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AN OVERVIEW OF THE LATE HELLADIC IIIC PERIOD  
IN ANATOLIA\*

Bariş Gür

*When we look into western Anatolia in the LH IIIC Period, an increase in Mycenaean pottery is observed in comparison with the preceding periods along the coast in settlements like Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, Bademgediği Tepe, Kadıkalesi, Miletos, and Çine-Tepecik. In this article, I argue that the relative increase in Mycenaean artifacts on the Anatolian west coast relates to Mycenaean immigrants, rather than merchants making use of the political gap in western Anatolia. The distribution pattern of Mycenaean artifacts on the Anatolian west coast was, however, not uniform, and various sites and regions, most notably Troy, experienced an influx of Balkan influence, whilst Mycenaean cultural influence apparently dwindled.*

When the process preparing the end of the Bronze Age is analyzed chronologically, it can be learned that the Mycenaean palaces were destroyed and lots of settlements in Mainland Greece were evacuated<sup>1</sup>. Arzawa in Western Anatolia and Hittite country, which had been a major regional power, was destroyed (Woudhuizen 2006, 51), various coastal cities in the Eastern Mediterranean were damaged<sup>2</sup>. The Postpalatial world, emerging after the destruction of Mycenaean palaces at the end of Late Helladic IIIB, is described as the LH IIIC Period. When we look into Anatolia in the LH IIIC Period, we see that a considerable amount of LH IIIC ceramics were obtained after the destruction of the palaces

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<sup>1</sup> Desborough 1964, 221-222; Mylonas 1966, 218-223; Iakovidis 1983, Drews 1993, 21-23, 109; Lemos 2007, 723; Shelton 2010, 146; Yasur-Landau 2010, 81-83.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett 1975; Sandars 1978; Drews 1993; Yasur-Landau 2010.

in the coastal areas of Western Anatolia and in Cilicia<sup>3</sup>. In the Amuk plain, in at least 18 Early Iron Age settlements observations of locally produced LH IIIC ceramics were reported after surface surveys carried out in the region (Yener *et alii* 2000, 188). The increase in Mycenaean ceramics can be considered either as evidence of free commercial circulation of Mycenaean goods after the Hittite embargo was lifted<sup>4</sup>, which lasted many years, or it can be linked to the new settlers of Western Anatolia. It is understood that Mycenaean people had brought their burial traditions into Anatolia because of the gifts and ceramics found in tombs as burial offerings, especially in Western Anatolian coastal areas.

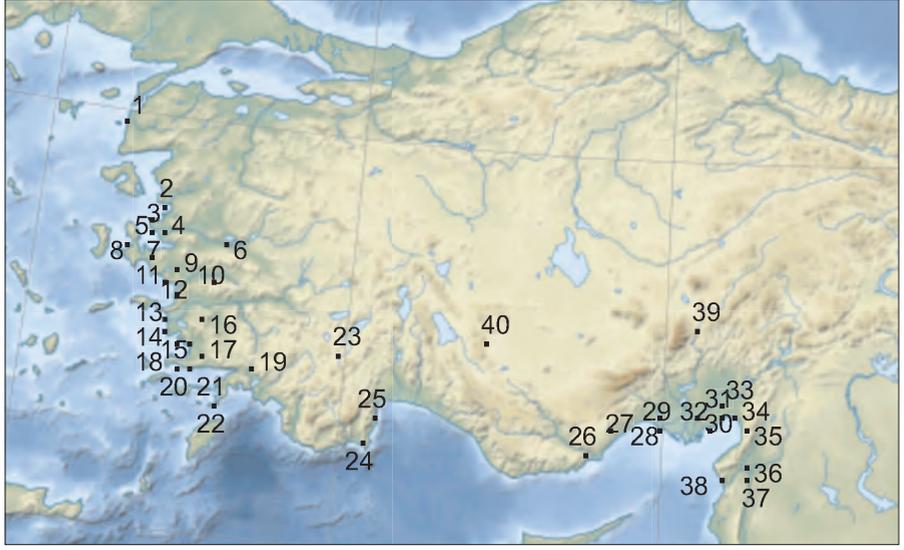
In the pages below, I will present an overview of the archaeological data from the various regions on the western Anatolian coast, from north (the Troad) to south. The northernmost settlement in Anatolia about which we have information relating to the LH IIIC period is Troy. The VIIa layer dates to 1300-1190 BC (LH IIIB-IIIC transition) and ends with a destruction<sup>5</sup>. Tan ware was the most popular ceramic type in the settlement in this period and while Anatolian

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<sup>3</sup> Besides Troy (a.o. Mountjoy 1999a, 301), Pitane (Özgünel 1983, 705), Phokaia (Özyiğit 2005, 44, 48, Fig. 4-5, 7, 9; 2006, 74-75, Fig. 3), Larisa (Mee 1978, 132; Özgünel 1983, 709; Hertel 2007, 104, Fig. 6), Panaztepe (Günel 1999, 135-136), Sardis (Hanfmann *et alii* 1967, 34, Fig. 10-11), Limantepe (a.o. H. Erkanal 2008, 97), Kalem Burnu (Özgünel 1983, 719-720), Bademgediği Tepe (a.o. Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 83; Meriç 2003, 87), Torbalı-Yeniköy (Özgünel 1996, 133, 146, Taf. 19, 5-6; Özkan 1999, 22. nos. 36, 38; Meriç/Mountjoy 2001), Klaros (Şahin 2010, 153-154), Ephesos (Bammer 1990, Pl. XVa; Mountjoy 1998, 36), Kadikalesi (Akdeniz 2007, 35-70), Miletos (Özgünel 1996, 130, 133, 135, 138-141; Niemeier 1998, 34-36), Teichiusa (Mellink 1985, 552, 558; Hope Simpson 2003, 214), Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2008, 2009, 2010a-b), Milas-Pilavtepe (Benter 2010a, 345), Iasos (Levi 1969-1970, 484, Fig. 27; Mee 1978, 130; Benzi 2005, 212-214), Stratonicea (Söğüt 2011, 409), Çömlekçiköy (Özgünel 1996, 130-131), Müsgebi (a.o. Özgünel 1996, 129), Hydra (a.o. Benter 2010b, 670), Burdur-Düver (Özgünel 1983, 742-743; 1996, 133, 145, Taf. 19.4.), Limyra (Mellink 1983, 435; Keen 1998, 216) and Perge (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62; Martini *et alii* 2010, 112, Abb. 16; 114, Abb. 18) in Western Anatolia, Konya-Çumra, Hatıpkale, Dineksaray, Meram-Zoldura (Bahar/Koçak 2008, 13-14, note 18; Fig. 1-2), and Fraktin (Özgüç 1948, 264; Bittel 1983, 31, 34; Drews 1993, 11) in Central Anatolia, Tarsus (French 1975; Mountjoy 2005a), Kazanlı (Mee 1978, 131; Lehmann 2007, 497-498), Kilisetepe (Jackson/Postgate 1999, 546; Fig. 5; Hansen/Postgate 1999, 112), Soli Höyük (Yağcı 2007, 373, Figs. 1-8), Kinet Höyük (Gates 2010, 71, Fig. 5; 2013, 5, Fig. 4.9-10), Domuztepe (Goldman 1935, 526; 1938, 54; Seton-Williams, 1954, 154), Dağlıbaz Höyük (Killebrew 2006-07, 250; Lehmann *et alii* 2008, 187, Fig. 2), İslamkadı Çiftlik (Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 158; Mee 1978, 129), Soyacı Höyük (Seton-Williams 1954, 135, 169), Misis (Lehmann 2007, 517) in Cilicia, Alalakh (Yener-Akar 2011, 6-7), Tell Tayinat (Janeway 2011) and Sabuniye (Pamir-Nishiyama 2010, 301).

<sup>4</sup> It is suggested that the Hittites imposed an embargo on Ahhiyawa in the Eastern Mediterranean, based on a remark in the treaty between Sausga-muwa, the king of the country of Amurru, and Tuthaliya IV, the Hittite king: Cline 1991.

<sup>5</sup> Mountjoy 1999a, 296-297; Becks 2003, 45; Yasur-Landau 2010, 117. Destruction evidence was observed in Ephesos-Ayasuluk (Büyükkolancı 2008, 54); Miletos (Mountjoy 2004, 198-200); Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2008, 135-136; 2011, 24); and Beycesultan settlements in western Anatolia towards the end of LH IIIB period (Hawkins 2009, 164).



- |                     |                  |                |                       |
|---------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Troy             | 11. Klaros       | 21. Müşgebi    | 31. Soyalı Höyük      |
| 2. Pitane           | 12. Ephesos      | 22. Hydas      | 32. Misis             |
| 3. Phokaia          | 13. Miletos      | 23. Burdur     | 33. İslamkadı Çiftlik |
| 4. Larisa           | 14. Kadı Kalesi  | 24. Limyra     | 34. Kinet Höyük       |
| 5. Panaztepe        | 15. Teichussa    | 25. Perge      | 35. Dağlıbaz Höyük    |
| 6. Sardis           | 16. Çine-Tepecik | 26. Kilisetepe | 36. Tell Tayinat      |
| 7. Limantepe        | 17. Pilavtepe    | 27. Soli Höyük | 37. Alalakh           |
| 8. Kalem Burnu      | 18. Iasos        | 28. Kazanlı    | 38. Sabuniye          |
| 9. Bademgediği Tepe | 19. Stratonicea  | 29. Tarsus     | 39. Fıraktin          |
| 10. Torbalı-Yeniköy | 20. Çömlekçiköy  | 30. Domuztepe  | 40. Konya             |

forms were used in locally produced Mycenaean ceramics called ‘Ginger’, the patterns were Mycenaean (Mountjoy 1998, 60; 1999a, 301). Deep bowl sherds and a two handled *alabastron* were revealed in a VIIa layer dating to the early phase of LH IIIB2-IIIC (Mountjoy 1999a, 301). While it is observed that Grey Minyan Ware and Tan Ware<sup>6</sup> date to 1190-1130 BC (LH IIIC Early), these are in phase VIIb1 still important; a small amount of Mycenaean ceramic was made locally (Mountjoy 1999a, 324; Becks 2003, 49; Pavuk 2002, 61). A new group of ceramics emerging in this phase is defined as ‘barbarian’. Patterns on the rough, hand-made, and usually glazed pots are decorated with horizontal bands made by finger printing. The repertoire of the pots is made up of storage and kitchen pots (Blegen *et alii* 1958, 142; Mountjoy, 1999a, 324; Becks 2003, 49). In Troy VIIb2, which dates to 1130-1050/30 BC (LH IIIC mid-late), an increase in

<sup>6</sup> For Grey Minyan and Tan Ware in west Anatolia, see Pavuk 2002; 2005; 2010.

ceramics known as ‘Knobbed Ware’ or *Buckelkeramik* is observed. It is seen that the architecture underwent a change and orthostats were used (Becks 2003, 47).

In the cemetery of the two-phases area of Panaztepe, dating to the Late Bronze Age, different tomb styles, defined as *pithos*, jar burial, cist, chamber, and composite are seen in the first level, *tholoi* are seen in the second level (a.o. A. Erkanal 1992; 1993; 1994; 2008, 73; Erkanal/Gürler 2003). The second phase, which is suggested to date to the LH IIIA1-2/B1 periods, includes *tholoi* with a short *dromos*, used for both inhumation and cremation (A. Erkanal 2008, 73-74). *Pithoi* with burial gifts such as ceramics, weapons, jewelry, and seals date to LH IIIB/IIIC Early (A. Erkanal 2008, 77, 80). The plan of the chamber tomb CO, made of ashlar stone, is rectangular. The chamber tomb dates to the 12th century BC, mainly the LH IIIC period, based on *scarabs* found as a tomb item<sup>7</sup> (A. Erkanal 2004, 247; 2008, 74). While there was an extensive existence of *tholoi* and chamber tombs in Mainland Greece in the previous LH IIIA-B phase, it is known that in LH IIIC the *tholos* burial concept was practiced scarcely. However, chamber tombs were still very common in the beginning of LH IIIC (Desborough 1964, 33-34).

In Miletus, eleven chamber tombs were revealed in Değirmentepe, 15 km southwest of the Athena Temple area and tombs, including burial offerings such as ceramics, ornaments, and weapons known to date to LH IIIB-IIIC Early phase (Mountjoy 2006, 114; Niemeier 1998, 33-34). The tomb numbered D33, published with a drawing, was a square-shaped chamber tomb (Niemeier 1998, 36, Fig. 10-11). On the basis of Mycenaean ceramic material it is ascertained that the rectangular planned chamber tomb in Milas-Pilavtepe was used between LH IIIA2 and the beginning of the early phase of LH IIIC (Benter 2010a). In Kolophon however, a *tholos* tomb including a short *dromos* and a circular chamber tomb was revealed during excavations in 1922, which was published with a plan (Bridges 1974). Huxley dates this tomb to LH IIIB or IIIC and states that it might belong to Achaeans who settled in Kolophon at the end of the 13th century BC (Huxley 1960, 39).

