (MN)	κενός “empty, devoid of”
76.	<i>kenannou</i> (3rd pers. sg., imp.)	Κελαινός (MN) (cf. Myc. <i>ke-ra-no</i> “black”)
77.	Κελαιναί (TN)	κα (Doric), κε (Aeolic),
78.	<i>key</i>	

⁵ For parallels of Phrygian [g] corresponding to Greek [χ], cf. Phryg. *argo-*, *eugi-*, *gdan-*, *glouros*, Γόρδιον, and *grei-* being related to Gr. ἀρχή, εὐχή, χθών, χλωρός, χόρτος, and χρίω, which, however, does not exclude the use in Phrygian of [k] alongside [g] as in *kton*.

		Cyprian), κεν (Hom.) (modal particle)
79.	<i>kinumais</i> (D pl.)	γυνή, γυναικός (G) “woman, wife”
80.	<i>(-)kiti, seiti</i> (3rd pers. sg., pres. tense, act.)	κεῖμαι “to lay, place”
81.	<i>knaiko, knaikan</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	γυνή, γυναικός (G) (cf. Myc. <i>ku-na-ki-si</i> (D pl.)) “woman, wife”
82.	<i>kos, kou</i> (G sg.), <i>kin</i> (A sg.) (relative pronoun, occurring alongside regular <i>ios</i> or <i>yos</i>)	τίς “who” (interrogative pronoun) and τις “someone” (indefinite pronoun), cf. Myc. <i>qi-</i> as in the indefinite relative <i>jo-qi</i> < PIE * <i>kʷi-</i> κοίης or κόης “priest of the mysteries of Samothrace” ⁶
83.	<i>kovis</i>	κτάομαι, κτέομαι (Ion.) “to possess, be master of”
84.	<i>kte-</i> (<i>ektetoy</i> : 3rd pers. sg., past tense, middle)	χθών “earth”
85.	<i>kton</i>	κύων, κυνός (G) “dog”
86.	κύνας (A(m/f) pl.)	λακέω (Doric), λάσκω “to cry, utter, ordain”
87.	<i>lake-</i> (<i>lakedo</i> : 3rd pers. sg., imp., middle)	λατομείον “slab”
88.	<i>latomeion</i> (A sg.)	λαός (cf. Myc. <i>ra-wo-</i> <i>/lāwos/</i>) “host, people”
89.	<i>lav<a>-</i> , <i>lava-</i>	λαγέτας (cf. Myc. <i>ra-wa-ke-</i> <i>ta /lāwāgetās/</i>) “leader of the host”
90.	<i>lavagtaei</i> (D sg.)	μᾶ “mother”, <i>c. γᾶ</i> “Mother Earth” (cf. Myc. <i>ma-ka</i> (GN))
91.	<i>Ma</i> (as in <i>Gdanmaa</i> (TN))	μαρμάρεος “of marble”
92.	<i>maimarḡan</i>	μνημεῖον “grave stone, memorial”
93.	<i>manka</i> (D sg.)	μάτηρ (Doric), μήτηρ (cf. Myc. <i>ma-te /mātēr/</i>) “mother”
94.	<i>matar, mater(-)</i> (<i>materan</i> (A(m/f) sg.), <i>materey</i> (D sg.))	μή “not” (negative adverb, prohibitive)
95.	<i>me</i>	μέγας “great”
96.	<i>mekas</i> (D sg. or pl.)	

⁶ Cf. Gorbachov 2008, 101; see also no. 60 above.

97.	<i>merous, meroun</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	μερίς, μέρος, μοῖρα (cf. Myc. <i>me-ro</i>) “part, fate, destiny”
98.	<i>me(t)</i>	μετά “with, by” (adverb)
99.	<i>meyon</i>	μείων (cf. Myc. <i>me-wi-jo</i>) “smaller, less”
100.	Μίδαξ (MN)	Lin. A <i>mi-da</i> (MN); cf. Μιδέα (TN)
101.	<i>moikran</i> (A sg.)	μικρός “small”
102.	<i>Moxoupolis</i> (TN), <i>Moxolanoi</i> (ethnonym)	Μοσωπία (= Attica) (cf. Myc. <i>mo-ḡo-so</i> (MN))
103.	<i>mros</i> (G sg.) “funerary monument”	βροτός < *μροτός “mortal”
104.	(-)nekro-	νεκρώ “to kill, to let die off”
105.	(-)nou (G sg.) (as in <i>isnou</i>)	νόος, νοῦς “spirit, mind”
106.	<i>nun</i>	νῦν “now” (conjunction)
107.	<i>o, u</i>	οὐ (cf. Myc. <i>o-u-</i>) “not” (negative adverb)
108.	<i>Olumpos</i> (mountain name)	Ὀλυμπία (TN) (cf. Myc. <i>u-ru-pi-ja-</i>)
109.	<i>onoman</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	ὄνομα “name”
110.	<i>oouite-</i> (<i>oouitetou</i> : 3rd pers. sg., imp.)	(F)ιδ- “to see, know” (cf. Myc. <i>wi-de</i> “he saw”)
111.	<i>op<i>-</i>	ἐπί- (cf. Myc. <i>o-pi-</i>) “with, over” (preverb, preposition)
112.	<i>oporo(-)</i>	προσ- “with” (preverb)
113.	<i>oporokiti</i> (3rd pers. sg., pres. tense)	πρόσ-κειμαι “to lay with, add”
114.	<i>orouan, orouenos</i> (G sg.)	οὔρος “watcher, guardian”
115.	<i>o-te</i> (appears also in form of <i>u-ke</i>)	οὔτε (cf. Myc. <i>o-u-ḡe</i>) “and not, nor”
116.	Ὀτρεὺς (MN)	Ἄτρεύς (MN)
117.	<i>otuvo</i>	ὄγδοος (< * <i>oktowos</i>) “eighth” ⁷
118.	<i>Ouelas</i> (G sg.) (GN)	βελᾶ “sun; eye”
119.	<i>ouranion</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	οὐράνιος “of the heaven, heavenly”

⁷ Note that the loss of the velar in Phrygian *otuvo-* “eighth” < PIE **oktō(u)-* “eight” is exceptional, and goes unexplained in like manner as the similarly incidental loss of the velar in Luvian hieroglyphic *tinita* and Messapic *dehata* “tithe” < PIE **dekmt-* “10”, or Celtiberian *tua[t]ere-* “daughter” < PIE **d^hugh₂tr-* and *-bria*, which occurs in toponyms alongside regular *-briga*, < PIE **b^hḡh(i)-* “high”, see Woudhuizen *forthc.* 1 on Luvian hieroglyphic and Indo-European.

120. <i>ovevin</i> (A(m/f) sg.)	ὄς (< * <i>swo-</i>) “his own”, cf. Doric Φός (possessive pronoun) ⁸
121. <i>oyvos</i> (cf. ἴαμβος “Einschritt”)	οἶος “alone”, cf. esp. Lesbian and Thessalian ἴα “one and the same (f)” ⁹
122. <i>panta</i>	πάντα (N-A(n) pl.) “all”
123. <i>pater</i> (<i>paterns</i> (N(m/f) pl.))	πατήρ “father”
124. <i>patrio-</i> (<i>patriyiois</i> (D pl.))	πάτριος “fatherly”
125. <i>pinke</i>	πέντε (< PIE * <i>penk^we-</i>) “five”
126. <i>podas</i> (A(m/f) pl.)	πούς, ποδός (G) “foot”
127. <i>podaska</i> (N-A(n) pl.)	πεδίσκη, “small fetter” (< PIE * <i>ped-/pod-</i> “foot”)
128. <i>Pountas</i>	πόντος “sea”
129. <i>pragmatikon</i> (A(m/f) sg.) “suitable, for sale”	πραγματικός “experienced, expert”
130. <i>pro-</i>	πρό- “in front, before” (preverb)
131. <i>proitavos</i> (honorific title)	πρό-εμι “to go in front, precede” (cf. Προῖτος (MN))
132. <i>protu-</i> (preverb)	προτί (variant of πρός) “with” (adverb)
133. πῦρ, <i>pour</i> (N-A(n) sg.)	πῦρ “fire”
134. <i>seiti</i> < (-)kiti (3rd pers. sg., pres. tense, act.)	κεῖμαι “to lay, place”
135. <i>sit₁o-</i> (<i>sit₁idosakor</i> : container for grain offerings, <i>sit₁eto</i> : 3rd pers. sg., imp., middle)	σίτος (cf. Myc. <i>si-to</i>) “grain, food”
136. <i>skeledriai</i> (D sg.), <i>skeredrias</i> (G sg.) “ossuary”	σκελετός, σκελετόν “skeleton, mummy”
137. <i>so-</i>	ὁ “the” (< PIE demonstrative pronoun * <i>so-</i>)
138. <i>soro</i> , <i>soron</i> (D sg.)	σορός “funerary urn, sarcophagus”
139. <i>sta-</i> (<i>estaes</i> , <i>enstarna</i> , <i>opestamena</i> , <i>protussestamenan</i>)	ἵστημι “to place, put”
140. <i>-te</i> (used alongside more regular <i>-k</i> in B-04)	-τε “and” (enclitic conjunction)

⁸ Note that Phrygian in connection with this possessive pronoun shares with Greek the phonetic development of initial *[s] > [h] > ø, as in case of *venavtun* below, but contrary to that of *so-* below.

⁹ Blažek 1999, 144-145.

141. (-)tek- (eveteksetey)	τίκτω “to give birth, bear”
142. tele(-)	τῆλε “far (away)” (< PIE *k ^w ēle)
143. tekmor, tekmar	τέκμωρ, τέκμαρ “pledge, vow, token; border, boundary, edge”
144. (-)tevey (D sg.), tve-	Myc. di-wi-ja /Diwija/, /Diwijai/ (D sg.) (GN)
145. tia, tiyes (G(f) sg.), tian (A(f) sg.)	θεά (cf. Myc. te-i-ja < PIE *d ^h h ₁ s-) “goddess” (cf. Myc. ma-te-re te-i-ja /mātrei theiāi/ “to the Divine Mother”)
146. t(e)ios (G(m) sg.),	θεός (cf. Myc. te-o- < PIE *d ^h h ₁ s-) “god”
147. tik- (tetikmenos: part. perf., middle-pass.)	δείκνυμι “to show, accuse” (< PIE *deik-) ¹⁰
148. timena-, t ₁ emene-	τέμενος “precinct” (cf. Myc. te-me-no) ¹¹
149. to-	τό (N-A(n) sg.) “the” (< PIE demonstrative pronoun *to-)
150. topon (A(m/f) sg.)	τόπος “place”
151. totos, teutous (A(m/f) pl.)	Myc. te-u-ta- (onomastic element), te-u-to (MN) < PIE *teutā- “society, folk, people”
152. trapezē (D sg.)	τράπεζα “table”
153. tounbon (A(m/f) sg.)	τύμβος “tomb, sepulchral mound”

¹⁰ As Phrygian *d* normally corresponds to Greek *d*, one would have expected the voiced dental in the verbal root *tik-*, but note that this same observation also applies to *tevey* corresponding to Mycenaean *Diwija* and *ouute-* to Greek (F)ιδ- (cf. Myc. *wi-de*).

¹¹ Gorbachov 2008 on the inscription from Vezirhan (B-05) cogently argues that, on account of the correspondence in the protasis of the damnation formula of this bilingual text between Phrygian *sin-t imenan kaka oskavos kakey kan dedapitiy tubeti* to Greek ὅστις περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν κακουργετήσαι, ἢ δρῶν ἐκκόψαι, what must be read in Phrygian as *sin timenan* (lines 1 and 8) corresponds to τὸ ἱερὸν in the Greek version and that both terms refer to a sacred grove for Artemis (line 3: *Artimitos*; note that the top side of the stele is decorated with an image of the goddess in her capacity of πότνια θηρῶν). Against this backdrop, the identification of the Phrygian form with Greek τέμενος lies at hand and receives further emphasis from the writing variant *t₁emeney* (D sg.) in the apodosis of the damnation formula (line 13), which, by the way, confirms the dental value of the sign in form of an arrow corresponding to the Cypro-Minoan *ti*-sign as argued by me since 1982-3.

154. <i>to-</i> (<i>etoves</i> : 3rd pers. sg., past tense)	θύω “to make a sacrifice” ¹² (cf. Myc. <i>tu-wo /thuwos/</i> “burnt offering”)
155. <i>u-ke</i> (occurring alongside <i>o-te</i>)	οὔτε “and not, nor”
156. <i>upsodan</i>	ὑπόθεν “from above”
157. (-)vanak (<i>Modrovanak</i>), <i>vanaktei</i> (D sg.)	ἄναξ (< Myc. <i>wa-na-ka /wanaks/, wa-na-ka-te /wanaktei/</i> (D sg.)) “king”
158. <i>vebru</i> (A(n)) “reverence”	ὑβρις “recklessness”
159. <i>vekro-</i> (<i>vekrō</i> (D sg.))	ἐκυρός “father-in-law”
160. <i>ven(-)</i> , <i>vin(-)</i> , <i>vis</i>	cf. Gortyn dialectal variant of ἐαυτόν (< * <i>s(e)we awtun</i>) “him- or herself”, <i>Ἔιν αὐτῶ</i> (D sg.)
161. <i>venavtun</i>	ἐαυτόν (< * <i>s(e)we awtun</i>) “him- or herself” (reflexive pronoun)
162. <i>verktevovs</i> (D pl.)	ἔργον “work” (cf. Myc. <i>we-ke</i> as in <i>ke-re-si-jo we-ke /Krēsīowergēs/</i> “of Cretan workmanship”)
163. <i>vetei</i> (D sg.)	ἔτος (cf. Myc. <i>we-to /wetos/, we-te-i /wete(h)i/</i> (D sg.)) “year”
164. <i>voine(s)</i> , <i>oinis</i>	οἶνος (cf. Myc. <i>wo-no(-) /woinos/</i>) “wine”
165. <i>vrekun</i>	Βρίγες, Φρύγες (ethnonym) ¹³
166. <i>Xeuna</i> , <i>Xeuneos</i>	ξένος “host, stranger” (cf. Myc. <i>ke-se-nu-wo /Xenwōn/</i> (MN))
167. <i>zōs</i>	ζῶς “living”

¹² For parallels of the Phrygian [t] corresponding to Greek [θ], cf. *Ataniye-*, *kton*, and *tia-* as well as *tio-* being related to Greek Ἀθηναῖος, χθών, and θεά alongside θεός, respectively.

¹³ The Phrygian ethnonym Βρίγες or Βρύγοι or Φρύγες or *Phrugoi* (< PIE **b^hrg^h(i)-* “high” in like manner as its Celtic equivalent *Brigantes*), which appears in epichoric variant as *vrekun-*, is related to the Cretan personal name (*W*)*rakios* and its Luwian hieroglyphic counterpart *Awarkus* (as per Forlanini 1996); as duly observed by Jasink & Marino 2008, 408-409, the latter name is, in variant form characterized by *a/o*-vowel change, further exemplified by the pair Ἀτρεύς/Ότρεύς, already attested in Linear B of Pylos in form of *wo-ro-ko-jo* [PY Sa 763]).

(PRO)NOMINAL DECLENSION & VERBAL CONJUGATION

nomen

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	—, -s	-ηs
A(m/f)	-n	-ous, -as
N-A(n)	—, -n	-a
D	-e, -i, -y	-oiś, -ais, -os, -as
G	-os, -as, -s, -ou, -ω	

pronomen

	sg.	pl.
N(m/f)	<i>tos, ios/yos</i>	
A(m/f)	<i>sa(n), tan, ion, yen, ian</i>	
N-A(n)	<i>si</i>	<i>oua</i>
D	<i>s(o)i, sa(i), semoun, tω, toi, tai, ti ioi/yoi, oi, ai</i>	<i>tais, iais</i>
G	<i>sas, tivo, tou, iou, ias</i>	
Loc.-Instr.	<i>-esait</i>	

verbum

		active	middle	passive
pres. tense	3rd pers. sg., 3rd pers. pl.	<i>-t, -ti, -ś</i>		<i>-ter, -tor -ren, -rna</i>
past tense	3rd pers. sg.	<i>-s</i>		
past tense	3rd pers. sg.		<i>-toy</i>	
imperative	2nd pers. sg.		<i>-sai</i>	
imperative	3rd pers. sg.	<i>-tovo, -tou</i>	<i>-do, -dou</i>	
participle				<i>-meno-</i>

SELECTED TEXTS

M-01 Rock monument in Midas town, dated *ca.* 750-700 BC; the first two sections are in left-to-right direction of writing, while the third runs in retrograde direction of writing

a. *Ates Arkiaevais
akenanogavos
Midai lavagtaei
vanaktei edaes*

“Ates, the son of Arkias,
priest of the cultic fire, has
dedicated during the kingship
and military leadership of Midas.”