Larisa, located on a high point controlling the Hermos Valley, is one of the settlements founded in the Late Bronze Age. A city wall was revealed during excavations carried out by Swedish and German teams in 1902 and 1932. This city wall surrounds a larger area in comparison with its contemporary ramparts at Troy and Mycenae (Doğer 1998, 10): Buruncuk Castle located in Larisa had a great strategic importance in the region during the Second Millennium BC. An individual piece of LH IIIC ceramic was found out of context during the excavations. An

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<sup>7</sup> It is known that the ashlar masonry technique was applied when the construction of the tomb was executed by newly arrived people in Cyprus in 1200 BC: Karageorghis 2002, 97-98, 105; Voskos/Knapp 2008, 665.

antithetic spiral pattern (known as Furumark Motif [commonly abbreviated as FM] 50) is observed on the piece (Mee 1978, 132; Özgünel 1983, 709). There is a chessboard pattern on rim sherds of a *skyphos* dating to the 12th century BC, revealed in the final Bronze Age layer of Larisa (Hertel 2007, 104, fig. 6).

Ceramics belonging to early and late phases of LH IIIC were revealed in the filling of an Archaic Athena temple during the excavations in ancient Phokaia (Özyiğit 2006, 74-75, Fig. 3). Especially many *skyphoi* dating to the early phase of LH IIIC were excavated (Özyiğit 2005, 44, Fig. 4-5). Apart from that, Mycenaean rim sherds dating to the mid LH IIIC Period were found under the base of the blacksmith's workshop in the first settlement area (Özyiğit 2005, 48, Fig. 9). Big, deep, and large basins that can be defined as bathtubs, dating to LH IIIC, were revealed in the first settlement area as well (Özyiğit 2005, 44, Fig. 7). It is observed that bath tubes of this type were widespread throughout a large geographical area in the Eastern Mediterranean. These types of bath tubes were first used in the IIIA phase in Cyprus and are found in Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maa-Palaeokastro, Alassa-Paliothaverna, and the Kition settlements (Karageorghis 2000, 266-272; 2002, 90-91). Karageorghis explains the existence of limestone and terracotta bathtubs in the Late Cyprus IIIA phase by the arrival of foreign emigrants coming to the island<sup>8</sup>.

When we go from the Gulf of İzmir towards the south, there is another settlement providing information about LH IIIC, sc. Liman Tepe, western Anatolia. Due to ceramic finds related to architecture, it is obvious that Mycenaean activities and the amount of locally produced Mycenaean ceramics increased in LH IIIC (H Erkanal 2008, 99). A great number of ceramics and large monumental structures, most of which are rectangular in shape, belonging to the same period were revealed in the first building layer of the settlement, dating to LH IIIC (H. Erkanal 2008, 97-98; Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 237). Two parallel buildings were found and the remains of a hearth<sup>9</sup> were recovered in the western one (H. Erkanal 2008, 97). Aegean-style cooking pots dating to the LH IIIC period were found around the hearth structure (Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011, 53, on figure 2b). As is known, these styles of pots were widespread in LH IIIC within a large geographical area from Mainland Greece to western Anatolia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Canaan<sup>10</sup>. The locally produced fragment of a figurine that was found must be evidence of the influences from Mainland Greece (Erkanal/Artzy 2003, 426, fig.

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<sup>8</sup> "I suggested that the introduction of baths and bathtubs in Cyprus in the 12th century B.C.E. might be associated with the arrival in the island of new ethnic elements from the Aegean ..." (Karageorghis 2000, 266).

<sup>9</sup> Hearths are typical forms encountered in Mycenaean palaces: Taylour 1995, e.g., 85.

<sup>10</sup> French 1975, 54; Killebrew 1998, 158-166; 2000; Yasur-Landau 2010, 124, 130, 143, 228; Janeway 2006-2007; 134-136; 2011, 161,170; Niemeier 1998, 33; 2005, 203, pl. XLIXb; 2007, 14.

7; H. Erkanal 2008, 98), as the counterparts of these figurines found in Mainland Greece, which are called 'psi idols', date to the LH IIIB2-IIIC period<sup>11</sup>.

Bademgediği Tepe, which is linked to the ancient city of Puranda (Hawkins 2006, 115-116), mentioned in the documents dealing with the Arzawa expedition of Mursili II, is one of the hill towns giving information about the Post Palatial Period. Located on a strategically important point from which the Karabel Pass could be watched, Bademgediği Tepe was unoccupied for a long time after the Hittite period settlement was abandoned but was resettled again at the beginning of the LH IIIC period. The most compelling evidence of the new people coming to the city are locally produced LH IIIC ceramics found in very large numbers in Level II (Meriç 2001, 232; Meriç/Mountjoy 2002). Additionally, the restoration of city walls is linked to the new settlers coming to the city at the beginning of LH IIIC (Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 82). It is known that a considerable number of handmade burnished ware was found during the excavations in Bademgediği Tepe. This type of ceramics, encountered in the VIIb1 (1190-1130 BC) layer of Troy and at Maydos-Kilisetep<sup>12</sup>, date to the LH IIIC Period in Bademgediği Tepe (Meriç 2003, 89, fig.10). It is possible to date the handmade burnished ware, of which the main characteristic feature is the finger print pattern and which was started to be seen in various settlements in Mainland Greece from the beginning of early phase of LH IIIC onwards (Rahmstorf 2011, 317-318) and encountered in Troy VIIb1, to the early phase in Bademgediği Tepe.

It seems possible that the people using the ceramics were of Balkan origins and settled in the region or moved southwards after staying in the region for a short time<sup>13</sup>. A cemetery and settlement area belonging to the Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age was found in Hacıgebeş Tepe-Tatarderesi (Ersoy/Koparal 2009, 77). Two handmade pots and a bronze dagger were found in *pithoi* placed into the bedrock and soil by digging and corded *pithos* fragments were found around the tombs (Ersoy/Koparal 2009, 77-78, 87; Fig. 5-6). Patterns of the above mentioned fragments are known from the settlements in Bademgediği Tepe and Cyprus. It is stated that some pots found in Liman Tepe resemble handmade burnished ware (Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 234; Mangaloğlu-Votruba 2011, 50). The southernmost

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<sup>11</sup> This figurine is the second find of this type found in Liman Tepe. For the first figurine: see Günel 1998.

<sup>12</sup> In the light of new excavations it is stated that the layer in Maydos Kilisetep<sup>e</sup>, which is contemporary to the Troy VIIa period and which is another settlement showing Balkan influences, was damaged during a strong fire. Mudbrick and relief pieces were found in the layer contemporary to Troy VIIb along with handmade burnished ware. Orthostats are observed in the architecture: see Sazcı 2012.

<sup>13</sup> Apart from Anatolia, handmade burnished wares were also revealed in the island of Cyprus. These types of ceramics, observed in the first half of 12th century BC in the settlements of Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Maa-Palaeokastro, and Pyla-Kokkinokremos, are related with the coming of new settlers to Cyprus: Karageorghis 2002, 75, Fig. 142; 79, Fig. 154; PilideS/Boileau 2009; Rahmstorf 2011, 330, Fig. 6.

settlement in which handmade ceramics were revealed in western Anatolia is at present Hydas-Bozburun. In this settlement, inhabited for the first time at the end of the Bronze Age, city walls were built in cyclopean technique and LH IIIc ceramics, most of which were locally produced, were found. Therefore, it is suggested that the settlement was founded by Mycenaean immigrants (Benter 2010b).

Levels I and II of five layers dating to the Late Bronze Age correspond to LH IIIc in Panaztepe Harbour Town. It is stated that ceramics revealed in level II are contemporary with Troy VIIa (LH IIIB) and Troy early VIIb (Early LH IIIc) (Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 62-64). An example of the architecture of level I is a building with six rooms and roughly a rectangular-shaped plan (*eadem*, 63). It is stated that handmade ceramics found *in situ* in level I are contemporary with Troy VIIb samples. It is stated that the date of the building extends from Troy VIIb1 (Early LH IIIc) to VIIb2 (Mid-Late) (Erkanal/Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2007, 401; Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 63).

Spool-shaped loom weights form another material group which was not observed during previous phases in layer II, dating to the LH IIIc period in Bademgediği Tepe (Meriç 2003, 90). It is observed that loom weights of this type are widespread in a large geographical area from Mainland Greece to the coasts of Canaan throughout the LH IIIc period (Rahmstorf 2003, 398-415; 2005, 143-171). Similar loom weights were recovered from the first layer also in Liman Tepe (H. Erkanal 2008, 98; Erkanal/Aykurt 2008, 234). They, however, were found as clusters in level II.1b of the Çine-Tepecik settlement dating to the Late Bronze Age (Günel 2011, 24, Fig. 7). It is observed that Early Iron Age settlers, coming to the settlement of Tel Tayinat in the 12th century BC, brought their spool-shaped loom weights, the evidence of their weaving custom, along with LH IIIc ceramics into the region (Gates 2010, 70). Rahmstorf states that distribution of clay spools is rather similar to the handmade burnished wares in the Eastern Mediterranean (Rahmstorf 2011, 320-321, 330, Fig. 6-7).

Kadı Kalesi is among the settlements revealing materials related to the LH IIIc period in western Anatolia. The ceramics classified in two groups as local and imported ceramics have very similar features as the findings in Bademgediği Tepe and it is observed that they have close similarities with material from Tarsus as well (Akdeniz 2007). The piece of a head belonging to a Mycenaean figurine, similar to the one mentioned while giving information about Liman Tepe, is also among the Kadı Kalesi finds (Akdeniz 2007, 54, Fig. 17). Figurines of this type, dating to the LH IIIc period, were revealed in Troy and Miletus in Anatolia as well<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Niemeier 1998, 35-36; Akdeniz 2007, 54. The same kind of figurines is observed in Mainland Greece and the islands, and in Phylakopi in a temple context; in Perati and Ialysos they are seen in tombs: see Yasur-Landau 2010, 134.

It is observed that level II.1, dating towards the end of Late Bronze Age, in the settlement of Çine-Tepecik, situated in the Çine Plain of Aydın, had architecture including warehouses surrounded by a city wall (Günel 2011, 21). A considerable number of LH IIIB-C pottery was found in level II.1 (Günel 2008, 135-136; Fig. 6, 8a-c; 2009, 462-463; Günel 2010a). Arrowheads, spearheads, needles, and bronze artifacts were revealed besides LH IIIC ceramics in a rectangular-shaped planned magazine building (Günel 2010b, 72, Fig. 9; 2011, 22). Additionally, a basin-shaped pot (Günel 2009, 461) found in level II.1 should be considered as evidence for the presence of Mycenaeans in the Postpalatial Period at Çine-Tepecik, just like it does with the samples found in Cyprus.

With the disappearance of the Mycenaean palaces that maintained an oppressive structure dominating the whole organization of society based on a palatial monopoly<sup>15</sup>, in the LH IIIC period local potters' workshops, in which artists created their own local characteristics, replaced the central potters' workshops dominated by the palaces: as a result in every region a local style of artifacts developed (Rutter 1992, 62-67; Mommsen/Maran 2000-2001, 104). When we consider Panaztepe in the north, Liman Tepe, Bademgediği Tepe, Kadı Kalesi towards the south, Çine-Tepecik in the Aydın plain, and the city of Miletus in the south, there must have been many potters' workshops in these regions in the early phase of LH IIIC<sup>16</sup>. It can be stated that Miletus, which produced Mycenaean ceramic locally in the previous periods, was one of the most important production centres in western Anatolia during LH IIIC. A great number of LH IIIB-IIIC ceramics were found in building phase III. In excavations, 500 m south of the Athena Temple, two kilns were found, which were used to produce ceramics and dated to the same phase (Niemeier 1998, 34; Greaves 2002, 63). In this period, it is known that Miletus formed its own *East Aegean Koine* with Astypalaia, Kos, and Kalymnos (Mountjoy 1999b, 968). As a result of clay analyses of the ceramics produced in Miletus, it is apparent that these were exported to Müsgebi and Iasos (Gödecken 1988, 311-313) in western Anatolia, to Tiryns (Greaves 2002, 63) in Mainland Greece, and to Ugarit (Courtois 1973, 153-164; Mee 1978, 136) and Tell Kazel (Jung 2008, 187-188; 2009, 79) in northern Syria.

It can be said that trade was in east-west direction and bilateral during the LH IIIC period. There is evidence of *Koine* ceramics, the production of western Anatolia and Aegean islands being exported to the eastern Mediterranean, and likewise there is evidence regarding the presence of commercial activities with Cyprus, Egypt, and Palestine. Without doubt, the Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck is of capital importance for our understanding of international trade in LH IIIC, if

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<sup>15</sup> Chadwick 1973; Bennet 2007, 192-204; Jung 2006; Kelder 2008; Shelmerdine 2006; Shelmerdine/Bennet 2008, 291-306.

<sup>16</sup> The clay analysis of one example of LH IIIC ceramics found during Goldman's excavations in Tarsus shows that it is of northern Ionian origin: see Özyar *et alii* 2009, 272-273.

only because the finds date it to the last years of Ramses III (Haider 2012, 154). It is believed that the ship, which carried copper as a raw material, was Syrian, Canaanite, or Cyprian in origin (Bass 2010, 801). The very shipwreck makes clear that the route of trade was along the southern coasts of Anatolia during the LH IIIC period. This route was definitely affecting Anatolia.

Apart from this, finds from the Panaztepe cemetery show that commercial activities were entertained with the eastern Mediterranean countries. Amongst others, Egyptian scarabs are evidence of this (A. Erkanal 2008, 80). A pyramidal seal resembling a stone anchor with three triangular sides was found in *pithos* CD in the cemetery (A. Erkanal 2001, 270-271; 2008, 80). It is suggested that such seals were also used as amulets that protected members of the Sea Peoples called Peleset-Philistines against dangers on the seas because small anchor shaped amulets were also found in temples in the Palestine region (A. Erkanal 2008, 80; Keel 1994, 28-29). With these seal samples (Keel 1994), discovered in Palestine settlements in Canaan and dating to 12th and 11th century BC, it is possible to suggest that the burial offering from Panaztepe belongs to the Sea Peoples dominating the Palestine coasts until 10th century BC. The seal is seen as an important indication for the relation between the Eastern Mediterranean and Panaztepe (A. Erkanal 2008, 80).

It is known that there was multi-directional trade between Müşgebi and the Dodecanese because the cemetery of Müşgebi is stated to be abandoned during IIIC.1e, after having started during the LH II period in the southwest of Anatolia (Boysal 1967, 25 [54]; Özgünel 1983, 733; Akyurt 1998, 33-34). A great number of LH IIIC ceramics was revealed for the period we can define as the early phase of LH IIIC (Özgünel 1996, 129-130, 132, 134, 136-140, Taf. 18.5, 21.4, 22.1, 24.1). Siana group knives, which are quite similar to the Kolophon and Panaztepe samples of bronze work in the cemeteries, date to the LH IIIB-IIIC periods (Akyurt 1998, 32). The Çömlekçiköy cemetery contains finds of the Sub-Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Late Helladic IIIC periods. Some tombs in Asarlık are also dated to LH IIIC Late Phase (Lemos 2007, 720).

In the Mediterranean Region, imported LH IIIC ceramics in a filling under a Late Bronze Age floor were revealed during the excavations carried out in recent years in the city of Perge (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62). In addition, a terra-cotta hearth of a type seen in Mycenaean palaces was found in the east half of the same site where also the ceramics were found. The hearth type in question has two basins as well (Abbasoğlu 2009, 62-63). As it is known, in the Hellenic Tradition, Perge is considered as one of the cities which were established by the Seer Mopsus.

In the region of Cilicia, the LH IIIC period starts with destruction layers and typical ceramics. After the destruction of public buildings in the IIb layer following the destruction of Late Bronze IIa buildings, 875 pieces of locally produced LH IIIC ceramics were found in Tarsus (French 1975, 55-56; Mountjoy 2005a, 84).

In Kilisetepe, typical LH IIIc pots were found in stratum IId, following a great fire which struck the 'Stele and East Building' in IIc (Postgate 2008, 170-171). Also in Mersin, in the city of Soli, there was evidence regarding destruction. LH IIIc ceramics were revealed in the destruction layer during excavations (Yağcı 2007, 369, 2008, 238). In Kinet Höyük, situated within the borders of Antakya city, it is accepted that Period 13 came to its end by a fire (Gates 2006, 302; 2013, 488). A few LH IIIc ceramics were found in the stratum of Period 12 (Gates 2006, 304).

It is reported that locally produced LH IIIc pottery was observed in at least 18 Early Iron Age settlements during a survey conducted in the Amuk Valley (Yener *et alii* 2000, 188). In the Tell Tayinat settlement, located in the south of Kinet Höyük, a great number of LH IIIc ceramics were also found (Janeway 2006-2007; 2011). Furthermore, the same ceramics were also observed in settlements such as Kazanlı (Mee 1978, 131; Lehmann 2007, 497-498), Domuztepe (Goldman 1935, 526; 1938, 54; Seton-Williams 1954, 154), Dağılıbaz Höyük (Killebrew 2006-07, 250; Lehmann/Killebrew/Gates 2008, 187, Fig. 2) and Misis (Lehmann 2007, 517). The biggest problem encountered in the LH IIIc period in the region of Cilicia is that architecture related with the layer in question was not discovered. The ceramics found in the region in the period under scrutiny can be explained in terms of a large scale commercial organization and they also indicate that there has been a population group settled there temporarily after the region was destroyed.

Our information regarding the Late Helladic IIIc period is considerably limited for the interior parts of Anatolia. It is observed that commercial activities, which changed with the destruction of Mycenaean palaces, extended to the interior territories of western Anatolia in the LH IIIc period. Konya in Central Anatolia, Hatip Kale in Çumra, Zoldura (Hatunsaray II) in Dineksaray, and Meram are among the settlements where the ceramics in question were found (Bahar/Koçak 2008, 13-14). It is stated that a stirrup jar was discovered in the destruction layer in Firaktin dating to the LH IIIc period (Özgüç 1948, 264; Bittel 1983, 31,34; Drews 1993, 11). This very stirrup jar, considered to be produced in Cilicia (Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 72), provides evidence that trade in olive oil extended to the interior of Anatolia in the LH IIIc period. Mycenaean ceramics are not observed in Central Anatolia in this LH IIIc period. In the previous periods, Mycenaean ceramic fragments dating to LH IIIA2-B were found in Maşat Höyük, Mycenaean sherds of a small piriform jar are known from Kuşaklı-Sarissa, and a sherd of a kylix from Bogazköy-Hattusa located in Central Anatolia, the heart of the Hittite Empire (Mee 1978, 132; Genz 2011, 305, 309).

### **Conclusion**

The period between 1190 and 1130 BC, i.e. the early phase of Late Helladic IIIc, is the period in which Mycenaean Post Palatial activities started in western

Anatolia. In this period, there is evidence that Arzawa and the Hittites lost their hold on the region and that the western Anatolian coasts came under the influence of Mycenae. It is possible to say, based on some Mycenaean stirrup jars, that trade in olive oil was extended to the interior of western Anatolia. Therefore, the increase in Mycenaean ceramics in inland western Anatolia can be explained by the activities of Mycenaean merchants benefitting from the political vacuum in western Anatolia during the process of disintegration of the Hittite empire. However, it is wrong to relate LH IIIC ceramics in the western Anatolian coastal regions and Cilicia only with trade. Local production of LH IIIC ceramics revealed in the Liman Tepe settlement and Aegean-type cooking ware represent a non-local population. In Bademgediği Tepe, a century earlier still not occupied, LH IIIC ceramics were widely used; city walls were repaired in the new settlement and this might suggest the arrival of (groups of) new immigrants<sup>17</sup>. Also in the Kadı Kalesi settlement, located in Kuşadası, Mycenaean ceramics dating to before the LH IIIC phase are rare.

Spool-shaped loom weights revealed in Liman Tepe, Bademgediği, and Çine-Tepecik and used in the textile industry indicate settled life. Spools were also in use in Greece at least as late as LH IIIC Early (Rahmstorf 2011, 321). Similar weights were also found along the Cyprian, North Syrian, and Levantine coasts where LH IIIC pottery and handmade burnished ware was observed: this can be explained in terms of archaeological evidence for a mass migration.

The discovery of considerable amounts of LH IIIC ceramics along western Anatolian coasts can be explained in terms of the organization of a new political power growing stronger in the region after the collapse of Mycenaean palace system. In this respect, we come across shielded warriors and warriors with hedgehog helmets in chariot scenes; depictions of sea warfare and hunting scenes as traceable on LH IIIC pictorial pottery are representative of a new elite class (Yasur-Landau 2010, 155). These new elites are depicted on LH IIIC figurative ceramic in settlements such as Kynos, Tiryns, and Kos-Seraglio (Yasur-Landau 2010, Fig. 3.25, 3.32, 3.34-36; Mountjoy 2005b, Pl. XCVIII c-f). In western Anatolia on the Bademgediği Tepe krater, warriors with hedgehog helmets fighting on their ship are also represented in the same way (Mountjoy 2005b, 425-426, Pl. XCVIII c-f). Figures of hunters depicted on sherds belonging to a large krater, found in the first building phase in Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2011, 23-24) which dates to the LH IIIC period, must represent an elite class living in the settlement. Additionally, basins or bathtubs found in Çine-Tepecik and Phokaia must have belonged to Mycenaean elites rather than to ordinary people. At this point, we also may emphasize the evidence from Miletus. Niemeier states that

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<sup>17</sup> Prof. Recep Meriç states that there are architectural similarities between Bademgediği Tepe and Troy VIIb2 (R. Meriç, Bademgediği Tepe, forthcoming).

Miletus was destroyed in the LH IIIC period but he cannot specify an exact date (Niemeier 2007, 16). Finds of a Mycenaean fortification wall and *megaron* demonstrate that Miletus VI was destroyed circa 1200 BC (Graeve 2007, 629-630).

Based on these findings, the elite of Miletus must have left the settlement nearly at the same date. At this point, parallel with the destruction of Mycenaean palaces, the elite of Miletus may well have settled in the LH IIIC settlement of Çine-Tepecik.

Although we have only little information about the architecture of western Anatolia in the LH IIIC period, it can be seen that the buildings uncovered in settlements of Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, and Çine-Tepecik have a rectangular plan. A rectangular-like structure was discovered in Panaztepe (Çınardalı-Karaaslan 2008, 63). While rectangularly planned houses in association with LH IIIC ceramics were found in Limantepe, also a structure with corridor was observed (Erkanal-Aykurt 2008, 235-236; H. Erkanal 2008, 98). Furthermore, another building in Miletus dating to the LH IIIB-IIIC period has a house plan with a corridor (Niemeier 1998, 35-36, Fig. 12; 2007, 15). Based upon these examples, we can conclude that, with the destruction of the palaces in Mainland Greece, the corridor structure in architecture (Shear 1987, 62; Taylour 1995, 98) was introduced in Anatolia.

Buildings in Çine-Tepecik (Günel 2009, 462; 2010a, 32-34; 2010b, 70-71), containing warehouses with *pithoi* and stirrup jars, remind us of the buildings that serve as a 'house of a wine merchant' and 'house of an oil merchant' in the city of Mycenae (Mylonas 1966, 80-83). Olive oil and wine, which were main sources of living for the Mycenaean, were also produced in Çine-Tepecik, which explains the construction of such warehouses. Generally speaking, the discovery of stirrup jars<sup>18</sup> of the LH IIIC period in many settlements in western Anatolia which were used to carry olive oil, is a sign that olive oil was the most popular commercial product in that period.

Besides, it can be claimed that Balkan traditions were introduced in the western coastal region of Anatolia at the time of the destruction of Troy VIIa, as is deducible from the handmade ware discovered in Troy, Maydos Kilisetepe, Bademgediği, Panaztepe, Liman Tepe, and the Hydas settlements. As stated before, the handmade burnished ware that was common in the eastern Mediterranean, having been discovered in western Anatolia, is clearly the result of migration. In any case, it is clear that such coarse ware being brought to western Anatolia for commercial reasons makes no sense at all.

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<sup>18</sup> A.o. Haskell 1985, 221.

The migration of peoples of Balkan origin in the middle and late phase of LH IIIC must have continued because the people who used 'Buckelkeramik' in Troy VIIB2 also brought their architectural style to this settlement. On the other hand, such an assumption is more controversial for the region of Cilicia. There were traces of destruction and fire in most of the LH IIIB layers in the region. LH IIIC ceramics are mostly of local production. Ceramics of mostly local production found at Tarsus – among which Aegean cooking ware – can be considered proof for a migrant group that came to the region from the West. The layers of the Tell Tayinat settlement in Hatay dating to the same period provide significant information to compare it with the situation in the region of Cilicia. Aegean style cooking ware, LH IIIC pottery in different forms, and loom weights that were found in the settlement can be explained as the result of the influence of a new culture in the region (Janeway 2006-07; 2011).

Finally, Anatolia must have got its share from these migration movements in this period. According to the Medinet Habu Temple inscriptions, destruction of many centres in Anatolia (Arzawa-Hittite-Kizzuwatna) appears to be a historical reality (Barnett 1975; Sandars 1978; Woudhuizen 2006). Moreover, there are destruction traces dating back to approximately 1200 BC in many settlements in western Anatolia, Central Anatolia, and Cilicia. It is a fact that in Anatolia there was political unrest and upheaval in this period. It is seen that Central Anatolia was abandoned and became deserted. Suppiluliuma II changed the capital because of Hattusa's lack of security (Genz 2013, 472). While the Kingdom of Karkamis maintained its political status in the southeast (Hawkins 1988, 99-108; Güterbock 1992, 55), there is some evidence such as a Hittite-Luwian hieroglyphic seal (Schachner/Meriç 2000, 85-102), found in the city of Metropolis in western Anatolia, and a LH IIIB-C steatite seal or semi bulla used secondarily as a necklace, found in Perati in Mainland Greece and on which the name of Mira State can be read (Woudhuizen 2004-2005)) suggesting that local political power survived for a short time in the early phase of LH IIIC in Western Anatolia.