- | | |
|--|--|
| b. <i>Baba Memevais</i>
<i>proitavos Ktḫīyanaveyos</i>
<i>si keneman edaes</i> | “Baba, the son of Meme,
governor of Tyana,
has dedicated this holy place.” |
| d. <i>Midas s materan tvemes</i>
<i>eneparkes</i> | “Midas has dedicated (from his own
resources) this Mother of the Goddess
(and) Mas.” |

Note that the *temporal* dative in the dating-formula of M-01a is quite commonly mistaken for a *dativus commodi* indicative of the indirect object, which leads to the otherwise unsupported assumption that king Midas was deified postmortem. At any rate, other inscriptions directly associated with the niche of the monument (M-01c: *mater*, M-01d: *matera(n)*, M-01e: *materey*) clearly point out that it constituted a dedication to the Phrygian Mother Goddess, Kybela, and that its niche was intended as a shelter for her image. If we realize that the inscriptions by Ates (M-01a) and Baba (M-01b) are located at the upper side of the façade in association with *two* different decorative motifs, whereas Midas is mentioned as subject of the verb *eneparkes* in one of the two inscriptions inside the niche (M-01d), it is even possible to go one step further and to deduce that the monument has been set up by king Midas personally and subsequently embellished by two of his subordinates, Ates and Baba, the latter of which, considering the fact that the name of Midas is associated with the same patronymic in the inscription on the Tyana black stone (T-02), actually was his brother. Note that the verb *eneparkes* of M-01d is paralleled for the New Phrygian funerary inscription from Ilgın, no. 31, where it likewise expresses the responsibility of the person who set up the monument, Poukros, as expressed by the suggested translation “he bought”, in this particular case on behalf of a female who had a direct interest in the matter, Xeuna, and is most probably to be identified as the daughter or granddaughter of the former’s deceased brother, Xeuneos. Furthermore, it deserves our attention that the element *s* preceding the object *materan* (= the statue of the Mother for which the niche was originally intended) in this inscription clearly constitutes an abbreviated variant of the A(m/f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun, *sa* or *san*. Accordingly, we are left with only one residual element, *tvemes*, which remains to be explained if we want to understand the contents of the inscription in its entirety. Within the frame of the context as established thus far, it may plausibly be suggested that this form serves as an adjunct to the object *materan* and renders the G sg. in *-s*. If this is correct, it next might be argued that the first part of the root *tveme-* consists of a shorthand rendering in like manner as that of the demonstrative of the indication of a female deity, *teve-*, which in combination with the prefixed adjective *ev-* “good” is attested for the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the Old Phrygian inscription from Uyučik in Mysia in the dative form *evtevey* “by the Good Goddess” as one of the dispensers of divine retribution in case of a violation of the monument. Now, as this female divinity is intimately associated

with the dative *Atoi* of the male divine name Ἄττις in the latter text, it subsequently becomes extremely tempting to analyze *tveme-* as a divine *dvandva* or a compound of *two* divine names, one female and the other male (note in this connection that the first element *tve-* lacks the ending of the G sg. and as such is clearly not individually declined), in which case the second element *me-* only comes into consideration as a reflex of the divine name *Mas* as recorded for the New Phrygian inscription no. 48 from Dorylaion, which is qualified in this particular text by a masculine form of the adjective in *-io-*, *Temrogeios*. All this boils down to the conclusion that the female divinity, whose image once filled the niche, is staged by the *dvandva* in the G sg. *tvemes* as the mother of *two* other divinities, one also female and the other male, who, from a comparative point of view, are likely to be identified as the couple performing the ἱερὸς γάμος in the Eleusian mysteries, *i.e.* Persephone and Dionysos. For further evidence on the identification of Phrygian religion as an Aegean type of mystery cult, see the discussion of the Old Phrygian inscription P-03 from Höyük in Pteria, below.

M-02 Stone altar from Midas town, dated *ca.* 750-700 BC; written boustrophedon, starting in left-to-right direction of writing

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Bba Memevais proitavo[s]</i> | “Baba, the son of Meme, governor of |
| 2. <i>Kt,ianaveyos akaragayun</i> | Tyana, has dedicated (this) altar stone |
| 3. <i>edaes</i> | for cultic fire offerings.” |

In view of the fact that the inscription is written on an altar stone for fire offerings, it seems likely to assume that the indication of the object, *akaragayun* (A(m/f) sg.), or a constituent component of it, renders the meaning “altar” or “hearth”, which in effect appears to be the case if the first element *akara-* may indeed be identified as a Phrygian reflex of the same root from which Greek ἑστὸν χάρα “hearth, altar” as already attested for Mycenaean in form of *e-ka-ra* originates. Whatever the merits of this suggestion, it seems not merely coincidental that the first element of yet another indication of the object in an inscription on an altar from Midas City (M-04), *akinanogavan*, which recurs in variant form in the indication of the object or something related to it in an inscription on a block of andesite possibly to be identified as an altar stone from Höyük in the province of Pteria (P-04), *akenan*, bears a striking resemblance to one of the PIE roots for “fire” as represented by Sanskrit *agní-* or deified *Agní-*, Latin *ignis*, Old Church Slavic *ognĭ*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, and Latvian *ugnus* (Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995, 225, note 28; 238). In line with this latter observation, the related titular expression *akenanogavos* (N(m/f) sg.) as recorded for a well-preserved Old Phrygian inscription on a rock monument near Midas town (W-01) turns out to be of religious nature indeed, as has often been assumed, referring to an official whose relationship to the use of fire in the official cult is expressed by the second element *-gav-*, the meaning of which may perhaps be recovered from oblivion

owing to its formal resemblance to the root of Lydian *kaveś* “priest” and Sanskrit *kavī* “poet-seer, priest”, which would lead us to the interpretation of the entire formation as “priest of the cultic fire”. If, however, the suggestion by Calvert Watkins (1995, 88) applies, that Lydian *kaveś* and Sanskrit *kavī*, in like manner as its Greek equivalent *κόιης* or *κόης* bearing reference to the priest of the mysteries of Samothrace (which form, by the way, shows the loss of *wau* and its replacement by the glide [y] which characterizes the second element of *akaragayun* if it is indeed a reflex of the same root from which *-gav-* is suggested here to stem), originates from PIE **(s)kowh_x-ey-* “to show (German: schauen)”, we might even go one step further and identify the titular expression *akenanogavos* and the related indication of an altar stone for fire offerings *akinanogavan* as a fire expert and fire displayer, respectively!

M-04 Stepped altar carved in the rock and decorated with the outline of a niche in the form of what is referred to in the relevant literature as a double-idol, supposedly representing the Phrygian Mater and her male paredros, dated to the 7th or 6th century BC; written boustrophedon, starting in left-to-right direction of writing

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>akinanogavan tiyes</i> | “(This) altar stone for cultic fire |
| 2. <i>Modrovanak [.]avara[?]</i> | offerings of the Goddess (and) the
King of Modra: (MN in N sg.?).” |

Note that the form *tiyes*, in the light of the closest comparative evidence as provided by the Greek inflection of female *a*-stems, more likely renders the G sg. of female *tia-* than that of its male counterpart *tio-*, which in New Phrygian inscriptions appears in form of *tios*. For the cultic title *Modrovanak* (undeclined), which is a compound of the TN *Μοδρα* as attested for Bithynia in ancient sources with the titular expression *vanak-* “king” and presumably refers to a male divinity, compare formations like *Λεσβώνοξ* and *ΚυπροΦάναξ* (cf. Orel 1997, 26).

W-01 Rock monument near Midas town, dated to the 7th or 6th century BC; written boustrophedon, starting in retrograde direction of writing

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>materan areyastin
bonok akenanogavos
vrekun t(-)edatoy</i> | “The Phrygian priest of the cultic fire
has dedicated (the image of) the
Bravest Mother (for/on behalf of) (his) wife;
who(ever) as priest of the cultic fire |
| 2. <i>yos-tutut[...].a[.]mnoy
akenanogavos aey</i> | [brings damage?] to [the monument?] or |
| 3. <i>yos-esait
materey eveteksetey
ovevin onoman daxet</i> | who(ever) (as <honorific title>)
puts his own name on this (monument)
for the Mother of Good Birth, |
| 4. <i>lakedo-key</i> | let him (herewith) |

<i>venavtun <meroun></i>	ordain (his own destiny)
<i>avtay materey</i>	from the Mother Herself!
5. <i>Ataniyen Kuryaneyon</i>	The (workshop) of Atanies the
<i>t-anegetoy</i>	Kurianian has built it.”

For the identification of *vrekun* as the Phrygian self-designation, cf. the Hesychian gloss Βρέκυν τὸν Βρέκυντα, τὸν Βρίγα. Βρίγες γὰρ οἱ Φρύγες. Furthermore, it deserves our attention that *-esait* is likely to be analyzed as the locative-instrumental singular of an enclitic variant of the demonstrative pronoun, thus providing our only secure instance of this particular case so far. In addition, the two elements forming the subject of the maker-formula in the final phrase to all probability render the nominative-accusative neuter singular of adjectival derivatives of a personal name in combination with an ethnic, referring to the company responsible for the building of the monument. For the apparent legal incapacity of female persons to act on their own behalf in official matters like the erection of religious and funerary monuments, cf. the New Phrygian inscription from Ilgin, no. 31. Note that Roller’s (1999, 6; 318) denial of maternal qualities or a fertility function to the Phrygian Mother Goddess, Kybela, is straightforwardly refuted by the nature of this inscription (dedication by an official on behalf of his wife (= *bonok* (undeclined), the meaning of which receives further emphasis from the fact that its derivative Βονοκιᾶτις functions as an epithet of another form of address of the Phrygian Mater Kybela, Αγγύισση) probably to thank the Mother in her capacity as protectress of women in labor for successfully having given birth to a child) in general and by the epithet *eveteksetey* “of good birth (D sg.)” attributed in phrase 3 to her cultic form of address *Mater* “Mother” in particular.

W-08/10 Rock inscriptions from the region near Midas town, dated to the late 8th or 7th century BC; variously written in left-to-right (W-08) and retrograde (W-10) direction of writing in boustrophedon inscriptions

3. <i>Alus sit,eto (Das)</i>	“Let Alys, ((the son) of Mother Earth) be nourished!”
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The root of the verb *sit,eto*, which likely renders the 3rd pers. sg. of the imperative of the middle otherwise occurring in form of *-do*, recurs as first element in the compound *sit,idosakor* as attested for a bronze bowl from the inventory of tumulus MM at Gordion (G-105), which, in view of the apparent etymological relationship of this element to Greek σῖτος “grain”, may reasonably be suggested to bear reference to the function of the bronze bowl as a container for grain offerings (cf. Greek *dos-* as in δόσις (< **dó-ti-*) and Mycenaean *do-so-mo /dosmōi/* “as a gift” for the second element of this formation). In addition, it is worth noting that the MN *Alys* in form of *Alus* and its adjectival derivation in *-li-* is represented in epichoric Lydian inscriptions. In view of the evident religious nature of

the inscriptions in general and the mention of the GN *Da-* (< **gda-*) “(Mother) Earth” (cf. the Pelasgian GNs Δαμότηρ (cf. Lin. A *da-ma-te*) “Mother Earth” and Ποσειδόν (cf. Myc. *po-se-da-o-ne* (D sg.) or *po-se-da-o-no* (G sg.)) “Lord of the Earth”) in G sg. in the variant of the formulaic phrase of W-10 in particular, one cannot help but wonder whether the MN *Alys* refers to the new born child (cf. Latin *alu-mnus* “fosterling”). In that case, the Lydian royal name *Alyattes*, consisting of the combination of *Alys* with *Attes*¹⁴, would turn out to belong to the category of double-deity names, exemplified in Luwian by *Tarkukuruntis*, *Sauskakuruntis*, and *Armatarhuntas* during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and still traceable until well into the Hellenistic period, as may be illustrated by Πωζαρμας, Αρμαρωνζας, Τροκοζαρμας, and Ιαζαρμας (note that this type of naming is likely to be rooted in the cult of divine *dvandva*’s, like, for example, Hittite *Hepat-Šarruma*).

G-02 Stone pedestal from Gordion, reused for the reconstruction of a canal in the Hellenistic period, but probably stemming from the 7th or 6th century BC; written in left-to-right direction of writing

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>agaritoi:Iktes:Adoikavoi</i> | “Iktes: for the Ungracious Adoikavos; |
| 2. <i>ios oporokiti si kakoio</i> | who(ever) brings (any) damage to this, |
| 3. <i>itovo podaska/</i> | let him be (like) feet-bound (objects)!” |

The inscribed upper surface of the stone is decorated with two incised feet, wearing pointed shoes, which no doubt graphically underlines the curse from the apodosis of the damnation-formula. It may reasonably be argued that the recipient deity, Adoikavos, for his epithet *agaritoi* “ungracious (D sg.)”, is likely to be identified as a, or the, god of the underworld. If this is correct, the punishment awaiting violators of the monument according to the damnation-formula, characterized by the binding of the feet, may well have connotations as to religious views about the underworld current at the time of the dedication. For the MN *Iktes*, cf. *Iketaios* in W-02, which no doubt corresponds to Greek Ἐκαταῖος.

P-03 Stone object from Höyük in Pteria (east-Phrygia), possibly assignable to the 7th century BC; written boustrophedon, starting in retrograde direction of writing

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Vasous Iman mekas</i> | “Vasous, the son of Kanuties: |
| 2. <i>Kanutieivais</i> | to the great (god Zeus-)Iman |
| 3. <i>devos-ke mekas</i> | and to the Great Gods.” |

¹⁴ Cf. also *Sadyattes* and, for the Late Bronze Age already, *Madduwattas* (with first element *maddu-*, corresponding to Luwian hieroglyphic *matu-* “wine” < PIE **medʰu-* “honey (alcoholic liquid)”). For the first element, cf. Hittite or Luwian *Aluluwa*, *Alluwa*, *Alluwamna*, and *Aluwazi*, see Laroche 1966, 28, nos. 38-41.

Note that the inscription runs boustrophedon in such a manner that the patronymic which, in the light of the parallels (cf. *Arkiaevais* in M-01a and *Memevais* or *Memevis* in M-01b from Midas town and T-02 from Tyana, respectively)¹⁵, one would have expected to follow directly after the personal name of the dedicator, is positioned in between the indications of the recipient deities. Among the recipients of the dedication, the *mekas devos* “great gods (D pl.)”, which are also honored in another inscription from Höyük in Pteria (P-04), are likely to be identified with the Θεοὶ Μεγάλοι of Samothrace. At any rate, according to the literary sources the cult of the Great Gods was introduced by Dardanos from Samothrace to Phrygia (Macrobios, *Saturnalia* III, 4, 7), in like manner as that of Dionysos by the mythical king Midas, specified as the son of the Great Goddess of Ida, i.e. one of the forms of address of the later Kybela, from the region of Mount Bermion in the borderland between northern Thessaly and Macedonia to Asia (Graves 1990, 281-283); the relation of the Phrygian Kabeiroi or Great Gods with the Dionysos cult is exemplified by the story of the formers’ miraculous rescue of Assessos near Miletos when under siege by bringing the *cista mystica* with the phallos of Dionysos, which is further reported to have been brought by the, this time ethnically not further specified, Kabeiroi to the Etruscans in Italy (Hemberg 1950, 139; Pfiffig 1975, 293 with reference to Clemens of Alexandria, *Protrepitkós prós Hállēnas* II, 19, 1). In view of this evidence, Phrygian religion is likely to be characterized as an Aegean type of mystery cult, with Attis as the son of Kybela and lover of her daughter being nothing but another cultic form of address of Dionysos (note especially the prominent role played by their severed genitals in the cult of both these gods, caused by automutilation in the first case and resulting from a cruel assault by the Titans in the second case. This is reflected in the Kybela cult in the role of the *kernos* (cf. Old Phrygian *kerno*] as attested for inscription G-104 from Gordion), which holds the genitals of sacrificial bulls and rams as a special dedication to the goddess in like manner as the severed genitals of her priests, eunuchs addressed to as Galli after the incursions of the Galatians from the early 3rd century BC, were consecrated to her during the great spring festival (de Vries 1991, 90). Cf. Vassileva 2001, 56 on the intimate relationship between the rites of the Great Mother cult and those of the Dionysos cult in both Thrace and Phrygia).