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PHANTOM TROJANS AT THE DARDANELLES?<sup>1</sup>

Frank Kolb

*The assumption that a Trojan War took place in the so-called Troas at the Dardanelles depends on the belief that there once existed a population called Troes in this region, as the Ilias maintains. However, the Troes in the Ilias do not carry Anatolian, but only Greek and Thracian or Illyrian names; there is no Trojan identity. Furthermore, in ancient literature the existence of a people called Troes is not mentioned outside the legend of the Trojan War. Ancient geographers, too, knew about a region called Troïe/Troas only from the Ilias and were uncertain about how to define it. Besides the Troes, the Ilias locates several other populations in the Troïe, among them Dardanoi, Pelasgoi and Leleges. According to other Greek authors, however, Pelasgoi and Leleges lived in Greece. Of all peoples mentioned in the Ilias, only the partly Illyrian, partly Thracian Dardanoi can be proved to have inhabited the Troas. They left their traces not only in the name of the Dardanelles and the polis Dardanos, but also in other geographical, topographical and personal names of the region – and in the Trojan myth. In the Ilias, Troes and Dardanoi is a standard formula to denote the nation of Priamos' kingdom. The Dardanoi even mark the beginnings of this nation; Dardanos is the forefather, the ancestor of the Troes and of their royal house whose members are called Dardanidai. Aineias is the leader of the Dardanoi-troops. A Balkanic population must have immigrated to Northwest Asia Minor around 1200 at the latest, as is demonstrated by Balkanic pottery from hill Hisarlık. But Dardanoi/Dardanija are attested already in Egyptian documents towards the end of the 14th century and, along with troops from other Anatolian regions, as a contingent in the Hittite army in the battle of Qadesh in 1274. Already in those times they must have lived at the Dardanelles. This means that in the Late Bronze Age the region of the Troas was probably called Dardanija and certainly not Wilusa, which was clearly situated in Southwest Asia Minor. It is notable that, in contrast to the fictitious Trojans, the Dardanoi who according to the Trojan legend were equally involved in the Trojan disaster, did*

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*not disappear from the region, but continued to live there into the Iron Age and met with the Aeolian Greeks who immigrated into the region, probably from the 11th century on. These immigrants carried the tale of a war between Achill's Achaeans against other tribes of Central and Northern Greece, like the Pelasgians, Leleges, Dryopes, and the Troes with their leader Hektor, to the Dardanelles and fixed it at the Bronze Age walls on hill Hisarlık. They integrated the Dardanoi into this story. The poet of the Ilias continued this melting of traditions into the Trojan legend, e.g. by transferring to the Dardanelles conflicts between Cretan heroes/towns, those between the Lycians and the Rhodians and the bravery of Lycian condottieri with their troops in battles fought in Western Asia Minor.*

*Troes never existed at the Dardanelles. They were annihilated by Achill's Achaeans in a war in Central Greece and disappeared from history like other Greek tribes of the Early Iron Age. That war was transferred to the Dardanelles in a similar way as the Nibelungen Saga transferred the battle between the Burgundians and the Huns from the Rhine to the Middle Danube.*

On May 31 of the year 2009, the Turkish newspaper Cumhuriyet published a satirical article which discussed the eventual erection of a Hector statue in the city of Çanakkale at the Dardanelles. The Turkish Secretary of Culture had proposed such a project. Yet, the same politician, member of the present Islamic Turkish government, had just before expressed his approval of moving a Heracles statue from its position in the centre of the Black Sea town of Ereğli to the entrance of a cave called 'Gate to Hell'. He had argued that a statue presenting Heracles in the guise of a naked hero offended Muslim moral feelings. With regard to the proposed Hector statue at the Dardanelles he suggested it should be dressed in accordance with Anatolian moral sentiments in the uniform of a Mehmetçik, a Turkish soldier. The statue was to represent Hector as Anatolia's defender against Western aggressors, that is as the forerunner of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his Turkish soldiers, who had defended the Dardanelles against the invasion of Western forces in the First World War battle of Gallipoli.

The project of a Hector-statue was finally realised by the erection of a five-meter high marble monument that represents him as an ancient warrior but in a dismembered looking, abstract shape. This was hardly due to the publication of my book on Troy<sup>2</sup> in which I have suggested that there might never have existed a Hector as leader of Bronze Age Trojans in a defensive war against Western, i.e. Greek, aggressors in the region of the Dardanelles, the so-called Troad.

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<sup>2</sup> Kolb 2010. A careful summary of the discussion and controversy about the Troy question is offered by Weber 2011. It is very regrettable that Anglo-Saxon scholarship tends more and more to ignore publications in other languages than English and is therefore often in danger to be insufficiently informed. In other cases, there is a clear tendency to one-sided opinions; see, e.g., Cline 2008.

The name Hector is, indeed, not an Anatolian name; it is not attested in Bronze Age Anatolian sources, but on Mycenaean Linear B tablets together with other names of Trojan figures, as there are Tros, Antenor, Alexandros, the more frequently used name for Paris in the *Ilias*, furthermore a female form of the name Priamos. The same is valid for names of Greek heroes of the Trojan War, e.g. Achilles or Aias. There is, however, nothing heroic about their role in the Mycenaean World; they appear as servants, artisans or administrative functionaries in Mycenaean palaces<sup>3</sup>. But not only are names of legendary Trojans part of Greek onomastic already in the 14th/13th centuries BC; throughout the *Ilias* the large majority of the personnel on the Trojan side bears Greek names. There are no Trojans with Anatolian names, but Dardanos, Aineias, and Paris seem to be of Thracian or Illyrian origin and have to be seen in context with Thracian or Illyrian immigration into the so-called Troas, to which I will return below<sup>4</sup>.

This justifies the question, if there ever existed Troes, as the *Ilias* calls them, in North West Asia Minor. There is reason for scepticism. In Greek sources the existence of Trojans in this region is not attested outside the context of the Trojan War legend. Nor do Anatolian historical and geographical sources mention a people called Troes. One might be tempted to explain this as the result of their almost total extermination. Yet, according to the Trojan legend only the inhabitants of the central settlement Ilios have been killed or captured and transported to Greece, and the *Ilias* prophecies that Aineias and the dynasty of the Aineiadaí will continue to rule over the Troes<sup>5</sup>.

Therefore, even if one would be inclined to believe in an at least partial historicity of the Trojan War, there remains the question what happened to the Troes who inhabited the extensive region of the Troas. Were they absorbed by other people settling in the area soon after the end of that war? This would in turn raise the question, why the region was nevertheless called Troie, Troia or Troas in historical times, although since the end of the Heroic Age, that is since immemorial times, a people called Troes did not exist any more at the Dardanelles.

The Augustan geographer Strabon confessed to be confronted with a strange dissonance of terminology and definition of what the Troie or Troas did mean geographically<sup>6</sup>: “The Aeolians, then, were scattered throughout the whole of that country which, as I have said, the poet called Troie. As for later authorities, some

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<sup>3</sup> Bennett/Olivier 1973, 44-45: PY An 519.1; 39 v 6. Ep 705.6. Chadwick/Killen/Olivier 1971: KN, 83, Dc 5687. Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2006, 7. Hiller/Panagl 1986, 248-249. Wathelet 1988, 285, 472, 909-910, 1028-1029. Bennett 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Wathelet 1988, 181-183, 400, 817. Wathelet 1989, 23-28. Von Kamptz 1982, 283-284.

<sup>5</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.307-308.

<sup>6</sup> Str. 13.1.4.

apply the name to all Aeolis, but others to only a part of it; and some to the whole of the Troas, but others to only a part of it, not wholly agreeing with one another about anything”.

It is obvious that the boundaries of what was called Troie, Troia, Troas were defined very differently (Fig.1). The Northern boundary was drawn somewhere between the mouth of the river Aisopos and Abydos, the southern one variably at Cape Lekton or as far south as the so-called Lower Aeolis. Strabon himself viewed the matter in Homeric terms. To him the Troas was the whole area ruled by nine dynasties he supposed to have been subjected to Priamos, and, consequently extended from the Aisopos mouth to the border of Ionia<sup>7</sup>.

The geographer Pomponius Mela, writing in AD 43/44, reveals the extent of confusion with regard to a definition of the Troas. When he enumerates the various regions along the West coast of Asia Minor, proceeding from south to north, he first mentions the Aeolis, then the Troas as bordering the Hellespont. Later on, he designates the coast opposite the island of Lesbos and the island itself as situated in the Troas. The same author drops an important hint at the background of the designation Troas: “The next region [i.e. after Ionia] became the Aeolis from the time when it was settled by Aeolians; before it was called Mysia and where it borders on the Hellespont it was Troas when it was in the possession of the Trojans”, *Troianis possidentibus Troas fuit*<sup>8</sup>. This means that, according to his opinion, in his own time the designation Troas was no more really adequate and should have been chronologically confined to the Heroic Age.

It is evident that Troas as a designation for a more or less vaguely defined region was in the eyes of ancient geographers a result of the epic tradition. It was not attached to a historically verifiable period. A similar uncertainty concerning the definition of the Troas can be found in historiographical sources. For Herodotus it is the region at the Gulf of Adramyttion, i.e. east of Lesbos. Later writers tend to define the Troas in accordance with the extension of the Ilian League, the confederacy of Ilian *poleis*, founded in the 3rd century BC, when the Trojan legend and Ilios as its scene experienced a revival supported by Hellenistic rulers. This definition of the Troas was obviously a historical construction and not accepted by all ancient authors<sup>9</sup>.

Modern research displays a similar uncertainty in defining the Troas. W. Leaf criticizes Strabon for extending the Troas from the Aisopos to the Southern border of the Aeolis, the river Hermos. He prefers a narrower definition on the basis

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<sup>7</sup> Str. 13.1.5-8.

<sup>8</sup> Mela 1.14; 2, 101; 1, 90.

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 5. 26; 122. See also X. *An.* 7.8.7. Ephor., *FGrH* 70 F 163a calls the whole region only Aiolis. For later ancient authors see the references in Tenger 1999, 107.

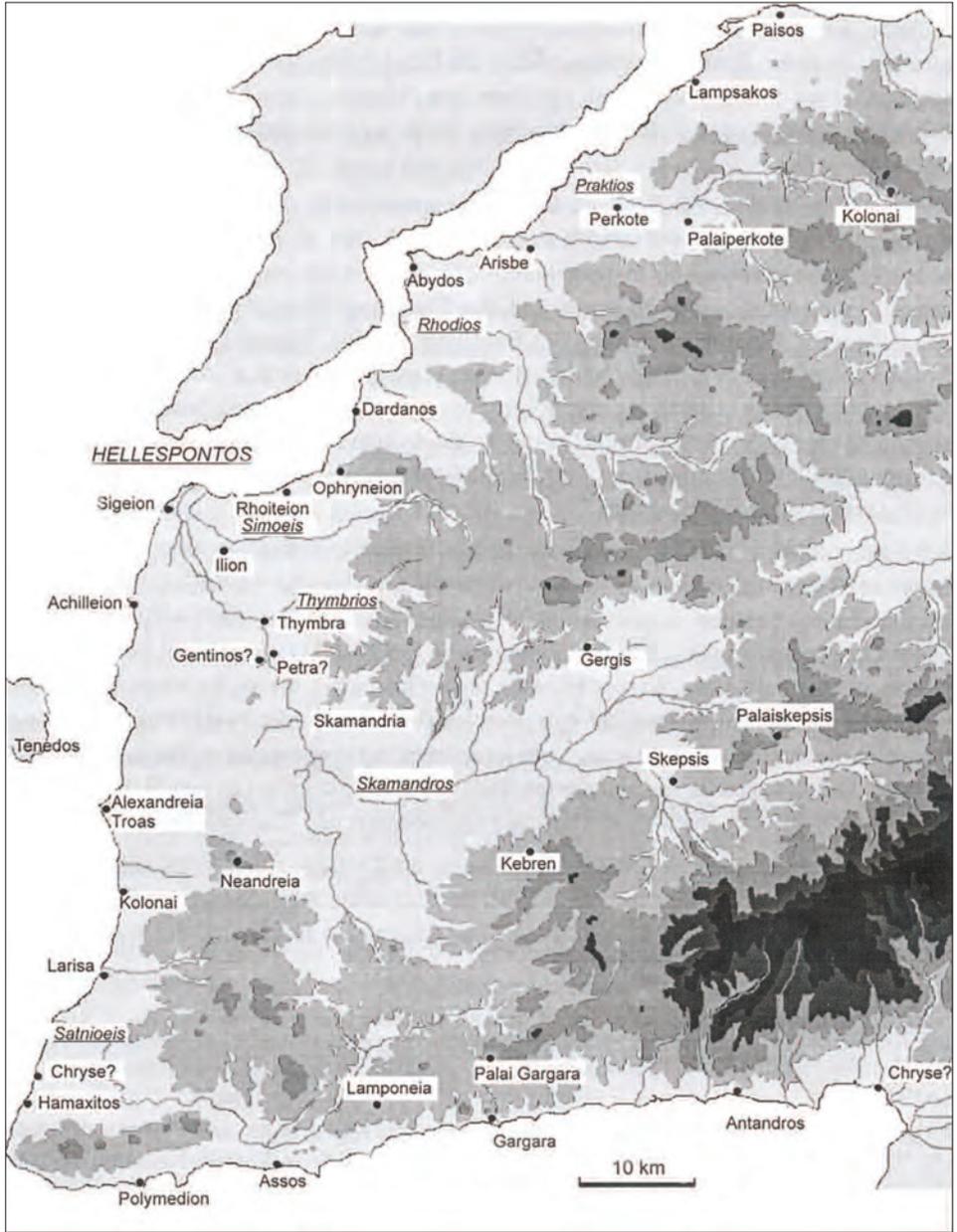


Fig. 1. Map of Troas (© Tenger 1999, p.105).

of the Iliad's ethnic geography on the one hand, the orography and geology of the region on the other hand: "The Troad is the country watered from Ida". J.M. Cook limits his survey of the Troas to the region between Abydos and Antandros, explaining that "no particular justification can be offered for this", since "the term Troad has no precise geographical or political connotations"<sup>10</sup>.

To sum up: In historical times there were no Trojans at the Dardanelles. The historical settlement on hill Hisarlık was not named Troia but Ilion. The name Troas was attached to the region, because it was called Troïe in the Ilias. In historical times no precise knowledge existed of what Troïe or Troas really meant. Therefore, opinions about the extension and borders of the Troas were extremely vague. It is obvious that in Antiquity the Troas formed neither an ethnic nor a political unity. Nor was it a clearly defined geographical region. The ancient Troas appears to have been a construction based on controversial interpretations of the Iliad, on pretensions of *poleis* to belong to the Trojan heritage and on historical realities created by the presence of Aeolian Greeks in the region.

With regard to the Heroic Age, the population of what the Ilias calls Troïe is a mixed assemblage of tribes, among which the Troes are a rather ill-defined group. Besides them, the Ilias mentions Dardanoi, Pelasgoi, Leleges, Kilikes, and Kaukones, and at least one Lycian, Pandaros, who is said to rule Zeleia in the Troas<sup>11</sup>. Later writers still enlarge the number of tribes in the region, in particular by such of Thracian or Illyrian origin: Teukroi, Phryges, Thrakes, Bebrykes, Treres, Mysoi, Dryopes, Bithynioi, Brigioi, Maryandynoi; furthermore, there are Lydoi and a people called Azeiotai. Strabon regards these reports about so many different populations inhabiting the Troas as *mythopoiiai*<sup>12</sup>.

It is evident that this mixture of populations at best reflects a long historical development, and there are some tribes mentioned in the Ilias whose alleged presence in the region arouses suspicion. The Kaukones, e.g., are of enigmatic quality, and the presence of Kilikes around an unidentified settlement called Thebe is no less suspicious than that of the Lycian Pandaros at Zeleia (see below).

From which sources did the poet of the Ilias or the preceding oral tradition draw their informations? How did those populations get into the Troas? The Dardanoi must have immigrated from the Balkans, where still in Hellenistic and Roman

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<sup>10</sup> Leaf 1923, XIV-XXIV (quotation on p. XXII). Cook 1973, 1. See also Trachsel 2007, II, who distinguishes "la Troade imaginaire ou littéraire de l'Iliade" from "la Troade réelle" in later ancient authors and modern research. Each ancient author constructs his own Troas according to his respective reading of the Ilias, and only from Roman imperial times on the real landscape increasingly influences the interpretation of the poem.

<sup>11</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.819, 840-841; 20.92-96; 6.397, 415-416; 10.429; 2. 824-828; 5,168-204, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Str. 12.8.4; 13.1.8-9, 48-49, etc.

times they are attested as a powerful tribe. Immigrations from the Balkans continued until the 7th century BC, when, historically attested, the Thracian Treres appear in Western Asia Minor<sup>13</sup>.

Yet, the presence of other populations mentioned in the *Ilias*, like the Pelasgoi and Leleges, is more than questionable. In mythological and genealogical studies of later learned Greek literature, they are regarded as pre-Greek, autochthonous populations and located in various regions of the Greek mainland, Crete, the Aegean islands, and Asia Minor. Their names serve as generalized designations for populations that did not speak Greek. In early Greek literature, that is in Hesiod, the *Odyssey*, *Alkaios*, and in the *Ilias* itself the Leleges and Pelasgoi are still assigned to only few regions. In the *Ilias* Leleges settle in the Southern Troas around Pedasos and Lyrnessos, historically unidentified sites; *Alkaios* adds Antandros. But Hesiod locates Leleges in Central Greece<sup>14</sup>. The Pelasgoi of the *Ilias* inhabit Larisa which by some later writers is tentatively located at the Southern West coast of the Troas, by others, however, identified with a historically verifiable *polis* Larisa in the Southern Aeolis north of the lower Hermos valley<sup>15</sup>.

Together with Leleges and Pelasgoi the *Ilias* mentions Kaukonas as fighting on the side of the Troes, though – just as in the case of the Leleges and in contrast to the Pelasgoi – they do not show up in the catalogue of allies. The *Ilias* does not assign them a certain settlement area. In the *Odyssey* they seem to live close to Ithaka, according to Strabon in Triphylia, Messenia, and Arcadia, but also at the river Parthenios that separates Bithynia from Paphlagonia<sup>16</sup>.

What these population groups have in common, is the striking phenomenon that they are located in Greece as well as in Northwest Asia Minor. This systematic doubling of populations can hardly be due to migrations; it does conspicuously not concern the Dardanoi, for which migration is beyond doubt; they do not show up in Greece. Furthermore, the doubling of population groups is paralleled by the doubling of place-names like Larissa, Thebe, and so on, on the Greek mainland and in the Troas. I will come back to this later.

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<sup>13</sup> Dardanoi: Plb. 2.6.4; 4.66,1-7, etc. Papazoglou 1978. – Treres: Str. 1.3.18, 21. Th. 2.96.4. Wirth 1967, 47-52.

<sup>14</sup> Pelasgoi: Hom. *Il.* 2.681, 840-843; 10.429; 17.288-301; *Od.* 19.177. Hes. Fr. 319 Merkelbach-West (Fr. 212 Rzach). Hdt. 1.57. Pherecyd.Ath., *FGrH* 3 F 25. Ephor., *FGrH* 70 F 113. Str. 13.33. D.H. 1.17.1-3 – Leleges: Hom. *Il.* 20.92-96; 21.86-87; Hes. *Cat.* Fr. 234 Merkelbach-West (Fr. 115,1 Rzach). Alc. Fr. 337 Lobel-Page. Hdt. 1.171. Pherecyd., *FGrH* 3 F 155. Str. 7.7.2. D.H. 1.17.3. RE XII, 1925, 1890-1893 s.v. Leleger (F. Geyer).

<sup>15</sup> Str. 13.3.2-3 mentions 11 sites called Larisa, among them one situated north of the later Hamaxitos, about 35 km from Ilion.

<sup>16</sup> Kaukonas: Hom. *Il.* 10.429; 20.329. *Od.* 3.366. Hecat., *FGrH* 1 F 119: Kaukonas were no Greeks. Str. 7.7.1-2; 8.3.11, 16-17.

Before, however, it seems worthwhile to have a closer look at the role of the Dardanoi in the Ilias and in the Troas. They are not just one among several Thracian or Illyrian tribes from the European North Coast of the Aegean Sea which according to the Ilias are fighting on the Trojan side, as there are the Thracians from the Chersonnesos, the Paiones, and the Kikones<sup>17</sup>. The Dardanoi are much more prominent. They are listed right after the Troes in the catalogue of troops; their place of residence is Dardania at the foot of Mount Ida; their prince and commander is Priamos' son-in-law Aineias, whose name is probably Thracian or Illyrian. The Ilias presents the Dardanoi even as part of the inner circle of Priamos' kingdom. *Troes kai Dardanoi* is a standard formula in the Ilias (e.g. 3.456) that denotes the 'Staatsvolk', the nation of Priamos' kingdom. In fact, it is the Dardanoi who in the Ilias mark the beginnings of this nation, since Dardanos is the forefather of the Troes. He is the ancestor of Tros, Ilos, Laomedon, and Priamos. Ilos and Priamos are called Dardanidai. According to later sources, Dardanos was an immigrant to the Troas: He arrived there from Samothrake, an island whose name betrays its Thracian associations<sup>18</sup>. Another Dardanos, son of Bias, is one of numerous Trojan warriors killed by Achilles<sup>19</sup>. For the presence of Balkanic people in the Troas since the late Bronze Age there is archaeological evidence (see below pp. 37-38). Thracian populations and language deeply influenced geographical, topographical, and personal names of the Troas, often doubling names of the Thracian region on the opposite side of the Dardanelles. This is an important backdrop for understanding the role of the Thracians and especially the Dardanoi in the Ilias and in the oral tradition which was its source. The Dardanelles and the *polis* Dardanos later carry on onomastic residues of that historical reality of massive Thracian and Illyrian presence in the region<sup>20</sup>.

There is clear evidence that Balkanic peoples settled in the Troas since the 12th century at the latest, but perhaps already since the 14th century or even earlier. There are only two population groups attested in Late Bronze Age written sources that might be regarded as candidates for inhabiting the Troas: the Dardanoi and the Teukroi, another tribe of Balkanic origin, whose presence in the Troas is attested not in the Ilias, but in a roughly contemporary source, the 7th century poet Kallinos from Ephesos<sup>21</sup>. Their mythical forebear Teukros is later promoted to the role of oldest king in the Troas and father-in-law of Dardanos, and he is

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<sup>17</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.846; 17.73 (Kikones); 2.848; 10.428; 16.287; 17.350; 21.154-155 (Paiones); 2.844-845 (Thrakes).

<sup>18</sup> Dardanoi: Hom. *Il.* 2.819; 3.456; 7.348, 368, 414; 8.173, 497. – Dardania: Hom. *Il.* 20.215-218. – Dardanidai: Hom. *Il.* 3.303; 11.166, 372. – Dardanos as immigrant: Hellenic., *FGrH* 4 F 23. D.S. 5.48.3. Str. 7, fr. 20b. See Wathelet 1989, 97-98.

<sup>19</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.460.

<sup>20</sup> Str. 13.1.21. Chiai 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Callin. Fr. 7 West 1992 (quoted by Str. 13.1.48).

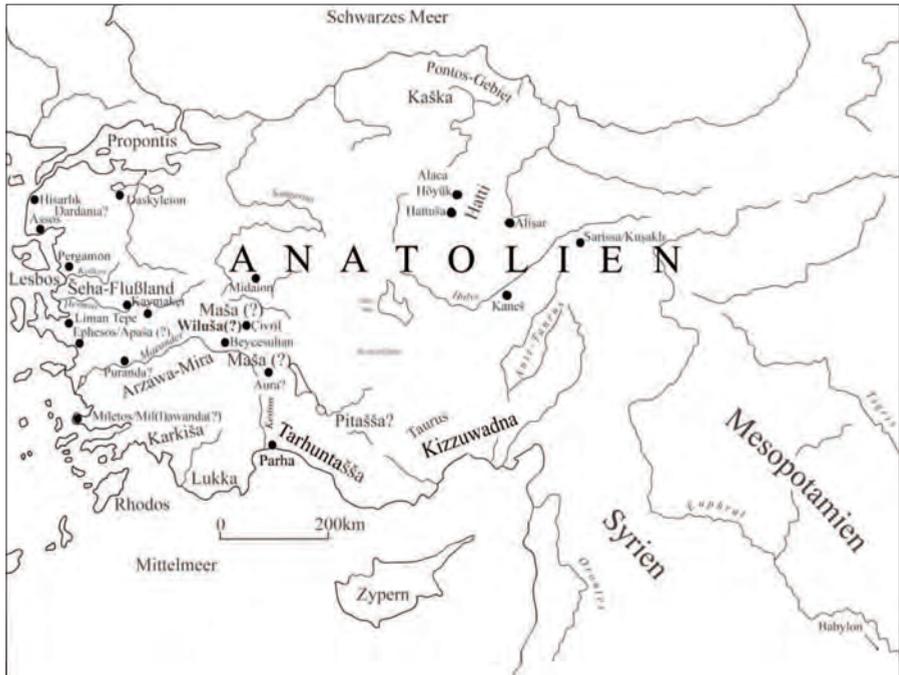


Fig. 2. Map of Late Bronze Age Anatolia (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen).

said to have come from an Athenian demos once called Troes<sup>22</sup>. According to Egyptologists, the Dardanoi and also the Teukroi appear in Egyptian documents, as Drdn and Tkr. If the transcription is correct, the Teukroi would be mentioned together with other so-called Sea Peoples which attacked Egypt under Ramses III in the first decades of the 12th century<sup>23</sup>. The Dardanoi or Dardanija are attested in Egyptian sources already in the first half or middle of the 14th century, and appear again in Pharaoh Ramses II's triumphal war report about the battle of Qadesh in 1274, this time as a contingent of the Hittite army, along with troops from different Anatolian regions, as there are Arzawa, Pitašša, Maša, Karkiša, Kaška, and Lukka<sup>24</sup> (Fig. 2).

Since the other denominations of Anatolian states or regions in Egyptian documents correspond closely to those in Hittite sources, Dardanija, too, should be

<sup>22</sup> Apollod. 3.139-140. D.S. 4.75.1. Str. 13.1.48.

<sup>23</sup> Medinet Habu II Taf. 46, 15-18, quoted by Edel 1985.

<sup>24</sup> Drdny/Dardanija: Edel/Görg 2005, 22-27, 32-36.

trusted to render correctly the name of this people in the Late Bronze Age. Yet, in contrast to the other doubtless Anatolian regions enumerated in Ramses' report, the Dardanoi are never mentioned in the rather rich Hittite documentary evidence. At first sight, this might point to their status of mercenaries from outside Anatolia, just as Nubians and Šardana served as mercenaries in the Egyptian army<sup>25</sup>. There is, however, no evidence for the Hittites using auxiliary troops from outside Anatolia, except for contingents of Near Eastern allies.