¹⁵ Note that the patronymic element *-ev(a)is* or *-ivais* corresponds to Mycenaean *i-je-we* υἱεῖ “to the son”, which in PY Cn 3 *di-wi-je-we* “to the son of Zeus” even appears attached to the noun it is lined with in like manner as its Phrygian equivalent, cf. Puhvel 1964. Note furthermore that the MN *Kanutie-* is paralleled in form of *ka-nu-ti* for a Linear A inscription from Hagia Triada (HT 97a.3)—as also happens to be the case, by the way, with the typical Phrygian royal name Midas in form of *mi-da* (HT 41.4).

P-04 Stone object from Höyük in Pteria (east-Phrygia), dated to the 6th century BC; written boustrophedon, starting in retrograde direction of writing

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>otuvoy vetei Etenaie</i> | “In the eighth year of Etena’s (reign); |
| 2. <i>ios ni akenan egeseti</i>
<i>o-t irter ko[s as] tekmor</i>

<i>o-t[e ege]seti vebru</i> | who(ever) kindles the fire,
and who(ever) does not sacrifice for
himself accompanied by a libation,
and does not express (the proper)
reverence, |
| 3. <i>ios ervotsati kakuioi</i> | who(ever) causes? (any) damage, |
| 4. <i>Imanolo itovo</i> | let him be (a prey) of (Zeus-)Iman! |
| 5. <i>edae[s] mekas <devos></i> | Dedicated to the Great (Gods).” |

Owing to the improvements of the reading of the damaged middle section with the protasis of the damnation-formula as suggested by Orel 1997, 294-299, it is even possible to present a coherent interpretation of this particular section. After the verb of the first phrase of the protasis of the damnation-formula, *egeseti*, there follows a bipartite construction each section of which is headed by the element *ot* or *ote*, which, in line with *u-ke* from the New Phrygian inscription no. 2 from Üç Üyük, may be identified as a combination of the negative adverb *o* “not”, corresponding to Greek οὐ, and an enclitic conjunction, be it this time in form of *-t(e)*, corresponding to Greek -τε, instead of regular *-k(e)* “and” as paralleled for the Old Phrygian inscription from Uyuçik in Mysia (B-04), whereas the entire combination, corresponding to Greek οὐτε (cf. Myc. *o-u-qe*) “and not, nor”, is paralleled already for an Old Phrygian inscription from Bithynia (B-01). As a consequence, the second section headed by the negative adverb turns out to be of a transparent nature, with a verb, *egeseti*, which renders the 3rd pers. sg. of the present tense of the active of the verbal root *ege-* otherwise encountered in the 3rd pers. sg. of the imperative of the middle *egedou* in the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 33 and 76 from Sinanlı and Kelhasan, respectively, and the object *vebru* in the endingless variant of the neuter. Now, the form *vebru* strikingly recalls Greek ὑβρις, but in the given context the latter’s negative meaning “recklessness” seems less fitting than a more positive state of mind like “respect” or “reverence”, which nevertheless entails the aspect of fear as suggested by the relevant Hesykhian gloss βεβρός·ψυχρός, τετυφωμένος (with β corresponding to epichoric Phrygian *v* or *ou* in like manner as in case of the gloss concerning *vrekun* presented above and the one concerning the GN *Ouela* cited in the following). If in addition we transpose the middle meaning of the verb *ege-*, “to undergo, suffer”, into active terms, we arrive at the translation of the phrase in its entirety as “and does not express the proper reverence”. Next, in the preceding section we may distinguish the relative *kos* (N(m/f) sg.), the preposition *as* “by, through”, and the noun *tekmor* (endingless variant of the A(n) sg.) on the basis of the parallels (for *kos*, see NPhr-18, where it likewise refers back to

ios; for *as* in combination with an inanimate notion like *knouman* “grave” or, perhaps less evidently as it can be imagined in personified form, *anakai* “fate”, see NPhr-31 and NPhr-35, respectively; for *tekmor*, see NPhr-116, where, in distinction from its Greek equivalent “pledge, vow, token”, it expresses the meaning “offering, dedication”). This leaves us with the residual *irter*, which only comes into consideration as a verb, and hence may reasonably be suggested to constitute a 3rd pers. sg. of the present tense of the middle-passive in *-ter* as paralleled in form of *-tor* for *abberetor* and *addaketor* of the verbal root *ir-* corresponding to Greek *ἱρ-* or *ἱερ-* as in *ἱερεῖω* (< **iser-*) “to sacrifice”. The exact meaning of the phrase becomes clear if we realize that according to current religious practices as illustrated, for example, in an Etruscan offering scene on a black figured amphora dated to the early 5th century BC it is customary to bring a libation offering by pouring wine into the fire on the altar at the moment the sacrificial animal is killed (Woudhuizen 2008, 321, Fig. 26).

B-01 Rock monument from the village of Bolu near Göynük in Bithynia, unspecified date; written in retrograde direction of writing

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>soi Bevdos adioi[-ke]
kavarmoyoi mroy edaes
etoves</i> | “Bevdos has dedicated (unspecified object) for this (..?...) monument (and made (it) as a sacrifice, |
| 2. <i>ni yoi matar Kubeleya
ibeya duman ektetoy</i> | during which (event) Mother Kybela <i>ibeya</i> (= cultic epithet?) presided over the religious community. |
| 3. <i>yos tivo t-asperet d-ayni
kin telemin</i> | Who(ever) brings damage (to) (something) of this (monument) or what(ever) distant part (of it), |
| 4. <i>istoyo vis verktevoys ekey
dakati</i> | (or) dedicates (something) of this (monument) for his (own) constructions at another (place),” |
| 5. <i>opito ke yoy evememes
meneya anatoy
kavarmoyun matar o-te
kanovo-ke siti oyvos aey
apaktne ni pakray
evkobeyan epaktoy</i> | (apodosis of the damnation-formula, the apparent positive elements of which, like <i>eve-</i> corresponding to Greek <i>εὖ-</i> (cf. Myc. <i>e-u-</i> , <i>e-wa-</i> or <i>e-we-</i> < * <i>esu-</i>) “good”, are changed into the expected opposite meaning by means of the negative <i>o-te</i> corresponding to Greek <i>οὔτε</i> “and not, nor”.) |

As guidelines for the given interpretation, the forms *edaes*, *etoves*, *ektetoy*, *asperet*, and *dakati* are taken as verbs, rendering the past tense when augmented and the present tense when not augmented, the roots of which correspond to Greek τίθημι, θύω, κτέομαι, and φέρω (cf. New Phrygian *abberet* < **ad-b^her-*), respectively. Furthermore, the etymological relationship with Greek may provide

a useful clue as to the interpretation in case of *tele-*, *verktevo-*, and, *ekey*, recalling Greek τῆλε (< *k^wēle), ἔργον, and ἐκεῖ.

B-03 Stone object from Firanlar in Bithynia, unspecified date; written in left-to-right direction of writing

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>esk[.]ia[</i> | “? [... |
| 2. <i>] evtevey ay</i> | ...] for the Good Goddess or |
| 3. <i>yosyos yen vraetit</i> | whoever does? something wrong?, |
| 4. <i>evtevey meroun</i> | let him ordain (his own) destiny from |
| <i><venavtun> lakedo</i> | the Good Goddess!” |

B-04 Stone object from Uyučik in Mysia, dated to the 5th century BC or later; written in retrograde direction of writing (note that Brixhe 2004, 32-42 considers the readings of Bayun & Orel 1988 as followed here uncertain in many respects)

- | | | |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>e[</i> | <i>]y[</i> | “?[|
| 2. <i>ka[</i> | <i>]ane[]a[</i> | [whoever] will put |
| 3. <i>lamn lavay dokseš Ašioi</i> | | (his) name [on this] for the Asian |
| | | people, |
| 4. <i>[?]adlevasiy aglavoy ie</i> | | ? |
| 5. <i>[.]epaviyi[.]š an evtevey</i> | | ? let them (?) be killed |
| 6. <i>Atoi apnekroiun Batan-te</i> | | by the Good Goddess, Attis, and Bas! |
| 7. <i>likeš brateraiš patriyioiš-k</i> | | (The use of the object) is permitted |
| | | to the brothers and (the) Fatherly |
| | | (relative)s (only).” |

In the light of the evidence from New Phrygian inscriptions, the form *batante* is likely to be analyzed as a combination of the A(m/f) sg. of the GN *Bas*, *Batan* (A), as attested for the New Phrygian inscription no. 36 from Sinanlı, with an additional element *te* which bears a striking resemblance to the Greek enclitic conjunction -τε “and”. Note, however, that a variant of the regular Phrygian reflex of the PIE enclitic conjunction **-k^we*, *-k* “and”, appears in the next line of the text and that, for its alignment with *evtevey* “the Good Goddess (D sg.)” and *Atoi* “Attis (D sg.)”, we would rather have expected the D sg. instead of the A sg. of the GN *Bas*. The closest comparative evidence for the ending in the verbal form *apnekroiun* from Greek suggests that this renders the 3rd person plural of the optative of the present tense, which tallies with the identification of the element *an* in the preceding line as a modal particle paralleled for the New Phrygian inscription no. 31 from Ilgın, where, however, it occurs in combination with the imperative instead of the optative, but it must be admitted that the vowel *u* in the verbal ending is unexpected against the background of Greek *e*. With respect to the final phrase, one cannot help to be reminded of Latin *licet*

“it is permitted”, whereas the use of *pater* in the New Phrygian inscription no. 48 from Dorylaion as a reference to the god Asklepios suggests a religious connotation for the adjectival derivative of this kinship term here—which, by the way, may likewise apply to the kinship term *brater* (corresponding to Greek φράτηρ, or, considering the Hesychian gloss βρά·ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, in the Eleian dialect, βρά), so that we appear to be rather dealing with brothers in the metaphorical sense as members of a particular religious community dedicated to the heavenly Father than with actual kinship relations.

NPhr-?? Protasis of damnation-formula of an inscription on a stone block belonging to a grave monument from the territory of Antioch in Pisidia (= Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 74-80)

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>ios ni [s]emoun
kn[ou]mannē kakou
abberet atnou (= autou)
kton mros sas</i> | “Who(ever) brings (something) of damage to this grave, (including) the ground of this monument itself,” |
|----|--|---|

NPhr-62 Apodosis of damnation-formula of an inscription from east of the street Bolvadin-Çay

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| b. | <i>Attī-ke deōs-ke
tit-tetikmenos eitou</i> | “Let him be damned by both Attis and the gods for it!” |
|----|---|--|

NPhr-14 Apodosis of damnation-formula in inscription from Hüsrevpaşa

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| b. | <i>tit-tetikmenos as tian eitou</i> | “Let him be damned by the goddess for it!” |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|

This particular variant of the apodosis of the damnation-formula is further attested for the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 53 and 99 from Sarayönü and Erten Jayla, respectively. Note with respect to the A(m/f) sg. form *tian* that, considering the vowel being *a*, we are obviously dealing with the female counterpart of *tio*- “god”, viz. *tia*- “goddess”.

NPhr-67 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Kestel near Laodicea Combusta

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | <i>ios sa skeledriai kakoun
[d]aket a[]i</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this ossuary, or [...], |
| b. | <i>tetikmenos Atti adeitou</i> | let him be damned by Attis!” |

NPhr-56 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Küçük Beşkavak

- a. *ios sas tou skeredrias* “Who(ever) brings damage to this
kakoun [d]aket ossuary of him,
b. *e<t>it-tetikmenos [] Attie* let him be forever damned by Attis!”
eitou

In the light of the parallels, the use of the G sg. in the indication of the funerary monument in question, *sas skeredrias* “this ossuary”, appears to be erroneous as in all other instances we are confronted with the D sg. in this particular position. Note that the pronominal form *tou* renders the G sg. in like manner as in the New Phrygian inscription no. 82 from Piribeyli, or the reflexive *autou* in the inscription from the region of Antioch in Pisidia following below.

NPhr-45 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Mahmudhisar near Ilgın

- a. *ios semou knoumanei* “Who(ever) brings damage to this
kakeun adaket grave,
b. *tit-tetikmenos Attie adeitou* let him be damned by Attis for it!”

NPhr-12 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Ilgın

- a. *eios ni semoun knoumani* “Who(ever) brings damage to this
kakon addaket grave,
b. *zeira-ke oi peies-ke* (let there be) for him death as well as
pain,
tit-tetikmena Attie adeittnou let him be damned by Attis for it!”

Note that the ending *-a* of the participle of the middle-passive, which otherwise occurs in form of *tetikmenos*, appears to be the result of an anticipation error. Furthermore, the writing of the verbal form *adeitou* as *adeittnou* appears to be corrupt: one wonders whether it is influenced by the ending *-nou* as in *kenan-nou* from the New Phrygian inscription no. 35 from Sinanlı.

NPhr-87 Damnation formula of an inscription from Beyköy

- a. *ios ni semoun knoumanei* “Who(ever) brings harm to this grave
kakoun adaket aini tiamas or (something) of the burial plot,
b. *a ti adeitou Ouelas-ke* let him because of it be victims of the
tou-ke isnou as toi partḥs Sun-god and of the working of his
own conscience!”

The last element of the protasis of the damnation-formula, *tiamas*, renders the G sg. of *tiamā*, plausibly suggested to originate from Late Bronze Age

cuneiform Luwian *tiyammi-* “earth”, of which the use can be shown to have continued into the Early Iron Age in form of, for example, the Lydian GN *Tiamou*. Crucial for our understanding of the apodosis of the damnation-formula is the word *partys*, which renders the N(m/f) pl. in *-ης* (cf. *paternys*) in like manner as its closest cognate Latin *partes* and accordingly might, as a proper part or fate assigned to a perpetrator, most adequately be translated as “victims”. The plural nature of *partys* depends from the duality of the possessive genitives associated with it as stipulated by the repetition of the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and”: he should be a victim of the god *Ouela* (whose identification as the sun-god may be inferred from the Hesykhian gloss βέλα·ἥλιος καὶ ἀύγη ὑπὸ Λακόνων) on the one hand and a victim of his own conscience (with *isnou* being related to Greek εἰσνοεῶ “to perceive, remark”) on the other hand.

NPhr-26 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Şarkıkaraağaç

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. <i>ios ni semoun knoumanni</i> | “Who(ever) does harm to this grave or |
| <i>kakoun daket aini manka</i> | the memorial (stone), |
| b. <i>etit-tetikmenos eitou</i> | let him be forever damned!” |

NPhr-82 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Piribeyli

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. <i>ios ni sa tou manka kakoun</i> | “Who(ever) brings harm to this |
| <i>addaket</i> | monument of him, |
| b. <i>ti tetikmenos eitou</i> | let him be damned for it!” |

NPhr-?? Damnation formula of an inscription from Afyon (= Brixhe & Drew-Bear 1997, 83-86)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. <i>ios ni sem[oun] to (= tou)</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to |
| <i>knoumane kaken addaket</i> | this grave of him, |
| b. <i>me zemelōs-ke deōs-ke</i> | let him be damned for it by both |
| <i>ti tetikmenos eitou</i> | mortals and gods!” |

NPhr-97 Damnation formula of an inscription from Çavdia Hisar (= Aizanoi)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>ios ni semou knoumane</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to |
| <i>kaken adaket aini manka</i> | this grave or the memorial (stone), |
| b. <i>me ze[me]lōs-ke deōs-ke</i> | let him be forever damned for it among |
| <i>ti eti tetikm[enos eitou]</i> | both mortals and gods!” |

For the interpretation of the combination of *zemelōs* with *deōs* in the apodosis of the damnation-formula, cf. the Gallic *dvandva teuoχtonion /dēvogdonion/* “deis et hominibus” as attested for an inscription from Vercelli (Meid 1997; Delamarre 2003, s.v. *deuogdonioi*), whereas the human nature of *zemel-* may

receive further emphasis from the Hesychian gloss ζέμελεν·βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον. Φρύγες, and its etymological relationship to Slavic *zemla* “earth”. The suggestion by Lubotsky (1989a) to reconstruct here the D sg. *tie* of the indication of a male divinity otherwise attested in G sg. form *tios* fails to explain the absence of a third instance of the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and”, to be expected in the light of the New Phrygian inscription no. 48 from Dorylaion. Note that the element *me* at the start of the apodosis of the damnation-formula bears testimony of the adverb *me(t)* “among”, corresponding to Greek μετά (< **me-t*-), also attested for the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 6 and 21 from Sülmenli and Aşağı Piribeyli, respectively, and needs to be carefully distinguished from the negative adverb *me* “not”, corresponding to Greek μή, as assured for the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 86 and 99 from Geinik and Erten Jayla, respectively. The residual element *ti* is paralleled for the New Phrygian inscription no. 6 from Sülmenli and most likely to be explained as a pronominal form, if not, on the analogy of the appearance of *si* alongside *soi*, actually a variant of the D sg. of the article *to-*, viz. *toi* (m) or *tai* (f)—is it possible to be even more precise and suggest a *neuter* variant for which the distinction between the vowels *o* and *a* is irrelevant?

NPhr-6 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Sülmenli

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>ios ni semoun knoumane</i>
<i>[kakon] abberet</i>
<i>a[i]nou[m] mon[ka]n</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
grave, or the memorial (stone), |
| b. | <i>tos ni me zemelō<s>-ke</i>
<i>deōs[-ke] ti η̄tit-</i>
<i>tetikmenos e[i]tou</i> | let him be forever damned for it among
both mortals and gods!” |

NPhr-21 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Aşağı Piribeyli

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a. | <i>ios sa sorou kake adaket</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
sarcophagus, |
| b. | <i>me zemelōs tit-tetikmenos</i>
<i>eitou</i> | let him be damned for it among
mortals!” |

NPhr-4 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Sülmenli

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>ios ni semoun knoumani</i>
<i>kakoun adaket aini oi</i>
<i>thalamei</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
grave or the chamber for him, |
| b. | <i>dη diōs zemelōs tit-</i>
<i>tetikmenos eitou</i> | let him be damned for it
(among) gods (and) mortals!” |

NPhr-86 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Geinik

- a. *ios ni k[nou]mani kakoun* “Who(ever) brings damage to the grave
add[a]ket aini mankḥs or the memorial (stone),
- b. *Bas ioi bekos me bere[t]* Bas will not bring bread for him,
Attin-ke ti tetikm[e]nos and let him be damned for it by Attis!”
eitou

This inscription presents a clear instance of the negative adverb *me* “not”, corresponding to Greek μή, the occurrence of which is also assured for the New Phrygian inscription no. 99 from Erten Jayla, whereas it is further possibly encountered in the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 18 and 42 from Bayat and Fileli, respectively (cf. Haas 1966, 236). As duly observed in the discussion of the New Phrygian inscription no. 97 from Çavdia Hisar above, this negative adverb needs to be carefully distinguished from the formally identical adverb *me(t)* “among”, corresponding to Greek μετά (< **me-t*). The verbal form *beret* shows the simplex of the verbal root *ber-* “to carry, bring” otherwise encountered in composite variant, like in case of *abberet* from the protasis of the damnation-formula of the New Phrygian inscription no. 6 from Sülmenli and the unnumbered one from the region of Antioch in Pisidia, characterized by the preverb *ab-* < **ad-*.

NPhr-99 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Erten Jayla

- a. *ios ni [s]emon knoumanei* “Who(ever) brings damage to this
k[a]k[e] adaket grave,
- b. *ti tikmenos as tian [e]itou* let him be damned for it by the
 goddess,
me-ke oi totos seiti Bas and the people (and) Bas will not
bekos lay bread for him!”

Note that *totos* is the N(m/f) sg. in *-s* of the root *toto-*, which in variant form *teuto-* “people” occurs in the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the New Phrygian inscription no. 36 from Sınanlı, where it is in like manner paired with the GN *Bas*, so that we can be reasonably sure that it here, too, refers to this particular administrative organization. It further deserves our attention that the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and” does not coordinate, as usually, two elements within a particular phrase, but two separate phrases in their entirety, as paralleled, for example, for the protasis of the damnation-formula of the aforesaid New Phrygian inscription no. 36 from Sınanlı, again.

NPhr-18 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Bayat

- a. *ios moikran latomeion* “Who(ever) desecrates the little slab
egdaes moursa as a funereal memorial,

<i>aini kos semoun</i>	or who(ever) brings damage to this
<i>knoumanei kakoun addaket</i>	grave,
b. <i>bekos ioi me totos s<eiti></i>	the people will not lay bread for him
<i>Eugixarnan</i>	insofar as (the cult of the Mother)
	Fulfilling Prayer is concerned!"

The verbal form *egdaes* is likely to be analyzed as a compound of the 3rd pers. sg. of the present tense of *da-* “to dedicate”, *daes*, no doubt formed after the pattern of the past tense *edaes*, with the preverb *eg-*, corresponding to Greek ἐκ- or ἐξ-, which appears to change the meaning of the verb into its opposite, hence “to desecrate”. In the present case, the verb governs a double accusative construction, the root of the second one being paralleled for *mros* (G sg.) in the New Phrygian inscription from the territory of Antioch in Pisidia presented in the above and likewise testifying to a reflex of PIE **mer-* “to die” (cf. Latin *mori-or*). The apodosis of the damnation-formula is of similar type as the one from the New Phrygian inscription no. 99 from Erten Jayla, which leads us to the inference that the *s* following *totos* functions as an abbreviation of the verb *seiti*. As the punishment for which the possible violator of the grave is warned consists in his exclusion from the local cult procedures, there is no need to assume that the cultic title of the Mother goddess, which occurs in the accusative in order to specify the cultic procedures in question (i.e. *accusativus respectus*), renders a negative meaning notwithstanding its attractive analysis in line with Greek εὐχή “prayer, wish” and ἐξ-αρνέομαι “to deny, refuse”: the local community is indeed more likely to worship a goddess who will fulfill their prayers than one who will refuse to do so, from which it apparently follows that the connotation of Phrygian (*e*)*x-arna-*, whatever the merits of its formal resemblance to the Greek equivalent in question, is something like “to execute, realize”.

NPhr-36 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Sinanlı

a. <i>ios-ke semoun knoumani</i>	“And who(ever) will bring damage to
<i>kakoun adaket</i>	this grave,
b. (...)	(...)
<i>autos-ke oua-k oraka</i>	and may he himself and his
<i>gegaritmenos a<s> Batan</i>	offspring be at the mercy of Bas (and)
<i>teutous</i>	the people (pl.)!”

The reconstruction of the adverb *as* “by, through” is based on the recurrence of the entire expression in the New Phrygian inscription no. 33 from Sinanlı. The adverb in question clearly rules the accusative, as further deducible from *as tian* “by the goddess” in the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the New Phrygian inscriptions nos. 14 and 99 from Hüsrevpasa and Erten Jayla, respectively, so that the form *teutous*, which is lined here with the GN Bas in like manner as in the

inscription from Erten Jayla just mentioned, by means of deduction can only come into consideration as an A(m/f) pl.

NPhr-2 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Üç Üyük, dated to the 2nd century AD

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>ios ta mankai kakoun
addaket</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
grave, |
| b. | <i>ti etit-tetikmenos eitou
u-ke akala oouitetou oua</i> | let him be forever damned for it,
and let he not perceive his waters!” |

Note the use of the negative adverb *u* “not”, corresponding to Greek οὐ, where, for its occurrence in combination with the imperative, we would rather have expected the prohibitive variant *me*, corresponding to Greek μή. The root of the verb form *oouitetou* strikingly recalls that of Greek (F)ιδ- “to see, know”, from which relationship it might well be inferred that the initial vowel *o* results from a writing error by dittography. The grammatically related couple *akala oua* renders the N-A(n) pl.

NPhr-33 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Sınanlı

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>ios ni semoun knoumanei
kakoun addaket</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
grave, |
| b. | <i>gegreimenan egedou tios
outan
akke oi bekos akkalos
tidregroun eitou
autos-ke oua-k eroka
gegaritmenos as Batan
teutous</i> | let him suffer the ordained curse of
god,
and let him be deprived of bread
(and) water for him,
and (let him) and his offspring
(be) at the mercy of Bas (and) the
people (pl.)!” |

The root of the participle of the perfect *gegreimenan* has been shown by Haas (1966, 87) to be related with that of Greek χρίω “to scratch, incise” on the basis of its recurrence in the first element of the geographic name Γρυμενο-δουρίται, which according to a gloss by Ptolemaios is reported to express the meaning “inscribed doors” after the local Phrygian funerary monuments (for the second element, cf. Greek θύρα “door”). Furthermore, on the basis of the context it may safely be inferred that the root *ge-* of the verbal form *egedou* renders the meaning “to suffer, undergo” or the like. In line with this suggestion, the ending of the 3rd person singular in *-dou* appears to be that of the middle (< PIE **-dhō*) rather than of the active (< PIE **-tō*) and to correspond to Old Phrygian *-do* as in *lake-do* from the inscription W-01 of a rock monument near Midas town. The coordinative conjunction *akke* is commonly analyzed as a formation similar to Latin *atque*, in which case its final syllable renders the common enclitic *-ke* “and”.

Although its meaning is easily deducible from the context, the verbal form *tidregroun* remains unclear for the apparent lack of comparative data (participle of the perfect of the active instead of the usual ones of the middle-passive?).

NPhr-76 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Kelhasan

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| a. | <i>ios ni semin t knoumanei
addaket</i> | “Who(ever) will bring damage to this
grave of him, |
| b. | <i>tit-tetikmenos Atti adeitou
akke oi bekos akkalos
tidregroun eitou
gegreimenan-k egedou
tios outan</i> | let him be damned for it by Attis,
and let him be deprived of bread (and)
water for himself,
and let him suffer the ordained curse
of god!” |

NPhr-35 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Sinanlı

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| a. | <i>ios ni sai kakoun addakem
mankai</i> | “Who(ever) brings damage to this
grave, |
| b. | <i>as anankai oi panta
kenannou</i> | let him for himself be deprived of all
(things) by fate/necessity!” |

In the light of the parallels, the form *addakem* no doubt results from an anticipation error induced by the following *mankai* and should be emended as *addaket*. As we have just noted in connection with the preceding discussion of the New Phrygian inscription no. 36 from Sinanlı, the adverb *as* “by, through” rules the accusative, whereas here it occurs in combination with the D sg. For a similar inconsistency, compare the apparently erroneous use of the G sg. instead of the D sg. in connection with the indication of the funerary monument, *sas skeredrias* “to this ossuary”, in the protasis of the damnation-formula of the New Phrygian inscription no. 56 from Küçük Beşkavak as opposed to the regular *sa skeledriai* in the analogous New Phrygian inscription no. 67 from Kestel near Laodicea Combusta. The form *kenannou* is, on the analogy of *eitou* “let him be”, likely to be analyzed as a 3rd pers. sg. of the imperative in **-tou* (< **kenantou* with *-nt-* > *-nn-* by assimilation) of a verbal root *kena-* or *kenan-*, plausibly suggested to render the meaning “to deprive” or something like that—in which case a relationship with Greek κενός “empty, devoid of” suggests itself. The pronominal form *oi*, which is also attested for the New Phrygian inscription no. 48 from Dorylaion, on the analogy of the pronominal series *soi*, *sai*, *toi*, *tai*, and *ioi*, obviously renders D sg.

NPhr-88 Damnation-formula of an inscription from Bağlica in west-Phrygia, 3rd century AD

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>ios ni semoun knoumanei</i> | “Who(ever) brings harm to this |
|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|

<i>kake addaket aōrō</i>	grave of prematurely (died)
<i>Ouenaouias</i>	Venavia,
b. <i>tig-gegaritmeno<s> eitou</i>	let him be at the mercy (of god) for it:
<i>Pour ouanakton-ke</i>	he will have to cope with (the divine)
<i>ouranion isgeiket Diounsīn</i>	Fire and the heavenly king, Dionysos!”
(= <i>Dionusin</i>)	

Note that the enclitic conjunction *-ke* “and” lines *pour* with *ouanakton ouranion Dionusin*, which indicates its divine nature. Against the background of our characterization of Phrygian religion as an Aegean type of mystery cult, the attestation of Dionysos in combination with fire of divine nature allows us to draw a direct parallel with the cult of the Eleusinian mysteries, in which Dionysos and the nightly fire at the Anaktoron play a prominent role. But it must be admitted that this inscription is of a very late date and that therefore the possibility cannot be excluded out of hand that these Eleusinian elements are the result of secondary Hellenic religious influences on the region in question. The element *tig* at the start of the apodosis of the damnation-formula appears to be an instance of the pronoun *ti*, analyzed as a D sg. of the neuter of the article *to-* in the above, which is in effect considered by the scribe as a prefix to the participle *gegaritmenos*, as a result of which the initial consonant of the latter form became subject to gemination in like manner as in case of *ti* in *tit-tetikmenos*. The validity of analysis of the root of the verbal form *isgeiket* from the final section of the apodosis of the damnation-formula as a reflex of the same PIE root from which also Greek ἵσχω “to have, hold” originates, which we owe to the merit of Lubotsky 1989b, receives, as the latter duly stressed, further emphasis from the close correspondence of the entire expression to the Greek variant of the apodosis of the damnation-formula ἐξεῖ πρὸς οὐράνιον Διόνυσον. For the additional element *-ke-* in it which results from this analysis, compare *daket*, *addaket*, etc. alongside *edaes*, indicating that the root of this verb is *da-*, which can be augmented by the element *-ke-*.

NPhr-31 Funerary inscription of a grave from Ilgın

a. <i>as semoun knouman</i>	“Through this grave and (?) (...)
<i>adiθrera(-?)k Xeuneoi</i>	for Xeuneos you should experience the
<i>[a]dikesai an mankan</i>	memorial (stone) as an injustice,
b. <i>ian estaes braterē</i>	which he has placed for (his) brother as
<i>maimarḡan</i>	a (memorial stone) of marble;
c. <i>Poukros Mani(s)sou</i>	Poukros, (the son) of Manis,
<i>eneparkes de tounbon</i>	however, has bought the tomb for/
<i>Xeunai</i>	on behalf of Xeuna.”

In the discussion of the Old Phrygian inscription from Uyučik in Mysia (B-04), we have already encountered the modal particle *an*, which occurs there in com-

bination with a verb in the optative. In the present case, however, this particle occurs in combination with the verb *adikesai*, which, in line with the relevant Greek evidence (that is to say as far as the sigmatic aorist is concerned), may reasonably be assumed to render the 2nd person singular of the imperative of the middle-passive in *-sai* of the root *adike-* “to suffer injustice”. As noted in the discussion of the Old Phrygian inscription from Midas town M-01, the verbal form *eneparkes* from the final phrase of the present text is paralleled for M-01d. For the apparent inability of women to act on their own in official matters, exemplified here by the fact that Poukros, the brother of the deceased Xeuneos, has arranged the monument (also) on behalf of the latter’s female relative Xeuna—probably to be identified as his daughter or granddaughter—, see our remarks in the discussion of the Old Phrygian inscription W-01 from the region of Midas town.