It is probable that the Kaška and the Lukka both of whom tenaciously resisted Hittite domination, served not as regular allies, but as mercenaries in the Hittite army at Qadesh. Thus, a possible participation of Dardanoi as mercenaries in the campaign against Ramses does not exclude that they were inhabitants of Asia Minor. The notoriously rebellious Kaška, who lived immediately north of Hatti in the Pontos region, are the only ones mentioned in Hittite sources and in the array of Hittite auxiliary troops who did not come from countries situated in the southern part of the Anatolian peninsula, for which Hittite documents attest frequent diplomatic and military interventions of Hittite kings. That the Dardanoi are missing in Hittite records may therefore be due to the fact that there is no convincing evidence for Hittite interventions, not to speak of Hittite dominance, in Northwest Asia Minor. Recently, there were much discussed and highly controversial intensive attempts to locate the Hittite vassal state Wiluša and another state called Taruiša in the Troas and to proclaim their identity with Ilios and Troia as definitely proven. The arguments that have been brought forward in this regard, have provoked justified criticism concerning the linguistic problems of an identification of Wiluša with Ilios and Taruiša with Troia as well as their geographical location, in particular that of Wiluša<sup>26</sup>. The Hittite documents circumscribing the alliance duties of Wiluša towards the Hittites point clearly to Wiluša being geographically surrounded by the countries of Lukka, Karkiša, Mira-Arzawa, Šeha and Maša. Wiluša must have been situated in Southwest Asia Minor, and Southern Phrygia would appear to be a good candidate for the position of Wiluša. In this region several important Bronze Age Höyüks still await excavation, and the site of Beycesultan with its impressive Bronze Age settlements is not yet identified by its Bronze Age name. In this same area a *polis* and bishopric called Ilouza is attested. This appears to be a Hellenized indigenous Anatolian name that linguistically seems to conform well to Hittite Wiluša<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Tausend 2012, 16-17, refers to the widespread use of mercenaries in the Eastern Mediterranean, in particular by the Egyptian pharaohs.

<sup>26</sup> Identification of Wiluša with Ilios has been argued especially by Hawkins 1998; Easton/Hawkins/Sherratt/Sherratt 2002; Starke 1997; Latacz 2005, 99-147. – Contra: among others, Haider 1999; Heinhold-Krahmer 2004, 2006, 2012; Steiner 2007; Freu/Mazoyer 2008, 98-102; Freu/Mazoyer 2009, 136, 140; Marek 2010, 120-121, 131; Kolb 2010, 87-105. See also the sceptical remarks by Palaima 2007 and Weber 2011, 235-237.

<sup>27</sup> Ilouza: Pantazis 2009; Kolb 2010, 100-102.

The conclusion is that in Hittite documents there is no evidence concerning the Troas. This region was far off the focal points of Hittite political and military interests. On the other hand, the only reliably attested Late Bronze Age people for which there is firm evidence that they were living in the Troas since the Early Iron Age at the latest, are the Dardanoi, with the Teukroi, however, being a further candidate. Quite certainly, neither the poet of the *Ilias* nor Hesiod nor any other Greek author knew anything about a presence of Dardanoi or Teukroi in Bronze Age Northwest Asia Minor. But it is certain that inhabitants of that region were still identified as Dardanoi in the age of Hesiod and Homer, that is the mixed inhabitants of the *polis* Dardanos who in the usual Greek manner used the name of the settlement for designating their political community<sup>28</sup>. The inhabitants of the Troas at the time of the composition of the *Ilias* must still have been vaguely aware of a historical Thracian and Illyrian past in the region, and this must have influenced the oral tradition of the Trojan legend in constructing the alleged populations of the Troas in the Heroic Age, the important role of Thracians and Illyrians as Trojan allies, and in particular the thorough integration of the Dardanoi into the tradition about a Trojan people, up to the degree that Dardanos became the forefather of the Troes and two of the most important Trojan heroes, Hektor and Aineias, were closely associated with the Dardanoi, Aineias even as their leader.

At what time the oral tradition about a Trojan War integrated the Thracians and especially the Dardanoi into the story, whether in the 9th/8th century or earlier, depends on the question, since when Aeolian Greeks arrived in the Troas: not before the 8th century, as some scholars believe, based on archaeological evidence that seems to testify to a foundation of Aeolian settlements in the region not before that date? Or already during the 11th to 9th century, as recent archaeological discoveries on hill Hisarlık itself appear to suggest, where early Greek Protogeometric pottery of the 11th and 10th centuries and apparently Greek sanctuaries of the 9th century have been found<sup>29</sup>? In this case, Greek immigrants would probably have encountered Balkanic settlers on Hisarlık. The excavations there have shown that pottery of Balkanic type that – according to the results of chemical analysis – was not produced in the Troas, followed the destruction of Troy VIIa, that is around 1200 according to the conventional date<sup>30</sup>. Recent dendrochronological results from excavations in Macedonia might, however, necessitate a revision of traditional chronology by fixing this date half a century earlier<sup>31</sup> and thus the end of Troy VIIa at about 1250, consequently the destruction of Troy VI at around 1350 instead of 1300. Whatever may have caused the destruction of Troy VI with its spacious buildings, most probably an earthquake, the fol-

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<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., X. *HG* 3.1.10.

<sup>29</sup> Rose 2008. – Contra: Hertel 2008, 187-193.

<sup>30</sup> Hertel 2008, 125-136; Hnila 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Strobel 2008, 10-11.

lowing settlement VIIa presents a considerably less impressive sight: more primitive building techniques, much smaller houses with a noticeable function as store rooms, as if they were prepared for a siege, and a reinforcement of fortifications around the acropolis.

The Balkanic people settling in Troy VIIb1, using the so-called Barbarian pottery during the 12th century, and those settling in the succeeding Troy VIIb2, introducing the so-called Buckelkeramik, have not necessarily been the only inhabitants there; their pottery represents a relatively small percentage of the total ceramic inventory which essentially continues the tradition of Troy VI and VIIa. We have to take into account a process of more or less peaceful assimilation of diverse population groups. Furthermore, the question remains who were the people inhabiting Troy VI and VIIa? If Dardanoi were settling in the Troas already in the 14th century, as Egyptian sources may suggest (see above pp. 35-36), they could have been assimilated culturally to their surroundings up to a degree that they can not be identified archaeologically. Various scenarios are conceivable: the destruction of Troy VI by an earthquake might have enabled the Dardanoi to cross the Straits and settle in the Troas. From then on they would have presented a menace to the inhabitants of hill Hisarlık and offered sufficient reason for them to prepare the settlement Troy VIIa for a siege. The end of Troy VIIa, caused by whatever incident, would have offered the Dardanoi the possibility to occupy hill Hisarlık introducing the so-called Barbarian pottery. They may have been compelled to defend the settlement against other Balkanic tribes following as invaders of the Troas, among them the Buckelkeramik people of Troy VIIb2, perhaps Mysoi and Phryges, which Peter Haider<sup>32</sup> assumes to have destroyed Troy VIIb, or the Teukroi. Yet, another scenario, heretical as it may appear, is imaginable as well: Dardanoi might already have been the inhabitants of Troy VI and Troy VIIa. According to the prehistorian Bernhard Hänsel, the size and structure of those settlements on hill Hisarlık have much more in common with that of prehistoric Aegean and Balkanic examples than with contemporary Anatolian ones<sup>33</sup>.

In any case, among the people which the Greek immigrants met with, were such of Balkanic origin. It is open to speculation, if their first encounters with them were of a rather peaceful nature, leading to cohabitation on hill Hisarlık side by side, or marked by violent conflicts that might have contributed to produce or enrich a legend of a Trojan War, as some scholars think. It is obvious that the presence of Dardanoi and other Balkanic peoples in the Troas together with the still largely intact fortifications on hill Hisarlık could not but promote the Dardanoi to a prominent role in a legend of a war about this site – and quite naturally on the side of the defenders of that place.

<sup>32</sup> Haider 1997. 1999. See also Weber 2011, 240.

<sup>33</sup> Hänsel 2003, 115-116.

Was the name of the prehistoric settlement on hill Hisarlık perhaps Dardania? In the *Ilias*<sup>34</sup> a settlement called Dardania is located at the foot of mount Ida, but no traces of a Dardania have been found there. According to the poet, it existed “before sacred Ilios was built”. Had the name Dardania to be moved from hill Hisarlık in order to make room for the name of the Greek settlement called Ilios which was to become Priamos’ splendid and embattled city? We have seen that the name of the prehistoric Bronze Age settlement on hill Hisarlık was certainly neither Wiluša, nor Ilios or Troïe. Troïe is an adjectival form derived from the tribal name Troes; it means ‘Trojan’, for example when the Ilios speaks of Troïe *polis*, the Trojan *polis*. This adjective is, however, used about 50 times like a noun, mostly to designate the region, less often (about a dozen times) the ensemble of central settlement and the area controlled by it. In the *Ilias* the name of the central settlement as political and religious centre is Ilios, used 106 times in the poem. The use of the variant *Troïe* depended on metrical reasons. Thus, despite the fact that in later times Troïe or Troia became a standard denomination for the legendary city, the *Ilias* itself does not really indiscriminately employ two names for the settlement centre of the Troes<sup>35</sup>.

The name Ilios/Ilion was that of the settlement founded on hill Hisarlık by immigrant Aeolian Greeks. The course of their conquests of North Aegean islands and Northwest Asia Minor is probably reflected in the heroic accomplishments of Achilles, as reported in the *Ilias*<sup>36</sup>. A siege and conquest by Greeks of a site called Ilios on hill Hisarlık can, however, not be historical. The legendary tradition of a war against Trojans used this name, because that of the Late Bronze Age settlement was not remembered any more. On the other hand, according to Greek custom, the inhabitants of Ilios could only have been called Ilieis, not Troes. The name Ilieis, however, is never used in the *Ilias*. The Achaeans never wage war against Ilieis, reasonably enough, because this would have meant to wage war against the Greek inhabitants of the Greek *polis* Ilion. For the same reason, Athena, who in the *Ilias* is the principal deity of Ilios<sup>37</sup>, and consequently should be its protective goddess, can not and does not support the Troes but the Achaiioi, not Hector but Achilles<sup>38</sup>. Obviously, the epic tradition got tangled up in a contradictory construction. In the original version of the Trojan legend, Athena can

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<sup>34</sup> Hom. *Il.* 20.216-218.

<sup>35</sup> *Troïe polis*: Hom. *Il.* 1.129; *Od.* 11.510; Bethe 1927, 19-22; Meyer 1974, 809; Wathelet 1988, 41-46; Mannsperger 2002, 853; Letoublon 2003; Szlezák 2012, 34-35; Visser 1997, 83-94, especially 88-90.

<sup>36</sup> Hom. *Il.* 9.328-329: Achilles’ conquest of 23 *poleis*; see also 2.690-693; 6.414-416, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.87-96, 297-311: Theanos, Athena’s priestess implores Athena as “Protrectress of the *Polis*” to bring about Diomedes’ death; the goddess, however, refuses without further comment. It appears plausible that she felt deeply offended by Paris’ judgement and therefore openly sided with the Achaeans 24.27-30.

<sup>38</sup> Hom. *Il.* 15.70-71 (Athene as enemy of the Trojans); see also 2.156-181, 445-452; 8.30-37, 350-380. Athene assists Achilles: 1,194-198; 19.352-354; 20.94, 438-440; 22.214-299, etc.

not have been the principal deity and protectress of a Trojan settlement, be it on hill Hisarlık or somewhere else. But it is obvious that there is an inseparable connection between her epithet Ilias and the place-name Ilios.

On the Greek mainland, the cult of Athena Ilias is attested in only two Aeolian *poleis*: at Physkos in Lokris, and at Echinus in the neighbouring Achaean Phthiotis, Achilles' native country<sup>39</sup> (fig. 3). Only in these two *poleis* in the whole of Greece was Athena Ilias the principal deity of the political community. Fritz Graf suggests that Athena Ilias was originally the family goddess of Oileus, the father of Lokrian Aias. The latter is said to have committed a horrible religious crime: He violently removed Cassandra from the altar of Athena, whose statue tumbled down from its pedestal. The Lokrians are told to have done penance for this crime by sending every year Lokrian virgins to Ilion as servants in Athena's cult. This is evidently an *aition* which has the function to explain the close connection between Lokrian Aeolians and the cult of Athena on hill Hisarlık<sup>40</sup>.

Bethe<sup>41</sup> has observed that the personal name Ilos/Ileus and the place-name Ilios/Ilion are firmly rooted on the Greek mainland. It is, of course, possible that *Poleis* called Ilion in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Eastern Thrace have received their name under the influence of the Trojan legend. This is, however, improbable in the case of a mountain called Ilios or Ilion near Las at the West Coast of the Lakonian Gulf, and the name Wirios/Ilios which seems to be attached to a Peloponnesian or Cretan settlement already in an Egyptian document of the early 14th century<sup>42</sup>. And whereas Hesiod mentions a Trojan called Ileus, the Odyssee knows a person of the name Ilos in Greek Ephyra<sup>43</sup>. In the Ilias the name *Oileus* is on the one hand attached to a Trojan charioteer, on the other hand to the father of Lokrian Aias. Scholars agree that in the Ilias metrical reasons are responsible for changing an initial Digamma of the name *Fileus* into an O which resulted in Oileus<sup>44</sup>.

We have seen that names of Trojan heroes appear already in Mycenaean Linear B texts. No less revealing is the frequent doubling of personal and topographical

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<sup>39</sup> *IG IX 1*, 351. *SEG* 16,354-361 (Physkos); 54,554 bis (Echinus).

<sup>40</sup> Graf 1978. Morris 2007.

<sup>41</sup> Bethe 1927, 69, 138-144.

<sup>42</sup> Paus. 3.24.6. Meyer 1974 and 1975. Hampl 1975, 51-99. – Edel/Görg 2005, 184-187, 191, 208-209; Kolb 2010, 80-85. Efforts to identify the Wirios/Ilios in the Egyptian text with Ilios in the Troas (see, e.g., Breyer 2010, 334; – contra: Bennett 2011, 160) go astray, since this Egyptian list of place-names otherwise only mentions Peloponnesian and Cretan sites.

<sup>43</sup> Hes. Fr. 116 ed. Rzsch. *Hom. Od.* 1.259.