NPhr-9 Funerary inscription of a grave from Işıklar

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Kouthos et Roupas</i> | “Quintus and Rufus, after the graves |
| 2. <i>dekmoutais knou</i> | and the memorials having been set |
| 3. <i>ma eti manka opestam</i> | up as an annex from the (revenues of |
| 4. <i>ena daditi Nenueria</i> | the) tithes, have allotted the upper part |
| 5. <i>partu soubra</i> | to Nenueria.” |

The given interpretation is based on the improved transcription by Orel 1997, 72-76. Accordingly, then, this grave inscription, which is written by or on behalf of the Roman Quintus in cooperation with his father Rufus, bears testimony of secondary influences from Latin in form of *et*, *partu*, *soubra*, and *daditi*, corresponding to Latin *et* “and”, *pars* (G *partis*) “part”, *supra* “above”, and *dedit* “(s)he has given”, respectively. The form *dekmoutais* (D pl.) evidently shows a reflex of PIE **dékmt-* “10” in like manner as its Greek equivalent δεκάτη “tithe”, or, more in general, Gallic *dekantem* (A(m/f) sg.) and Luwian hieroglyphic *tinita-* of the same meaning, and, given the guttural expression of the original palatovelar, in this manner provides welcome additional evidence for the *centum*-nature of Phrygian as further exemplified by *-agta-* in *lavagtaei* “leader of the host” (D sg.) < PIE **h₂eǵ-* “to lead”, Ἀκμωνία (place name) < PIE **h₂eǵmen-*, *kuno-* “dog” < PIE **k(u)won-*, **ki-* “to lie” < PIE **kei-*, *nekro-* “to kill” < PIE **nek-ro-*, *meka-* “great” < PIE **meǵ(h₂)-*, **tik-* “to show, accuse” < PIE **deiǵ-*, *vekro-* “father-in-law” < PIE **swekuro-*, and *verktevo-* “work, construction” < PIE **werǵ-* (note that the evidence for a *satem* reflex of palatovelars as represented by **sei-* “to lie” < PIE **kei-* and Σεμέλη (divine name = “Mother Earth”) or *zemel-* “mortal, earthling” < PIE **d^heǵ^hōm-* must hence be attributed to secondary *satem*-influences). The participle of the perfect, *opestamena*, the root of which corresponds to Greek ἐφίσταμαι “to place for oneself as an annex” with the noted adjustment that the preverb occurs in a form corresponding to Mycenaean form *o-pi-*, is characterized by the N-A(n)

pl. in *-a*, which *mutatis mutandis* also applies to the indications of the object grammatically lined with it—an inference further underlined by the singular *tan protussestamenan mankan* in the inscription following below. Note that the pre-verb *opi-* may well express the meaning that the funerary monument has been set up as a part of a larger project not necessarily executed at the same spot, but in any case financed from the revenues of the same title.

NPhr-15 Funerary inscription of a grave from Seyitgazi

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Xeune tan eixa upso</i> | “For Xeuna, Amias (has set up), after |
| 2. <i>dan protussestam</i> | having placed this memorial later on |
| 3. <i>enan mankan Ami</i> | top (of the existing monument), which |
| 4. <i>as ian ioi anar Doru-</i> | (her) husband Dorukanos [authorized] |
| <i>ka[nos ...]</i> | him (to do so).” |

The given interpretation is based on the improved transcription by Orel 1997, 76-79. From the context, it seems clear that *Xeune* renders the D sg. of the female personal name *Xeuna*, otherwise occurring in form of *Xeunai* in the New Phrygian inscription no. 31 from Ilgın. The root of this personal name, which, for example in the aforesaid inscription from Ilgın, also occurs in male variant *Xeuneos*, is plausibly suggested by Orel (1997, 76-77) to be related to Greek ξένος “host, stranger” originating from an earlier *ξένφοϛ as recorded for the Mycenaean MN *ke-se-nu-wo /Xenwōn/*, in which case the Phrygian form would bear testimony of metathesis of *n* and *w* as compared to its Greek equivalent. The interpretation of the remainder of the text naturally follows from the relationship of *eixa*, *upsodan*, *protu-*, and *anar* to Greek ἐξῆς “in a row, following, successively”, ὑπόθεν “from above”, προτί (variant of πρόσ) “with”, and ἀνὴρ “man, husband”, and receives further emphasis from the fact that the personal names Amias and Dorukanos are duly paralleled in Anatolian onomastics from about the period to which the inscription belongs. Note that, after the instances of W-01 and NPhr-31, we are confronted here with a third example for the apparent legal incapacity of female persons to act on their own behalf in official matters.

NPhr-116 Final phrase of a funerary inscription from Gezler Köyü

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| f. <i>tekmar Dii detoi oinis</i> | “The wine for the memorial (is/serves as) a (libation) offering to Zeus.” |
|----------------------------------|---|

NPhr-98 Dedicatory inscription, presently in the Museum of Dorylaion

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| <i>dakaren paterns eukin argou</i> | “The Fathers dedicate for themselves because of a vow.” |
|------------------------------------|---|

NPhr-48 Apodosis of the damnation-formula of a bilingual inscription on a stone which is now lost and of which the top side already had been missing from Dorylaion in the neighborhood of Eskişehir

(...)	“let him be (...)
3. <i>eitou Mitraφata</i>	(...)! Mitrabates and
4. <i>-ke Mas Temroge-</i>	Mas Tembrogius (= local river)
5. <i>ios-ke Pountas</i>	and the Pontic Bas
6. <i>Bas-ke enstarna</i>	will be supervizing (the curse).”
7. [vac.] <i>doum<e>-ke oi</i> <i>ou<e>-</i>	“And to (the care of) the religious community the Guardian has put the memorial for Himself.”
8. <i>ban addaket orou-</i>	
9. <i>an παρεθέμην τὸ</i> <i>μνημῆιον τοῖς προ-</i> <i>γεγραμμένοις θε-</i> <i>οῖς κὲ τῇ κώμῃ</i> <i>ταυθ' ὁ πατήρ</i> <i>Ἄσκληπιός</i>	“Father Asklepios has placed this monument under the protection of the above-mentioned gods and the (religious) community.”

The most interesting verbal form in this text is *enstarna* from the final phrase of its damnation-formula, which is convincingly interpreted by Lubotsky 1997 as a 3rd person plural of the present tense of the middle-passive in *-rna* (variant form of *-ren* as encountered in the previous New Phrygian inscription no. 98; note that the ending is characterized by the Indo-European passive marker *-r-*, further represented by forms like Old Phrygian *irter* (P-04) and New Phrygian *abberetor* and *addaketor*, typical of the conservative group of languages among the Indo-European language family, whereas Phrygian otherwise clearly belongs to its innovative group, see Woudhuizen *forthc.* 2 on this matter) of the verb *ensta-*, corresponding to Greek ἐν-ίστημι “to place inside”. Also in regard to the interpretation of the remainder of the text I follow the exemplary lead by Lubotsky, with the noted adjustment that the pronominal form *oi*, in like manner as in the New Phrygian inscription no. 35 from Sınanlı, renders the D sg. and that the monument in question is not of funereal, but dedicatory nature.

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APPENDIX: SOME NOTES ON PHRYGIAN & GREEK

Frits Waanders

Not much is known about the historical phonology of Phrygian. However, some developments from Indo-European to Phrygian appear to be well-established:

(i) PIE **bh*, **dh*, **gh* > Phr. *b*, *d*, *g*; from the LIST OF LEXICAL CORRESPONDENCES one can adduce: 5. *agaritoi* + 59. *garit(o)-*, 21. *argo-*, 27. *ber-*, 29. *brater-*, 30. *da-*, 34. *deto-*, 43. *δοῦρῖται*, 49. + 50. *eugi-*, 62. *glouros*, 63. *Gordion*, *Gordias*, 64. *grei-*, 69. *isgei-*, ...—always provided that the identifications are correct;

(ii) Phrygian is a *kentum* language, cf., sub (i), 5+59, 21, 49+50, 62, 63, 64, 69; the development of the labiovelars is not entirely clear, but there seem to be some indications that in principle, they merged with the (palato)velars (above, n. 2).

I would like to make some remarks on selected entries in the LIST:

29. *brater-* ~ φράτηρ, βρά (Eleian): I would not mention βρά, which is problematic rather than illuminating. Eleian is a genuine Greek dialect (with φ, θ, χ from the PIE aspirated stops); therefore, if βρά is really found in Elis, it must be a loanword from an IE language where **bh* > *b* (apart from Phrygian, possible candidates are Macedonian and Thracian; Illyrian has also been proposed, see hereafter). The transmitted text of Hesychius has βρά ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλειῶν; editors correct Ἰλειῶν into Ἡλείων, or even Ἰλλυρίων. Βρά is like *fra*

in Italian, but that is about all we can say about it.

37. *diθur-* (as in διθύραμβος “Vierschritt”): The etymology of διθύραμβος (and, often mentioned in this connection, ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος) is unclear. One often speculates that ἴαμβος = “Einschritt”, θρίαμβος = “Dreischritt”, and διθύραμβος = “Vierschritt”, without it being clear from which (IE) language Greek took these words (e.g., Thracian, or an IE language in Greece anterior to Greek, would be no worse guess than Phrygian). Anyhow, there is a problem with διθυρ- “4”, leaving aside the long ι, as indicated in the dictionaries; cf. E.C. Polomé, “Thraco-Phrygian”, in: J. Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals* (1992), p. 362. Accepting ι-, θρι-, and διθυρ- as (IE) numerical elements meaning 1, 3, and 4, I would like to propose an explanation for the *d-* of διθυρ-. As known, numerals tend to influence one another. Thus, in some Greek dialects, ὀκτώ “8” was influenced by ἑπτὰ “7”, giving ὀπτῶ or ὀπτῶ; in Germanic, Gothic *fidwor* “4” owes its *f-* to *finf* “5” (likewise English *four* : *five*, etc.); in Latin, *novem* “9” owes its final *-m* to *septem* and *decem*. Therefore, I surmise that διθυρ- took its *d-* from the numeral “2”, whatever its exact form in the (unidentified) language of the *-ambos* words. θ (*th*) < PIE **t* seems to be a feature of this language, as suggested by θρι- and διθυρ-; this is not characteristic of Phrygian—or, at least, aspiration of voiceless stops is not indicated. I feel like speculating somewhat further: if language *x* resembles Phrygian/Thracian/Macedonian, the element *-amb-* might be related to Greek ἄμφο, ἀμφί, Latin *ambo*, *ambi-*, and the *-ambos* words may mean “dance in which *both feet* are raised and put down once/three times/four times”. As for ἴαμβος, an iambic metron in Greek (- ˘ - ˘) would illustrate the naming principle. (A θρίαμβος should then, originally at least, resemble a Greek iambic trimeter, and a διθύραμβος a tetrameter.)

68. *is-*, 105. (-)*nou*: *isnou* (text **NPhr-87** l. b) is explained as follows: *is* ~ εἰς “in” (preposition) + gen. *nou* ~ νόος, νοῦς “spirit, mind” (“(victim) of the working of his own conscience”). Apart from the Greek genitive form *nou* (I cannot make Phrygian of it), εἰς “into” (extended form of ἐν), like Latin *in* “into”, does not take the genitive, and this is not to be expected for Phrygian either. Therefore, I wonder whether *is* < *ix* “from” (Gk ἐξ, Lat. *ex*), as found in 50: *Eug-ix-arnan*, if reading and analysis are correct. On the whole, however, I do not feel confident that the correct interpretation of *isnou* has been found; the structure of the sentence remains somewhat obscure to me.

Several words for “woman” are recognized in the LIST:

28. *bonok*, *banekos* ~ βανά (Aiolic), βονά (Cyprian) “wife”

79. *kinumais* (D pl.) ~ γυνή, γυναικός (G) “woman, wife”

81. *knaiko*, *knaikan* (A(m/f) sg.) ~ γυνή, γυναικός (G) (cf. Myc. *ku-na-ki-si* [D pl.]) “woman, wife” (why “m/f”?)

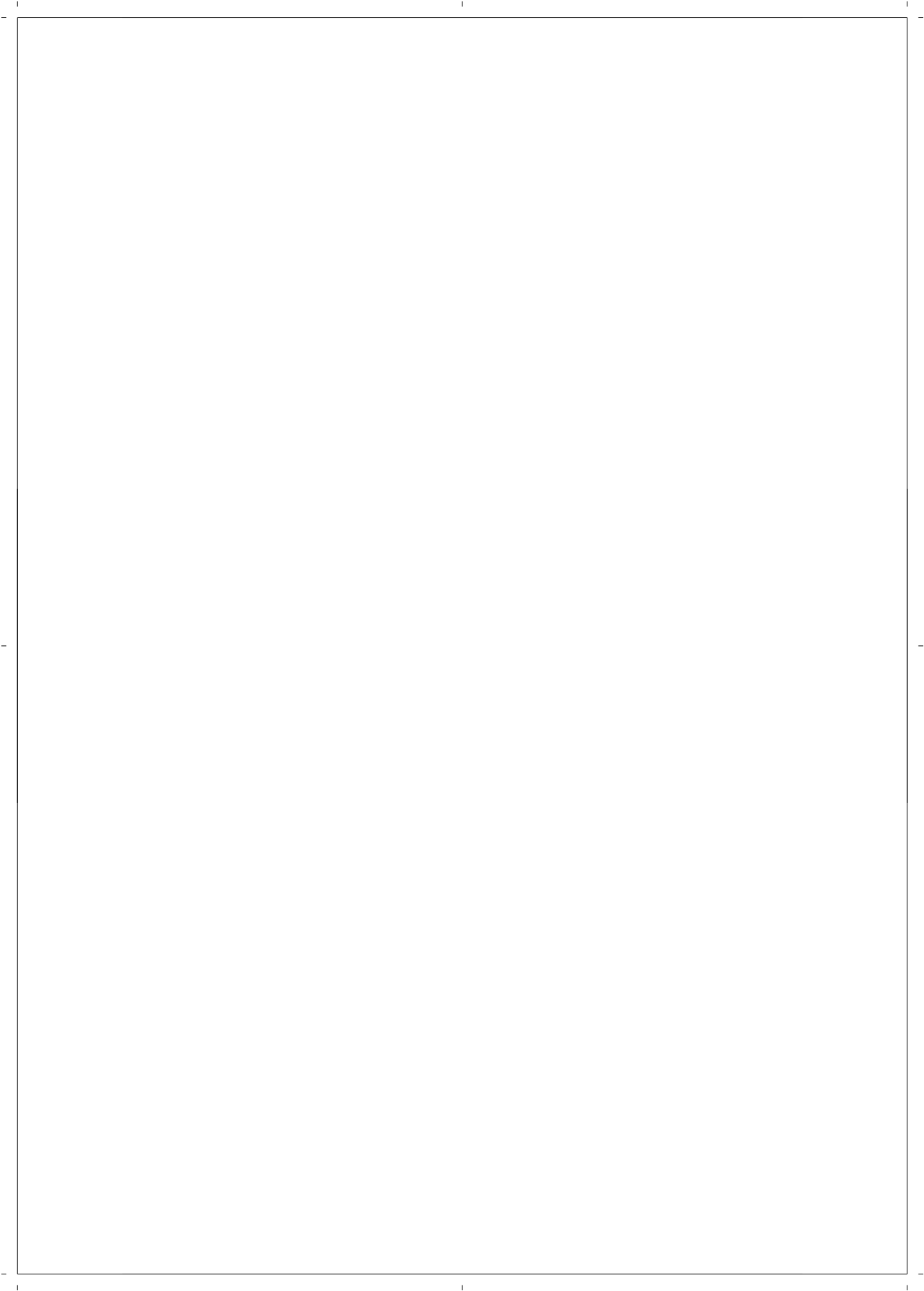
I must confess that the Phrygian women really confuse me; they look like shape-shifters, rather than ordinary women. Starting from PIE **g^wneh₂(ik)-*, *knaiko* and *knaikan* may be acceptable results (if we assume a secondary development *gn-* > *kn-* within Phrygian), perhaps also *kinumais* (with metathesis, <

**kun-im-?*), with the *k-* of *knaik-*, but a different suffix than *-ik-*; on the other hand, I cannot figure out how we can explain *bonok*, *banekos*—Phrygian is not a Greek dialect like Aeolic or Cyprian.

In text **G-02 l. 1**, one encounters *agaritōi Adoikavoi* “for the Ungracious Adoikavos”. Dr Woudhuizen remarks that “[i]t may reasonably be argued that the recipient deity, Adoikavos, for his epithet *agaritōi* “ungracious (D sg.)”, is likely to be identified as a, or the, god of the underworld.” I would like to propose an etymology for the god’s name, viz. *a-doik-avos*, analyzed as *a-* < **η-* (“*a privans*”) + *-doik(a)-*: *o*-grade of **deik-* “indicate, point out, say” etc. (Gk *δεικνύναι*, Lat. *dicere*) + a suffix *-(a)vo-*, the entire name meaning something like “The Unshowable” or “The Unspeakable/Unspoken”; cf. Gk *Ἄιδ(α)*—“The Unseen”.

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P. OXY. 2330: A NEW COLLATION

(Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum 34)

Jan P. Stronk

In 1954 E. Lobel and C. Roberts published *P. Oxy.* 2330¹, which they ascribed to Ctesias of Cnidus, an author of the 5th/4th centuries BC². The identification was made possible by a reference by Demetrius, *De Elocutione* (= *On Style*), 212-4. Demetrius writes about repetition in order to make a greater impression. Subsequently he describes the situation and then quotes the relevant sentence as written by Ctesias: “Ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι’ ἐμὲ ἐσώθης...”. These same words we also find on the papyrus, lines 7-8. Up to the present day, this fragment is nearly the only surviving part of Ctesias’ *Persica*³. In 2003 Rosa Giannattasio Andria made a new collation, but preparing my forthcoming edition of Ctesias’ *Persian History* (Stronk 2010), I made a collation as well (cf. www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk, online database *sub* authors a-z > Ctesias).

P. Oxy. 2330:

transcription

text

[.α.σ...λε.]απα[γψτεξδ..].	1	[.α.σ...λε.]απα[γψ.τεξ δ' ἐσ]
τινοτιαγ[.]σενελειπεξ οδει	2	τιν ὅτι ἄγ[ο]ς ἐνέλειπεξ. ὁ δ' εἶ-
πενφερετογουνπρωτον	3	πεν· φέρε τὸ γούν πρῶτον
[.]ραμματ[α.]ραψωπροξζαρει	4	[γ]ράμματ[α γ]ράψω πρὸς Ζαρει-
ναιαν·καίγραφει·ξτρυαγ	5	ναίαν· καὶ γράφει· Στρυαγ-
γαιοξζαρε[.]αιαιουτωλεγει	6	γαῖος Ζαρε[ιν]αία οὕτω λέγει·
εγωμενεεεωσακαικυδιε	7	ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ δι' ἐ-
μεεξ[.]θηξ·εγωδεδιαεα	8	με ἐσ[ώ]θης. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀ-
πω[.]μηγκαιεπεκτεινα	9	πω[λό]μην, καὶ ἀπέκτεινα
αυτοσεμαντον·ουγαρμοικυε	10	αὐτὸς ἐμαντόν· οὐ γάρ μοι σὺ ἐ-
βουλουχαρ[.]σασθαι·εγωδεταυ	11	βούλου χαρ[ί]σασθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦ-
τατα[κακ]ακαιονερωτατον	12	τα τα [κακ]ὰ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τόν-

¹ Lobel/Roberts 1954.² See, *i.a.*, Stronk 2004-05, Stronk 2007, and Stronk 2010.³ There are also some other sentences preserved in Demetrius, *On Style*, 215-216.

δεουκαυτοσειλομηναλλα	13	δε οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰλόμην, ἀλλὰ
μεερωσαπωλεσεν·οδεθεος	14	με ἔρωσ ἀπώλεσεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς
ουτο[.]εστινκοινοςκαικοικαι	15	οὐτό[ς] ἐστὶν κοινὸς καὶ σοὶ καὶ
απασιγανθρωποισιν·οτωι	16	ἅπασι γὰνθρώποισιν. ὅτω
μεγρυνειλεως[.]λθηπλει	17	μὲν οὖν εἴλεως [ἔ]λθη, πλεί
εταγεηδοναδ[ι δ]φεινκαιαλ	18	στας γε ἡδονὰς δ[ι δ]ῶσιν, καὶ ἄλ-
λαπλειεταγαθαε[.]οιησεναυ	19	λὰ πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ἐ[π]οίησεν αὐ-
[τ]ον·[ο]τα[ν]δεοργιζομενος	20	[τ]όν. [ὄ]τα[ν] δὲ ὀργιζόμενος
[ε]λθηω[.]περεμοιοννπλει	21	[ἔ]λθη ὅ[σ]περ ἐμοὶ νῦν, πλεῖ-
ετακ[....]γασαμε[ν]οστοτελευ	22	στα κ[ακὰ ἐρ]γασάμε[ν]ος τὸ τελευ-
ταιο[νπ]ροριζον[απ]ωλεσεν ρρ	23	ταῖο[ν π]ρόρριζον [ἀ]πώλεσεν
καιε[.ετ.]εψεν· τ[ε]κμαιρομαι	24	καὶ ἐ[ξέτ]ρωψεν. τ[ε]κμαίρομαι
δετ[ωεμ]ωιθαν[α]τωι[.]γω	25	δὲ τ[ῶ] ἐμ[ῶ] θαν[ά]τω. [ἐ]γὼ
γαρσοι[κατ]αρασομαιμενου	26	γάρ σοι [κατ]αράσομαι μὲν οὐ-
δεν·[επ]ευξομαιδεοιτ[ην]	27	δέν.[ἐπ]εύξομαι δὲ σοὶ τ[ῆ]ν
δικαιο[...]ην[ε]υχην·ειμ[ε]ν	28	δικαιο[τάτ]ην [ε]ὐχὴν· εἰ μ[ε]ν
ενεμε[....]ιαε[π]οιησαςπολ	29	σὺ ἐμε [δίκαι]α ἐ[π]οίησας πολ

The fragment is part of the Median history, discussed in books 4-6 of Ctesias' *Persian History*. The main characters of the fragment are Zarinaea, the queen of the Sacae, and Stryangaeus, a Mede (who is in love with the queen). From the fragments of Ctesias preserved by Nicholas of Damascus (*FGrH* No. 90 F. 5) we know that Stryangaeus has declared his love to the queen, but that she declined his proposal, very kindly but very clearly as well. It leads to the following translation, from the end of line 2: "He said: 'Now, first of all, I will write a letter to Zareinaea'; and he wrote: 'Stryangaeus speaks to Zareinaea as follows: I saved you and you were saved by me, but I have perished because of you and I kill myself, since you did not wish to be kind to me. I myself did not choose this evil fate nor this love, but love has destroyed me. This god is common to you as well as to all mankind. Whomever he approaches favourably, he gives the utmost pleasures and contrives for him very many other benefits, but whomever he comes to in anger, as he does now with me, he finally turns him out and causes his complete breakdown and reduces him to nothing. I come to this conclusion from my own death. I will not curse you in any way, but I will address the most righteous prayer to you: if you did right things towards me many beautiful and good things may occur to you, but if you treated me wrongly, ...>".

The text is written on a piece of papyrus of medium brown colour, measuring max. c. 16 cm x max. c. 8 cm. It appears to have been a complete column (σελίς), in width as well as in length, of a text, which continued further on the sheet. The last letters of the column, "πολ", suggest the continuation in the following one like: "λὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ σοὶ γίγνοιτο, εἰ δὲ ἀδίκια ..." κτλ. (cf. also the text of Nicholas of Damascus: *FGrH* No. 90 F 5), which has already

been implemented in the translation above. Neither above nor under the text of the column traces of writing are visible, showing a rather broad upper and lower margin, perhaps suggesting an origin as part of a literary scroll. The margin is clearly discernable to the right, to the left is somewhat more damage, though the completeness of the sentences is obvious. The signs of wear which are visible look at least partly consistent with the mechanical damage caused by frequent unrolling and rolling up of the scroll on the so-called umbilicus (ὀμφαλός: cf., e.g., Hunger 1975, 43 sq.). The writing is to be dated to the second century AD, most likely the second part. The papyrus is, as stated, quite worn, but generally well legible. Problems occur in line 1, which is badly damaged. The ink of lines 17 and 18 is somewhat less well preserved compared with that of the rest of the text.

1. In line 2 a clear space is visible between the closing sigma of ἐνέλειπες and the following pronomen personale ὁ: it is unclear whether an ‘*ano teleia*’ had been written in this space. Rosa Giannattasio Andria (2003, 16, note 12) suggests that this space might indicate the beginning of a new paragraph.
2. In their collation of this text Lobel and Roberts [= LR](1954) read, in lines 4-5 and 6 the proper name Ζαρειεναία. I completely agree with Giannattasio Andria (2003) that the text is unmistakably clear and reads Ζαρειναία.
3. In lines 13-4 LR omit the phrase ἀλλὰ με ἔρωσ ἀπώλεσεν.
4. In line 20 LR read ὅτω in stead of ὅταν. The former reading would stylistically be thoroughly possible (reiteration, and the construction ὅτω μὲν ..., ὅτω δὲ ...), but the τ and the α are very clear and therefore ὅταν is the appropriate reading.
5. In line 21 LR give οἰονπερ in stead of ὥσπερ: given the space available and the slightly varying width of the letters in the writer’s hand both options are possible. The damage to the first letter, moreover (visible is the lower left part of the letter: a stroke of the pen, rounded at the bottom side; the upper side of the letter has disappeared in a gap, which continues to the right; it is not to be determined whether the next penstroke would have been the finishing of the omicron or the omega), is such that the reading of an ο or an ω are equally possible: I however, like Giannattasio Andria, prefer the latter option, if only because of the clarity of the meaning of the sentence. Stylistically it fits in with the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (D.H. *Comp.* 10) and Photius (Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 45a5-7) regarding Ctesias’ simple style.
6. The text in the void of line 22 can be supplemented by the intended contradiction between this sentence and line 19: there Stryangaeus writes about ἀγαθὰ, so κ[ακὰ appears the appropriate suppletion for the first part of the void and ἐρ the logical suppletion for]γασάμενος.
7. In the right margin of line 23 a correction is indicated for πρὸριζον to be changed into πρὸρριζον.
8. For line 24 Lenfant proposes to read ἐξέτριψεν in stead of ἐξέτρεψεν, though the relevant ε is perfectly clear on the papyrus. In the context, however, the verb ἐκτρίβω makes more sense than ἐκτρέπω: hence I support her suggestion

and will use it in the text. After the ‘*ano teleia*’ after ἐξέτρεψεν→ἐξέτριψεν appears before τεκμαίρομαι another space, though less wide than the one in line 2. One may wonder, like Giannattasio Andria (2003, 16, note 12) does regarding line 2, whether this space here, too, may indicate the beginning of a (another) new paragraph in Stryangaeus’ letter.

9. The void of four letters in line 29 can be supplemented by the context and looking at Ctesias’ style: especially his characteristic to repeat central notions makes, after δικαιοσύνην in line 28, [δικα]ία a suppletion logical in context and meaning (especially after the preceding μὲν in line 26: after δὲ [ἀδικ]ία would have been the obvious choice).

Though it is only a relatively small fragment, it offers – certainly comparing it with texts transmitted by others, regarding this fragment especially Diodorus of Sicily (2.34.3-6) and Nicholas of Damascus - valuable information regarding style and aims of Ctesias.

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REVIEWS

G.W. Bowersock, *Mosaics As History: The Near East From Late Antiquity to Islam*, Cambridge, MA/London, Harvard University Press, 2006, 146 pp., 118 colour ill. ISBN-13: 978-0-674-02292-8, ISBN-10: 0-674-02292-0. \$22.95/€20.70

This small-format book, the 16th in the series *Revealing Antiquity*, is a pearl in the bookshelf of ancient mosaics. G.W. Bowersock, Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at Princeton, gives the interested reader an excellent overview of the current issues in the study of Eastern mosaics, while at the same time providing the specialist with a fresh look upon old problems.

Professor Bowersock approaches mosaic art in the Near East during Late Antiquity as historical documents that are no less informative than literary texts and inscriptions. His multi-disciplinary task is concerned with those elements that may be conceived as having the potential of uniting the various populations of the region into one society. The book includes four discussions: *Maps, Myths, Cities* and *Iconoclasms*, followed by a concluding chapter.

The first chapter focuses upon one of the most unique representations within mosaic art, the Madaba map. Bowersock rightly observes that the Madaba mosaic, more than a documentation of biblical sites, is representing the contemporary landscape, its geography and topography. Bowersock does not suggest a new interpretation of this unique representation, but convincingly liberates it from the biblical constraints that influenced such interpretations in the past. He mainly stresses the function of the map, with its urban density, as a means of reminding the contemporary beholders that they are all part of a collective Hellenic cultural realm.

The same fact is, in the second chapter, emphasized in relation to the representation of myths. While in churches the appearance of pagan imagery is limited to personifications, mosaics in the private domain show that the cycles of myths around Dionysus and Heracles, as well as Achilles, and the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus were highly popular. Bowersock attributes the choice of these artistic representations to the popularity of mimic theatre in Late Antiquity. Supported by contemporary literary evidence he illustrates how the Christians tolerated Dionysian performances as a means of leisure and relaxation.

The third chapter, on 'Cities', continues and deepens the discussion that has already been evoked in the first chapter, regarding the geographical orientation

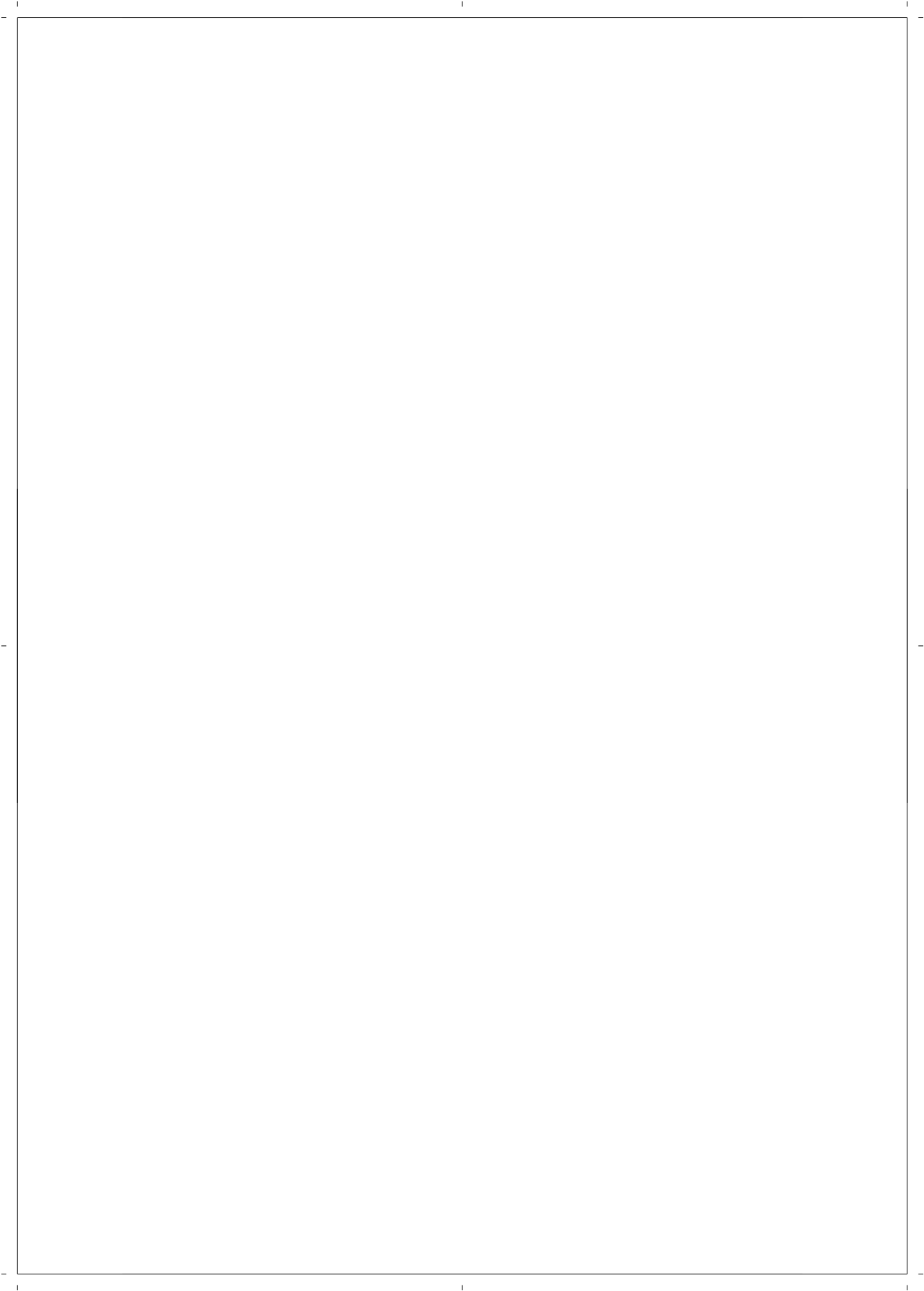
and cultural self-awareness of the inhabitants, with a glimpse into the early Islamic period of the region. The observation that most cities are depicted in a generic manner that shows no individual iconography makes the few cases in which particular topographical elements identify a specific city all the more interesting. The ancient viewer was thus probably capable of recognizing the depiction of the city of Jerusalem even without the label mentioning its name. The situation is different when the city is depicted in the form of a personification. This brings the discussion back to the mosaic of Phaedra and Hippolytus, where three city personifications are depicted seated majestically, identified by the labels 'Rome', 'Gregoria' and 'Madaba'. The enigmatic name of Gregoria leads Bowersock to attempt a new interpretation. The identification of Madaba (Jordan) is beyond doubt and may be explained as a local pride, a somewhat pretentious attempt on behalf of the commissioner to place his home-city among the leading cities of the empire. The argument that 'Rome' refers to the 'new Rome', that is, Constantinople, may be tenable. The identification of Gregoria, however, remains a mystery, and Bowersock's identification of it as Antioch, after her celebrated patriarch Gregorius, is no more than an interesting suggestion. Bowersock, however, correctly draws the reader's attention to the phenomenon that cities in antiquity often had more than one name simultaneously. Sepphoris, mentioned by Bowersock for its mosaics, is a good example. Its Roman name, Dio-Caesarea, was never in use in Jewish sources. The Jewish name of the city, preserved in the name of the modern Arab village, was Tsippori (meaning: "the bird-like"). The Talmud explains this name as expressing the position of the city on a hill higher than its surroundings. The name Tsippori, however, was only employed by Jews among themselves. The same is true for Beth Shean (Scythopolis) and Shchem (Neapolis, which name is preserved in the Arabic 'Nablus'), in which cases the Jewish population employed the biblical names. If the name Gregoria has a similar function, this might identify the owner of the house and the commissioner of the mosaic as being of a certain ethnic origin or belonging to a specific social group. But if, as Bowersock suggests, this was the name of the city in search of its individuality, it would be expected to have some literary support. The important conclusion of this chapter, however, lies in its demonstration of continuity of collective Hellenic culture more than a century after the Arabic conquest.