<sup>44</sup> Oileus = (F)lleus: *Hom. Il.* 2.527, 727-728 (father of 'little Aias'); 11.93 (Trojan charioteer). Bethe 1927, 141. Meyer 1975, 161 with note 10. Von Kamptz 1982, 295-298. Hertel 2008, 184-186.

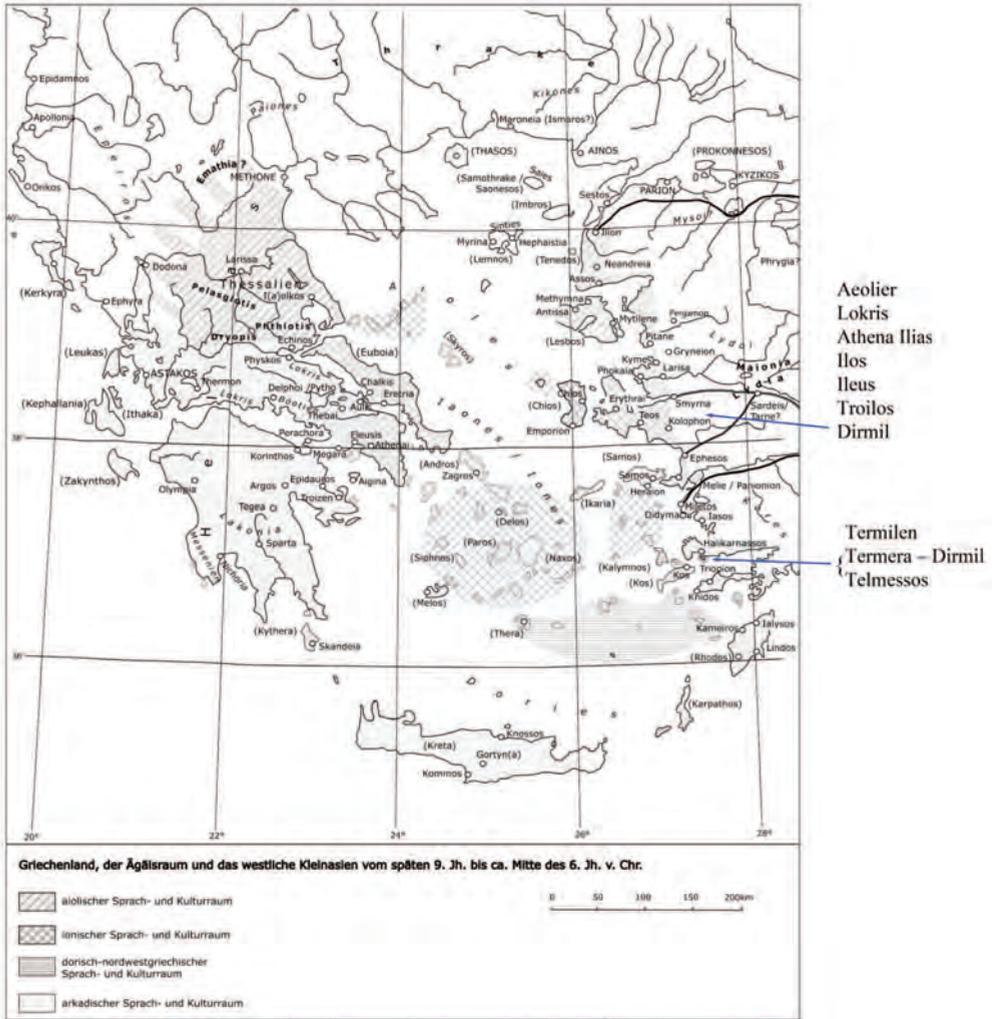


Fig. 3. Map of Archaic Greece and Western Asia Minor (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen, based on map, © A.M. Wittke).

names in the *Ilias*. Anchises, for example, is not only the name of Aineias' father, but also of a renowned aristocrat at Peloponnesian Sikyon. He was the father of Echebolos who is presented as owner of racing-horses – just like Aineias<sup>45</sup>. The doubling of geographical and topographical names that we have already observed

<sup>45</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.819; 23.295-300. Wathelet 1989, 29-30, 112,165.

in the case of Thracian or Illyrian designations, concerns in particular Aeolian Greece: A place called Thebe in the Southern Troas was allegedly conquered by Achilles. Several *polis* centers of this name existed in Greece, and one of them in Achilles' native country Achaia Phthiotis. Larisa, according to the Ilias inhabited by the Pelasgoi among the Trojan allies, finds its equivalent in Thessalian Larisa, situated in a region called Pelasgiotis and adjacent to Achille(u)s' Phthiotis. In the Ilias the Pelasgian hero Hippothoos, who fights on the Trojan side, dies "far away from the fertile fields around Larisa"; this seems not to fit neither a Larisa in the Troas nor the Aeolian Larisa in the Hermos valley – but does fit Larisa in Thessalian Pelasgiotis, which is conspicuously absent from the catalogue of ships, whereas the Ilias mentions Greek warriors from Pelasgian Argos in Achilles' contingent of 50 ships<sup>46</sup>. The warriors of Thessalian Larisa may have been enemies of Achilles' Achaeans in the original story. Furthermore, the Leleges, which the Ilias locates in the Troas, are attested by Hesiod as inhabiting parts of Central Greece, of Lokris, with a Lokros as their leader. In the Ilias, Dryops, one of Priamos' sons, is killed by Achilles. It can hardly surprise that one finds Dryopes in the region of Mount Oita and the Spercheios valley, in the neighbourhood of Achilles' home. The alleged Trojan Dryops was, of course, nothing else than the heroic forebear of these Dryopes in mainland Greece<sup>47</sup>.

Altogether, the Troas of the Ilias appears to be largely populated by tribes and settlements which in mainland Greece surround the native country of Achilles and against which he excels in battle during the Trojan War. One population group, however, is missing in Central and Northern Greece: the Troes. But as we have seen, they are also absent from the Troas, they do not exist outside the legendary context of the Trojan War story. The names of Trojan heroes are mostly Greek names, some are of Thracian or Illyrian origin. There are no traces of a particular ethnic Trojan identity. How, then, did the Troes come to play the central part in the story about a Trojan War?

Erich Bethe, Ernst Meyer, and recently Thomas Szlezák argue that Achilles' duel with Hektor can not have been fought at the Hellespont, but reflects a war between neighbouring tribes in Central Greece, a war between Achilles' Achaioi and Hektor's Troes who may have lived in Southern Thessaly<sup>48</sup>. Ernst Meyer suggested that after their defeat their name has simply disappeared from the record,

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<sup>46</sup> Thebe: Wathelet 1988, 48-49; 1989, 183-185. – Larisa: Hom. *Il.* 2.840-841; 17.301. – Hippothoos: Hom. *Il.* 17.288-301. – Pelasgian Argos: Hom. *Il.* 2.681.

<sup>47</sup> Leleges: see note 14. – Dryops: Hom. *Il.* 20.455. – Dryopes/Dryopis: Hdt. 1.56; 8.31, 43. Str. 7.7.1; 8.6.13. Plin. *Nat.* 4,7.28. RE V, 1905, 1747-1749 s.v. Dryopes (J. Miller); 1749-1750 s.v. Dryops (Escher).

<sup>48</sup> Bethe 1927, 23-24; Meyer 1975, 166-169; Szlezák 2012, 35-36. See also Hampf 1975, 62-63, 72; Kullmann 2011, 111-112. Wathelet 1989, 183, who – following Bethe – locates Hektor at Boeotian Thebe.

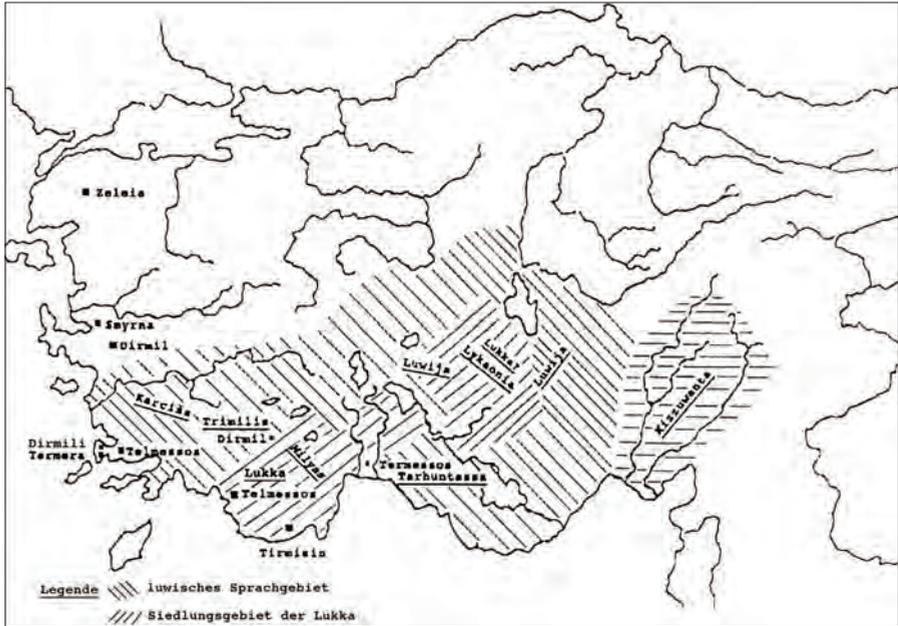


Fig. 4. Map of Bronze Age Anatolia with Luwian and Lukka (Trimili) settle- ment areas (Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Universität Tübingen).

as was the case with the names of other Greek population groups mentioned in the Ilias, for example the Danaoi, the Epeioi, the Myrmidones, and also the Hellenes, the latter name living on only as designation for all Greeks. Also other historically attested tribes, like the Kaukones, the Enetes or the Azanioi, the latter ones settling in Northern Arcadia in the Early Iron Age, disappeared as *ethne* together with their name<sup>49</sup>.

I agree with these scholars and others who are convinced that the legend of the Trojan War was formed in Greece, transported by Aeolian Greeks to Northwest Asia Minor and fixed at the fortification walls on hill Hisarlık. Together with the Trojan legend, the names of persons, settlements, and tribes were transported into that region which thus became a kind of look-alike of central Greece around Achilles' Phthiotis. Achilles' Achaeans developed into the Achaioi embracing all Greeks. The landscape at the Dardanelles became the backdrop for the war, received the name Troas, and in the course of time more legendary tales were integrated into the original core of the story, some of them before about 700, others probably by the poet of the Ilias himself. It is controversial, whether the tale about

<sup>49</sup> Azanioi: Nielsen/Roy 1988. See also Str. 9.4.11 on the fate of the Anianes.

Achilleus' conquests in Northwest Asia Minor belongs to the oldest version of the Trojan legend or was integrated later. In any case, it was one of several tales that were joined together to constitute the legend of the Trojan War. Philologists and historians, like Erich Bethe, Ernst Meyer, Franz Hampl, and others have long ago realized that, for example, the duels between the hero Idomeneus from Gortyn on Crete and the alleged Trojan heroes Phaistos and Asios have nothing to do with Northwest Asia Minor but reflect wars between the Cretan towns of Gortyn, Phaistos and Hyrkatina. The duel between the Lycian Sarpedon and the Rhodian Tlepolemos has rightly been interpreted as allegory of the warlike conflicts between Lycians and Rhodians, historically attested since about 700<sup>50</sup>.

Moreover, the outstanding role played by the Lycians in the *Ilias*, a much discussed enigma, is, according to my opinion, another example of this process of integrating historically rather late experiences into the legend. Why of all peoples are the Lycians, with their leaders, their *basileis* Sarpedon and Glaukos, the most important allies of the Trojans, collectively praised as *mega ethnos* and *antitheoi*, godlike? They alone of all Trojan allies are even addressed as representing the totality of those allies. Sarpedon is introduced as the commander of all allies. Several times in the *Ilias* Hektor, cheering on his troops to fight, calls on the *Troes kai Lykioi*, and only Glaukos, who after Sarpedon's death is sole chief of the Lycians, has the authority to accuse Hector of cowardice, because he flees from Aias. Glaukos threatens the withdrawal of the Lycians from the war, prophesying Troy's inevitably ensuing destruction<sup>51</sup>.

Scholars like Peter Frei and Martin West have tried to explain this by suggesting that Homer had knowledge of Lycian epic tales recited at a princely court at Xanthos and relating the heroic feats of Lycian heroes<sup>52</sup>. But archaeological evidence in Lycia including Xanthos speaks against a level of civilisation already around 700 or in the first half of the 7th century that could have produced a kind of princely court and a Lycian epos<sup>53</sup>. Furthermore, later Lycian evidence demonstrates that the Lycians knew about the legend of a Trojan War, including the Lycian heroes, only in its Greek version – and even this obviously not a long time before about 400 BC<sup>54</sup>. The poet of the *Ilias* learned about the Lycians from Greek sources and – this is my suggestion – from events in his own lifetime.

<sup>50</sup> Bethe 1927, 23-24; Hampl 1975, 63; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1920, 331-339; Wathelet 1989, 166. – Idomeneus-Phaistos-Asios: Hom. *Il.* 5.43-47; 13.383-388. Asios is an epithet of Cretan Zeus; – Tlepolemos-Sarpedon: Hom. *Il.* 5.628-669.

<sup>51</sup> *mega ethnos, antitheoi*: Hom. *Il.* 12.330, 408. – *Troes kai Lykioi*: Hom. *Il.* 8.173; 11.285-286; 13.150; 15.424-425, 485-486; 17.184, etc. – Sarpedon as commander of all allies: Hom. *Il.* 12.101-102. – Glaukos blames Hektor: Hom. *Il.* 17.140-155.