The fourth chapter of the book focuses upon the Umayyad period and one of its most debated problems: iconoclasm. It is especially the motivation for defacing the images on the mosaics that Bowersock addresses in this section. Whether iconoclastic activity in this region was a result of the edict of the Umayyad caliph Yazid II (reigned 720-724), who issued a ban on the representation of figurative images, or the ban applied five years later by the Byzantine Emperor Leo III upon the representation of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints was apparently a matter for controversy already in Antiquity. Yazid's edict, however, was abolished by his successor. It thus appears that the edict was only in force for a short period, and the material evidence indicates that the removal of images was done in a rather careful manner, sometimes leaving the outlines of the images recognizable, while

in some instances, the removal is far from complete. The removal, in churches as well as synagogues, was apparently executed by the communities themselves. At the same time, palatial Muslim art shows that the Umayyad rulers themselves did not avoid figurative images in their own dwellings, and even human figures were not considered offensive in that context. Thus the question behind the motivation of Yazid to impose such a ban upon the non-Muslims in his realm is an interesting issue. Bowersock's suggestion, that Muslims were using synagogues and churches for their own needs is in itself intriguing. It would certainly explain why a Muslim ruler saw fit to make churches conform to the strict decoration limitations that were applied upon mosques, but it also grasps an aspect of daily life of a society in the midst of a process of social and political changes.

The concluding chapter promotes the idea that the Hellenic culture, of which the use of the Greek language is only one aspect, was the unifying factor of Near Eastern society in Late Antiquity. Bowersock is clearly aware of the enormous diversity of that society and the political changes that swept the region during the centuries since the introduction of Hellenism. Palestine and Transjordan included various ethnic groups as well as a wide range of religions and conflicting religious sub-streams, ranging from Hellenic to Arab pagans, Jews, Samaritans and diverse Christian groups, living together in a border-region that was a continuous field of military conflicts. Despite this, Bowersock conceives the Hellenic past as a unifying cultural factor that transcended the diversity and enabled the various groups to live together and create a mosaic of social fabric, a truly multi-cultural society. Bowersock illustrates his point throughout the book with an insight of scholarly magnitude that provides a genuine reading pleasure.

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Ilya S. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* (dissertation), Chicago, 2008, 556 pp. http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/yakubovich_diss_2008.pdf^{*}

In his dissertation *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* the linguist Yakubovich has written down his results of research on linguistic contacts between Luwians and their neighbors in Asia Minor (modern Turkey) in the second and early first millennium BC. In this study he describes the structural interference, lexical borrowings, code-switching, and code alternation involving Luwian and Hittite, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Greek and he reconstructs the sociolinguistic situation in Ancient Anatolia of that time.

In the first chapter Yakubovich is looking for the history of the Luwian speech community by searching in a corpus of Hittite and Luwian texts. Around 1200 BC the Hittite Empire collapsed and the cuneiform script was replaced by Anatolian hieroglyphic, used for writing Luwian, the language of the Neo-Hittite states. In his basic assumptions he places Luwian next to Carian and Lycian with Luvic as common ancestor. Lydian and Hittite are assumed to have been split off earlier¹.

Chapter 2 is a thorough study of dialects in Bronze Age cuneiform texts of Hattusa and Kizzuwatna and Luwian Iron Age texts in hieroglyphic. In the Iron Age, Luwian groups of Central Anatolia have migrated south-eastward, which has caused migration of other Luwian groups to Syria. By searching for linguistic changes a separation of Empire Luwian, together with Iron Age Luwian, from Kizzuwatna Luwian is worked out by Yakubovich. In his opinion the different forms of a nominative plural *-(n)zi* and accusative plural ending *-(n)za* in Kizzuwatna Luwian instead of one nominative/accusative ending *-nzi* in the other two dialects count for that².

Other grammatical features that are dealt with extensively are rhotacism, the possessive singular/plural adjective in *-assa-* (only in Kizzuwatna Luwian with

^{*} We like to thank our colleague Jorrit Kelder for drawing our attention to this work. The author kindly informed us that the printed edition of his dissertation will be forthcoming with Brill later on in 2009.

¹ In distinction from the American preference for *Luvian* with a *v*, we will adhere in the following to the most common rendering as *Luwian*, unless we are referring to the supposed proto-language *Luvic*.

² Note that Yakubovich follows Hawkins *c.s.* in reading LH *376 as *zi* and *377 as *za* in every instance, whereas we consider these signs as polyphonic, so that the distinction between their old reading as *i* and *ī* and their new reading as *zi* and *za* depends from the context, see for the most recent overview the appendix to Woudhuizen *forthc.*

separate plural form *-assanz-*), the imperfective iterative *-zza-*, the verb *aya-* or *izzi(ya)*, ‘to do’, the conjunction *-pa*, the plural of the personal pronouns 1 *anza(s)* and 2 *unza(s)*, all this leads to his conclusion that Kizzuwatna Luwian was separated from Empire Luwian that went further in Iron Age Luwian, while Luwian hieroglyphic is just another writing system. The Luwian elite and the Hittites preferred the Luwian dialect of Ḫattusa already before the fall of the Hittite state.

The third chapter provides us with some interesting material on personal names in the search for the ethnolinguistic history of West Anatolia. In Hittite sources the name Arzawa is a broad geographical destination. In the 14th century BC Arzawa was getting bigger while Ḫatti was destructed. Tudḫaliyas III³ and his son Suppiluliumas I restored the situation, whereas Mursilis II succeeded in bringing Mira, the Seḫa River Land, and Ḫapalla into vassalship. Yakubovich comes to the conclusion that the royal families of these still rebellious lands were Luwian. In his opinion, the names and suffixes are Luwian, with one or two morphemes in Carian.

He further posits that the Arzawa scribes did not use Akkadian, but wrote in the local Luvic dialect, with the noted exception when dealing with foreign affairs, then Hittite was used, like in the diplomatic correspondence with Egypt. The Arzawa rituals were written in Arzawa and brought to Ḫattusa while the Arzawan specialists in Ḫattusa wrote in Hittite with Luwian words. When the local hieroglyphic texts on monuments, with lots of logograms and names, appeared, Arzawa was Hittite. This brings Yakubovich to a remarkable but not plausible conclusion: the Luwian hieroglyphic script is developed in Ḫattusa, in a bilingual environment, during an advanced stage of the Hittite Empire. The question why hieroglyphic should be invented there for Luwian while the cuneiform script was already at hand is answered by Yakubovich in section 5.8: the Hittite rulers had it developed for “nationalistic” reasons. The cuneiform script was ambiguous with its Akkadisms and Sumerograms, and less suitable for commoners to learn. In this manner he offers an alternative model for explaining the development and spread of Luwian hieroglyphic, but, as further elaborated below, in our opinion the script was clearly developed earlier. One may point in this connection to Hittite royal seals and seals of officials dating from the 17th century BC onwards, not to mention the silver bowl from Ankara with its fully fledged syllabary dating from the reign of Tudḫaliyas I (1430-1400 BC), who campaigned in the region of Karkamis, rather than from that of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC), in whose reign an inimical king of Karkamis named *Mai-Karḫuḫas* cannot possibly be situated as all members of the Karkamisian royal line planted by Suppiluliumas I, from his son Piyassilis up to

³ Note that Yakubovich has here Tudḫaliyas II. There is a lot of confusion about the number of Hittite great kings with the name Tudḫaliyas, leading to *ad-hoc* solutions in the relevant literature like “Tudḫaliyas I/II”, who should have ruled from *ca.* 1430 BC to *ca.* 1370 BC. In this review, we stick to the numbering of the king-list as in Gurney 1990, 181, which is now definitely proved by Freu in Freu & Mazoyer 2007.

the latter's descendant Kuzitesub, are known by name and to have been loyal⁴. In the Hittite laws new politic realities are reflected. Yakubovich discusses an interesting passage where the name Luwiya is replaced by Arzawa. After the Old Hittite period the name Luwiya went out of use.

The ethnicity of the Trojans is clearly not Luwian, Yakubovich argues that, for its formation in *-iya-*, the toponym *Wilusiya* reached the Hittites through the intermediary Luwians in Arzawa, the neighbors of the Trojans, whereas in a later stadium of direct contacts between the Trojans and the Hittites the variant form *Wilusa* became current⁵.

Another question to which Yakubovich has an answer is: What was the language of the Lukka people? After a thorough study of Bronze Age Anatolian texts Yakubovich states that the Lukka settlements must have laid in classical Lycia, not beyond. The language must have been Luvic, all autochthonous languages in Lycia were Luvic. He distinguishes two dialects: Lycian A and Lycian B (Mylian), the latter is intrusive in Lycia, only two inscriptions on monuments are Mylian in contrast with some two hundred in Lycian A. The dialect of the Lukka people must be regarded as the ancestor of Lycian A.

In section 3.8 of his study Yakubovich deals with the linguistic contacts between Luwian and Greek and states that there are not many examples of Luwian borrowings in Greek, more of Hittite and Semitic into Greek. All borrowings were results of trade-driven cultural contacts. Proto-Greek and Common Anatolian share word-initial occurrence of *r-*, which secondarily emerges in Iron Age Luwian after the simplification of certain consonant clusters, like in, for example, *Kuruntiyas* > *Kruntiyas* > *Runtiyas*⁶.

This chapter provides us with two new sources for the name *Hiyawa*, evidence for an early Greek presence in Lycia. Already Hittite sources give us the name *Aḫhiyawa* for Mycenaean Greeks in the Indictment of Madduwattas and the Tawagalawas-letter, about 1400 BC. The form *Hiāwa*, with aphaeresis of the initial *a* comes to us in a bilingual text from Çineköy, dating from the Early Iron Age. The new evidence comes from two Akkadian excerpts of *ca.* 1200 BC. We like to add another source, as an even earlier date for the appearance of the name *Hiyawa* is provided by the hieroglyphic text of the disc of Phaistos, a Luwian letter to Nestor⁷, in which we come across the country name *Hiyawa*, in the first line, in connection with Nestor.

⁴ Cf. Woudhuizen 2004a, 121-123. Note that the first element *mai-* of this royal name shows a reflex of PIE **méǵh₂-* "great", regularly characterized by the loss of the voiced velar as this is also the case with the related Luwian hieroglyphic *miāti-* "many" and Lycian *miñti-* "league, assembly".

⁵ Note that Luwian contact with Wilusa is further underlined by a line from one of the Istanuwa-songs containing the form *Wilusati*, see Starke 1985, 341.

⁶ According to Melchert 2003, 184 Luwian has no initial *r-* except in instances of the loss of a prehistoric initial cluster of palatal stop in front of *r-*; see further below.

⁷ Achterberg, Best, Enzler, Rietveld & Woudhuizen 2004; note that this text can be dated to *c.* 1350 BC as a *terminus ante quem*.

In chapter 4 prehistoric contacts between Hittite and Luwian are proven by means of a prehistoric borrowing from Luwian to Hittite that transformed the system of Hittite reflexive pronouns. The enclitic forms of the dative pronominal singular in *-u* restricted the use of the datives with *i*-vocalism and those were analyzed as reflexives. Hittite borrowed Luwian **=ti/*=di*, which developed further, in several stages, as reflexive pronouns. Yakubovich observes correctly that a grammatical interference only can take place in a bilingual environment and between geographically adjacent dialects.

Chapter 5 deals with the coexistence between Hittite and Luwian before *ca.* 1350 BC. A large part of this chapter is dedicated to onomastics. As the author sets out to demonstrate, there is discontinuity in the Hittite royal names between the Kültepe-Kanesh period (*ca.* 1920-1750 BC) and the Old Kingdom period (*ca.* 1680-1500 BC). In the earlier period the royal names are considered non-Indo-European⁸, whereas after the refoundation of Ḫattusa Hittite and Luwian names outnumber a third category, the Ḫattic ones, the latter of which are ascribed to the local population in the region in question. Hittite and Luwian names, on the other hand, have a longer history in the former capital of Kanesh or Nesa, where the Hittite ones are most prolific and have a bearing on all layers of the society. The focus in this chapter, however, is on the Luwian personal names in the Kültepe-Kanesh texts, which bear the testimony of numerous Luwian vocabulary words. What we consider most important here is the fact that typical Luwian sound changes are already attested for this early period, like the development of *kuru-* > *kru-* > *ru-* as exemplified by ^m*Ru-wa-ti-a* and ^m*Ru-ti-a* related to the divine name *Kuruntas* (< PIE **kerh₁-* “horn”) and the loss of voiced velars as exemplified by names like ^l*Wa-wa-lá* and ^m*Wa-wa-li* and ^l*Mu-a-na-ni* and ^m*Wa-šu-na-ni* which are based on the elements *wawa-* “ox” < PIE **g^wow-* and *nana/i-* “brother” < PIE **n-ĝenh₁-*, respectively. By the way, the same verdict applies for the Luwian dialectal variant of Crete as attested from *ca.* 2000 BC onwards, as the counterpart of LH *102-3 *KURUNT*, *rú* in the local hieroglyphic script, the deer-antler sign Evans no. 99 or CHIC 028, renders the value *rú* and as we are confronted here with the onomastic elements *muwa-*, like in Luwian hieroglyphic written as *m⁺UWA* by the ox sign with four strokes be it this time on top of its head (# 213, 1; cf. Woudhuizen 2006: 129), and *nana-* (# 287, 1: *Ná-ná-lu* = *Nanazitis*; see Woudhuizen 2009, 78, fig. 23; in general: 101-102).

Luwian onomastics is represented among the Hittite royal names of the Old Kingdom period by *Ḫantili-* (< *ḫanta-* “in front of, first”), *Muwatalli-* (< *muwa-* “strength”), and *Zidanta-* (< *ziti-* “man, male”). Luwian royal names like these

⁸ Note, however, that *Pithana-* is of similar formation as Kaskan *Pittaparas* and Thracian *Pittakos*, which are based on PIE **b^hū-* “to procreate”, which probably occurs here in combination with a reflex of PIE **ĝenh₁-* in the sense of “descendant” (as in German *Kind*)—the latter of which, for the laryngeal expression of the voiced velar, marks the name as of non-Luwian, or even non-IE Anatolian, type. For a similar laryngeal reflex of a voiced velar, cf. *Parḫa* < PIE **b^hrĝ^h(i)-* “high”.

and also those of lower functionaries are likely to be considered indicative of the actual presence of Luwians in the Hittite capital at the time, which is further underlined by the use of Luwian in religious texts from the Old Kingdom period—irrespective of the fact whether we take this for situational or, as Yakubovich wants to have it, metaphoric code-switching.

In the bilingual Hittite-Luwian milieu (for the sake of convenience we leave aside here the other languages of this truly multiethnic society) of the imperial capital Ḫattusa Yakubovich places the development of Luwian hieroglyphic. In order to substantiate his claim, he argues that this script developed into a true writing system only at a relatively late moment in history, namely during the Early New Kingdom period, and that it is originally based on the Hittite language. So, the earliest hieroglyphic inscription bearing testimony of signs expressing syllabic values is that of *Sà-tà-tu-ḫa-pa* on a sealing from Maṣat-höyük, which renders the name of the consort of Tudḫaliyas III (1355-1344 BC), and the values of LH *90 *ti*, *391 *mi*, *má*, and *41 *tà* are acrophonically derived from Hittite *tīya*- “to step, walk”, *meu-*, *miu* “4”, and *dā-* “to take” instead of Luwian *tiwa*- “to go”, *mauwa*- “4”, and *tà*- “to take”. The latter argument is subsequently further underlined by Elisabeth Rieken’s (2008) demonstration that LH *41 is exclusively used to render the value of the voiced dental *da*, which in turn is subject to rhotacism (see also Yakubovich 2008)⁹. Apart from the fact that Rieken missed quite some instances in which LH *41 *tà* interchanges with *29 *tá* and *100 *ta*, the idea that Luwian hieroglyphic is based on Hittite can, in our opinion, not seriously be entertained. A glance at the overview of the acrophonic principle in Woudhuizen 2004b, 160-161, with 48 instances in sum, suffices to show that the overwhelming majority of the syllabic values is derived from Luwian vocabulary words and only a tiny minority from Hittite counterparts. An outstanding case among these examples of acrophonic values is formed by the ox-sign *105 *UWA*, *u* < PIE **g^wow-*, which shows the loss of the voiced velar typical of Luwian (note that Yakubovich’s objection that one should expect the form *wawa-* for “ox” disregards the fact that the interchange between *wa* and *u* is already attested for the Kültepe-Kanesh texts as exemplified by, for instance, *Uš-na-ni* alongside *Wa-šū-na-ni* or *Wa-áš-na-ni*). To this comes that the late date attributed to the development of Luwian hieroglyphic as a true writing system, which is instrumental in Yakubovich’s Hittite scenario, though defended by Clelia Mora (1991, 20, note 21; 1994) and, in a somewhat less pertinent manner, Isabella Klock-Fontanille (2007, 8), is in reality eccentric. John David Hawkins in his corpus (2000, 3) adheres to the old view of Emmanuel Laroche and others that the seal of Ispuṭaḫsus, king of Kizzuwatna and contemporary of the Hittite king Telibinus (1520-1500 BC), provides the earliest evidence of the script. Before the appearance of the corpus, however, Jutta Börker-Klähn (1995) had already pointed to

⁹ Our thanks are due to Massimo Poetto for kindly drawing our attention to this paper.

the Old Kingdom sealing of Ḫattusilis I (1650-1620 BC), in which the latter's name is rendered in abbreviation by a ligature of the signs *196 *há* and *278 *li*, which therefore patently render a syllabic value at this early time. Some years earlier, again, Rainer Michael Boehmer and Hans Gustav Güterbock (1987: 38-40; Abb. 26a) even went as far as to take into consideration the Indilima-seal attributed to Tarsos and dating to the same period as Tell Atchana-Alalah VII (1720-1650 BC). In this sealing we do not only come across the LH signs *369 *vita* and *370 *ASU*, which are often discarded as mere symbols, but also the titular expression (written in ligature to be read from bottom to top) *398+*14 *ta?+PÁRANA* “tabarnas” *written out phonetically*¹⁰. What everybody seems to have missed so far is that Luwian hieroglyphic legends can also be traced for the stamp-cylinder seal Louvre 20.138, originating from the region of the later kingdom of Arzawa and also datable to the period of Tell Atchana-Alalah VII (Woudhuizen 2006-7), as well as sealings from Henri Frankfort's First Syrian Group, dating *ca.* 2000-1700 BC (Woudhuizen 2005). All these latter examples date from the period before the founding of the Hittite Old Kingdom, which problematizes Yakubovich's Hittite scenario to a great deal. As a sidelong remark, it is worth noting in this connection that as far as their *ductus* is concerned the signs of this earliest set of documents are closest to their Cretan hieroglyphic counterparts.

In chapter 6 the author focuses on the contact between Hittite and Luwian in the Empire period. In doing so, he presents numerous interesting examples of Luwian influence on New Hittite, like the extension of the A(m/f) pl. *-us* to that of the N(m/f) pl., emulating the identity of these two endings in Luwian hieroglyphic, and that of the A of the stressed pronoun of the 1st pers. sg. *amuk* to the N, in which New Hittite also appears to follow the example of Luwian *amu* being used for both N and A. Yet another case in point is formed by the semantically redundant doubling of clitics, according to which, for instance, *n=as=si* (-N-D) under the influence of cuneiform Luwian *a=du=as* (-D-N) becomes *n=as=si=as* (-N-D-N). In line with these observations, there can be little doubt that, as the author maintains, Hittite was a living language up to the end of the Late Bronze Age, which continued to develop under the influence of Luwian in a bilingual milieu.

In order not to bother the reader with all sorts of petty details on which opinion may vary, some attention may finally be paid to the Luwian core area which plays a crucial role in Yakubovich's linguistic and historical reconstructions. According to the author, this was of origin situated in the region of Konya and Acemhöyük-Purusḫanda to the south and southwest of the Halys river. It had an extension, though, to the north into the Sangarios basin, where Yakubovich situates the Luwian dialect of the Istanuwa-songs (Starke 1985, 294-353). From

¹⁰ Note that LH *398 is a variant of the horizontal stroke for the number “10” of which the value *ta?* acrophonically derives from PIE **dékmt-*, represented during the Early Iron Age by *tinata-* ‘tithe’ (Sultanhan § 28).

this core habitat, then, Luwian influence is assumed to have spread by movement of individuals or larger groups to the east into Kizzuwadna and to the west into Arzawa in the wake of the Hittite conquest of these regions. In these latter regions, the Luwians were confronted with on the one hand Hurr̥itic and on the other hand Luvic dialects like proto-Lycian and proto-Carian, or an IE Anatolian one more in general like proto-Lyidian. In our opinion, however, this interpretative framework is seriously flawed. In the first place, the mention of the river *Šahiriya* in one of the Istanuwa-songs (KUB XXXV 135 Rs 16; Starke 1985, 322) does not, as duly stipulated by del Monte & Tischler (1978, s.v.), refer to the Sangarios in northwest Anatolia, but to a namesake river in Hurr̥ian territory in eastern Anatolia¹¹. As a consequence, the suggested northward extension of the Luwian core area into the region of the Sangarios river may safely be eliminated. This latter inference receives further emphasis if we take a look at the distribution zone of typical Luwian place-names in *-ss-* and *-nd-*, which covers the region of southwest Anatolia from Arzawa in the west to Kizzuwatna in the east, but from which the basins of the Sangarios and Halys rivers are excluded (see Fig. 1). If we next look at the distribution zone of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, it so happens that, if we realize that their spread into the aforesaid river basins may indeed be attributed to the Hittite imperial administration, there is a substantial overlap with that of the Luwian toponyms (see Fig. 2). At any rate, the region of Arzawa in western Anatolia is well represented with rock reliefs at Sipylos, Karabel, and Latmos, not to mention the inscribed Assuwian royal seals dating to the period from before the Hittite conquest (Woudhuizen 2006-7), and the same verdict applies to the region of Kizzuwatna and North Syria, where, as we have noted in the above, likewise early sealings with Luwian hieroglyphic legends have been found. As a *tertium comparationis*, it is relevant to note in this connection that, as deducible from the paradigm of the nominal inflection, Lycian and Lydian are straightforwardly Luwian dialects most closely related to Luwian hieroglyphic (note especially their sharing of the N(m/f) pl. in *-i*, the G pl. in *-ai*, and, under consideration of Lycian *-a* or *-e* < **-ai*, the D pl. in *-ai*, see Table I).

¹¹ Perhaps the *Sagūru*, a tributary of the Euphrates near Karkamis, to which reference is made by the 13th century BC Karkamisian royal name *Sahurnuwas*? Note in this connection that on account of the royal name *Aplaḥanda* (< PIE **apelo-* “strong” and **h₂enti* “opposite, in front of”), Karkamis was already ruled by an IE Anatolian, if not actually Luwian dynasty during the 18th century BC.

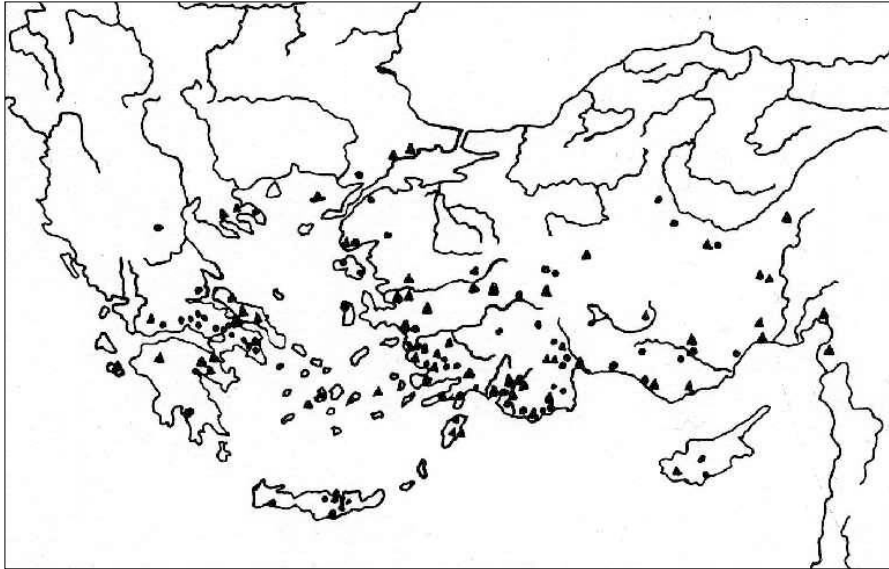


Fig. 1. Distribution of Luwian place names in *-ss* and *-nd-* (from Woudhuizen 1989, 194).

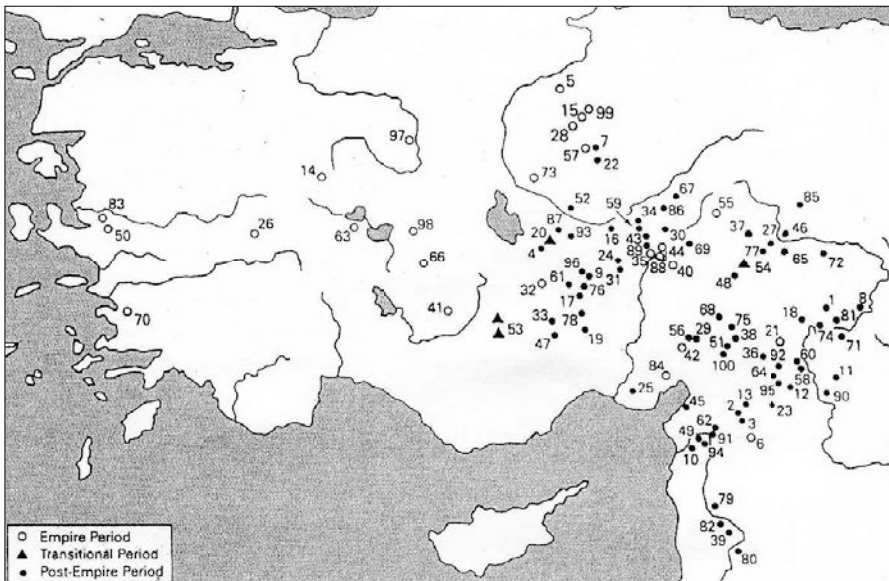


Fig. 2. Distribution of Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions (from Melchert 2003, 142).

NOMEN

	LUWIAN H.	LYCIAN	LYDIAN
sg. N(m/f)	—, -sa	—, -s	-s, -ś
A(m/f)	—, -na	—, -ñ	-n
Voc.	—		
N-A(n)	-ī, -sa	-e ₁ , -ije ₁	-d, -i ₁
D	-a, -ā, -i	-a, -i	-l, -l ₁
G	-sa	-h	-l, -li-
Abl.	-ti(a), +r(i), +r(i)a	-di, -de	-di ₁ , -d, -l ₁
Loc.	-ti, +r(i)		
pl. N(m/f)	-i(a), - ⁿ zi	-i	-i ₁
A(m/f)	-i(a), - ⁿ zi	-as, -is	
Voc.			
N-A(n)	-a, -ā	-ā, -e ₁	-a
D	-āī, -āī	-a, -e	-ai ₁
G	-āī	-āī, -e ₁	-ai ₁
Abl.	-ti(a), +r(i), +r(i)a		
Loc.			

Table I. Paradigm of the Luwian nominal inflection.

On the basis of the foregoing arguments, there can be little doubt that it were Luwians who occupied the coastal regions of western and southern Anatolia, and as such one should, *pace* Yakubovich (2008, 136-137), not be surprised to find references to them in Cretan Linear B (*ru-wa-ni-jo*) or even Egyptian hieroglyphic (*rīwn*)!

Notwithstanding our criticism as ventilated in the previous pages, we do welcome the study by Yakubovich as a stimulating contribution to the advancement of Luwology as a distinct scientific discipline.

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References

Bibliographic references should be listed alphabetically at the end of the article and set out as follows:

- Benzinger, I. 1974: *Hebräische Archäologie*, Freiburg i.Br.
Bernal, M. 1991: *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. II: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*, London.
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Buchner, G./D. Ridgway 1993: *Pithekoussai I. Le necropoli: tombe 1-723 scavate dal 1952-1961* (Monumenti Antichi serie monografica 4), Roma.
Schachermeyer, F. 1929: *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, Berlin/Leipzig.

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Short references like Moscati 1988, 255, fig. 27 can be placed in the text between brackets: (Moscati 1988, 255, fig. 27).

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TRANSLITERATIONS

The editors urge the authors to use the following standards of transliteration from Russian, Bulgarian, and Greek in their contributions:

Russian:

Аа = a	Зз = z	Пп = p	Чч = ch
Бб = b	Ии = i	Рр = r	Шш = sh
Вв = v	Йй = y	Сс = s	Щщ = shch
Гг = g	Кк = k	Тт = t	Ъъ = '(apostrophe)
Дд = d	Лл = l	Уу = u	Ыы = y
Ее = ye, e (1)	Мм = m	Фф = f	Ээ = e
Ёё = yë, ë (1)	Нн = n	Хх = kh	Юю = yu
Жж = zh	Оо = o	Цц = ts	Яя = ya

(1) ye initially, after vowels, and after Ъ and ъ ; e elsewhere; when written as ё in Russian, transliterate accordingly as yë or ë.

Bulgarian:

Аа = a	Жж = zh	Мм = m	Тт = t	Шш = sh
Бб = b	Зз = z	Нн = n	Уу = u	Щщ = sht
Вв = v	Ии = i	Оо = o	Фф = f	Ъъ =
Гг = g	Йй = y	Пп = p	Хх = kh	ь = '(apostrophe)
Дд = d	Кк = k	Рр = r	Цц = ts	Юю = yu
Ее = e	Лл = l	Сс = s	Чч = ch	Яя = ya

Greek:

Αα = a	Εε = e	Ιι = i	Νν = n	Ρρ = r	Φφ = f
Ββ = b	Ζζ = z	Κκ = k	Ξξ = x	Σσ, ζ = s	Χχ = ch
Γγ = g	Ηη = ê	Λλ = l	Οο = o	Ττ = t	Ψψ = ps
Δδ = d	Θθ = th	Μμ = m	Ππ = p	Υυ = u	Ωω = ô

The spiritus asper is to be rendered as h.