<sup>52</sup> Frei 1978; 1993. West 2011, 23, 31, 64-65.

<sup>53</sup> Kolb/Kupke 1992, 39-40. Des Courtils 2003. Marksteiner 2010, 62, 70.

<sup>54</sup> Kolb 2014.

In Herodotus one finds rather enigmatic information about Ionian *poleis* in Western Asia Minor which appointed Lycians, descendants of Glaukos, as their *basileis*<sup>55</sup>. Does a historical background to this exist? According to the poet Kallinos from Ephesos, whose lifetime is usually dated to around the middle of the 7th century, the Lydian capital Sardes was conquered first by Kimmerians and again by Lycians and the Balkanic Treres who were allies of the Kimmerians<sup>56</sup>. In modern research, these events are dated around the middle of the 7th century. Since the beginning of the 7th century the Kimmerians were raiding Asia Minor and since 665 they were attacking the Lydian kingdom of Gyges<sup>57</sup>. Possibly, the Treres and the Lycians were taking part in the Kimmerian raids already well before their attack on Sardes. Furthermore, the Lydians under their king Gyges at those times tried to subjugate the Ionian coastal *poleis*, and Herodotus' information on Lycian *basileis* in Ionian *poleis* of that region may reflect a kind of emergency alliances of Ionian *poleis* with Lycian warlords.

There is further evidence for an involvement of Lycians in Western Asia Minor. The Lycians called themselves Trmmili and their country Trmmis. This appellation has been preserved in ancient and Turkish geographical and topographical names on the Lycian peninsula in the case of Termessos, Telmessos, Trimilinda, Tirmisin and Dirmili. Yet, also on the peninsula of Halikarnassos it has left traces in ancient settlements like Termera and Termessos as well as in the Turkish place-name Dirmili. In the present context it is particularly interesting that just south of Izmir, the ancient Ionian *polis* Smyrna, the Turkish place-name Dirmili testifies to the presence of Trimili, i.e. of Lycians, in ancient times<sup>58</sup>.

This evidence may be valued as indirect confirmation of Herodotus and Kallinos. It suggests that Lycian warlords with their warriors were active in Western Asia Minor as conquerors, raiders and mercenaries, perhaps sometimes as enemies, sometimes as allies of Ionian *poleis*. Dirmili south of Smyrna, a *polis* often hailed as Homer's home, may have been a settlement of Lycian warriors. The poet Mimnermos, probably native of Smyrna and writing during the 2nd half of the 7th century, mentions a battle between the Lydian king Gyges and Smyrna<sup>59</sup>. Lycians may have taken part in this war, perhaps on the side of the Smyrnaeans.

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<sup>55</sup> Hdt. 1.147.

<sup>56</sup> Callin. Fr. 5 West 1992 (quoted by Callisthen.Olynth., *FGrH* 124 F 29 and Str. 14.1.40).

<sup>57</sup> Marek 2010, 151-153.

<sup>58</sup> Hdt. 1.173; 7.92 etc. Panyas., *EGF*, F 18 (= Hecat., *FGrH* 1 F 10). Philipp.Theang., *FGrH* 741 F 3. Str. 14.5.23. Laroche 1976. Frei 1993. Carruba 1996. – For Termera and Telmessos on the peninsula of Halikarnassos see RE V A 1, 1934, 729-730 s.v. Termera (W. Ruge). Plin. *Nat.* 5,29.107. Frei 1993, 89, note 18. – Dirmil(i): Sahin/Adak 2007, Text p.39, STR 24/line 32 and p. 170-172). Zgusta 1984, 27-28. – Dirmili near Smyrna/Izmir is entered in older Turkish maps on 38° 15' N, 27° 26' E (information by V. Höhfeld, Tübingen).

<sup>59</sup> Mimn., 578 F 5. Marek 2010, 153. See also Paus. 7.3.7 for Lycians as early settlers at Ionian Erythrai.

Several scholars, like Walter Burkert, Martin West, Wolfgang Kullmann, and – with some reservations – Thomas Szlezák, date the composition of the *Ilias* to the first half or middle of the 7th century<sup>60</sup>. I think, this is a plausible suggestion. In the case presented here, it would explain why the Lycians play such an important role in the *Ilias*. The poet himself may have made the experience formulated in his poem: “The Lycian leaders, who of old have ever been fierce in mighty conflicts”<sup>61</sup>. It would also explain, why in the *Ilias* the Lycian Pandaros commands the Troes of Zeleia. The Scholia to these verses erroneously concluded that Zeleia was *he mikra Lykia*, “little Lycia”. Modern research has got lost into misinterpreting the *Ilias* as well, postulating the existence of two Lycias, one in the North, the other in the South of Asia Minor<sup>62</sup>. Pandaros, however, commands Trojans, not Lycians. He is a Lycian *basileus* ruling over Trojans, just as there were Lycian *basileis* ruling over Ionian *poleis*. The poet of the *Ilias* transferred this Ionian experience to the Troas.

### Conclusion

To sum up: I suppose that the outstanding role of the Lycians in the *Ilias* is to be interpreted as a transfer of experiences which the Ionian Greeks made in the lifetime of the poet of the *Ilias* who had witnessed himself or heard of the extraordinary warlike virtues of Lycian condottieri with their troops in battles in Asia Minor. As non-Greek inhabitants of the Asian continent, the Lycians were excellent candidates for playing the most important part among the allies of the Trojans. Their participation in a Trojan War and the Lycian Pandaros as ruler over the Trojans of Zeleia are, of course, poetic invention.

In view of the fact that battles between Cretan towns, warlike conflicts between Rhodians and Lycians, the presence of Lycian warlords with their troops in Ionian Asia Minor etc., have been transferred to the Troas and integrated into the story of a great war, why should the presence of Troes in the so-called Troas and their battles with Greeks claim greater historical probability? I agree with representatives of the neoanalytical interpretation that the *Ilias* is a complex composition in which various legendary traditions have been melted. A similar process of melting different traditions and of displacing the localities, persons, and events is represented by another famous legend, the *Nibelungen Saga*. Its original stage is historically verifiable at the Rhine and in neighbouring regions west of it. Yet, in the poem the scene of the deadly conflict between the Burgundians and Attila’s Huns is moved to Attila’s residence at the Middle Danube, to Gran, Roman Solva,

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<sup>60</sup> Burkert 1976. West 1995. Szlezák 2012, 43-47.

<sup>61</sup> Hom. *Il.* 12.359-360.

<sup>62</sup> Pandaros: Hom. *Il.* 2,824-827; 4,88-126; 5,95-105,166-296. *Scholia in Hom. Il.* 2,824-827. West 2011, 64-65. The same opinion already in Treuber 1887, 14-18. Macqueen 1968. Bryce 1977. Jenniges 1998; – contra: Frei 1993: Northern Lycians are poetical invention.

nowadays Hungarian Esztergom<sup>63</sup>. What would have happened, if we had no reliable historical record? The satirical journal *Kladderadatsch* which ridiculed Schliemann's naivety in believing he had found Priamos' treasure, portrayed him going now on search for the Rheingold treasure<sup>64</sup>. Without historical knowledge about those events, archaeologists would probably have been tempted to excavate at the site of Attila's residence the material remains of the Untergang of the Burgundians and thus to verify the historicity of the *Nibelungen Saga*.

Let me conclude with a short statement: I am inclined to remove the question mark behind the title of my contribution: Trojans and a Troas at the Dardanelles are probably a phantom created by the legend of the Trojan War.

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<sup>63</sup> Kramer 1982: v. 1550: Gran.

<sup>64</sup> Anonymus, *Kladderadatsch* 27, vols. 14-15 (1874), 56: cf. Samida 2009, esp. 149.

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CUTTING-EDGE TECHNOLOGY AND KNOW-HOW OF  
MINOANS/MYCENAEANS DURING LBA AND  
POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DATING OF THE TROJAN WAR

Konstantinos Giannakos

*In the present paper, the material evidence, in LBA, both for the technological level of Minoan/Mycenaean Greece, mainland-islands-Crete, and the image emerging from the archaeological finds of the wider area of Asia Minor, Land of Hatti, Cyprus, and Egypt, are combined in order to draw conclusions regarding international relations and exchanges. This period of on the one hand prosperity with conspicuous consumption and military expansion, on the other hand as well of decline and degradation of power are considered in relation with the ability of performing overseas raids of Mycenaean Greeks. The finds of the destructions' layers in Troy VI/VIIa are examined in order to verify whether one of these layers is compatible to the Trojan War, while an earlier dating is proposed. The results are compared with the narrative of ancient literature in order to trace compatibilities or inconsistencies to the archaeological finds.*

**Introduction**

Technology and its 'products', when unearthed by archaeologists, are irrefutable witnesses to the technological level of each era and place. Especially the cutting-edge technology and, more in general, an advanced know-how are, in my opinion, of decisive importance, since "Great Powers" use them in order to increase wealth and military superiority. The evaluation of archaeological finds, cutting-edge technology, and advanced know-how of each era could result in conclusions regarding the nature of international trade and relationships, and can also be brought in connection with evidence from ancient literature. Constructions of huge-scale works and also the production of precious and rare metals, such as silver and iron, during LBA, were realised by 'cutting-edge technology' and advanced know-how. The investigation of relationships, wars, alliances, and exchanges, as recorded in archaeological finds and literature, for peaceful and warlike activities, as well as the cross-traffic/infusion of technological know-how helps us in reaching conclusions regarding the history of the distinct eras.

### Cutting-edge technological constructions in Minoan/Mycenaean Greece

Minyan, Minoan, and Mycenaean Greeks used advanced cutting-edge technology and ‘engineering’ know-how, from the beginning of the early MH (begins *ca.* 2200/2100 BC), or even earlier. Almost every settlement, since neolithic times, used 2-meter thick fortification walls from the mid-third millennium already, in Lerna, *ca.* 2500 BC, Syros, *ca.* 2200 BC, Aegina, *ca.* 2100 BC (Palyvou 2005a; Tassios 2008). By the LM IA the ashlar wall technology was popular in all houses in Akrotiri and Crete (Palyvou 1999). The bearing capacity of a stone wall increases with the width. This is a technical know-how gained from experience, or trial-and-error method<sup>1</sup>. Developing – one thousand years after the mid-third millennium – 3 m thick walls at Tiryns and of 5 m or 7 m in Mycenae even later seems to have been normal procedure (Tassios 2008; Palyvou 2005). This procedure of gradual development of a wall’s bearing capacity, by increasing its thickness, belongs to the regular know-how for ‘engineers’: they had to construct the external masonry sides slightly further apart and increase the ‘filling’ inside, in order to enable these to carry heavier loads. However, an intuitive engineer’s spirit is needed, to design and construct a structure fit to bridge large or wide openings like the three-dimensional corbelled vault used for tholos tombs. In this case a high level of technological knowledge and skill is demanded. Mycenaean ‘engineers’ successfully used the coursed ashlar in the construction of large bee-hive *tholos* tombs with corbelling technique (Palyvou 2009) and constructed adobe structures presenting strength in today’s terms of 3-5 N/mm<sup>2</sup>, much higher than the strength (*ca.* 3 N/mm<sup>2</sup>) of modern bricks of low quality<sup>2</sup>. The corbelled vault *tholos* at Fourni, Crete, belongs to EM II, *ca.* 2900-2300 BC<sup>3</sup>, the know-how expanded at Messenia where the first *tholos* tombs belong to late MH and at Kakovatos, to MH or early LH I (Treuil *et alii* 1996, 354-357). Smaller tholoi in Georgiko and Koryfasio are referred to (Tassios 2008). The *tholos* tombs at Mycenae have been constructed even before 1520 BC, for the kings and their close relatives<sup>4</sup>.

The structural analysis of the ‘Atreus Treasure’, with the Finite Element Method/FEM, calculated maximum compression and tensile stresses of approximately 0,74 N/mm<sup>2</sup> and 0,17 N/mm<sup>2</sup> (Askouni *et alii* 2008), implying linear elastic behaviour with no damage expected. Similar results were derived from

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<sup>1</sup> About the empirical and intuitive ability of Mycenaean ‘Engineers’: Cremasco/Laffineur 1999; Hope Simpson/Hagel 2006, 24.

<sup>2</sup> For Akrotiri: see Palyvou *et alii* 2001. N = Newton, is the unit of Force in the SI system; N = kg.m/sec<sup>2</sup>, that is one Newton equals to the product of one kilogram of mass multiplied by the acceleration unit (one meter of length per second – unit of time – in the square).

<sup>3</sup> Dickinson 2003, 49: dated by Sakellarakis. “The whole structure of the tholos of grave Γ, till its top (key-stones), had been constructed with stone (protruding) rings, and it is dated in EM III; the tholos grave B is dated in MM IA, as terminus ante quem; the tholos grave E is dated in EM IIA” (Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1997, 181-182, 169, 187).

<sup>4</sup> Mylonas 1983, 168: Cyclopes’/Gennii’s, Upper Fournace’s, Aegisthos’s *tholoi*.

the structural analysis (with the FEM) of the *tholos* tomb of Thorikos, Attica, which are “emphasizing some of the intuitive choices made by the Mycenaean architects in those remarkable monuments”<sup>5</sup>.

For the dating of the ‘Atreus Treasure’, finds of LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2 are mentioned at the grave’s *dromos*, sherds of *bothros* deposit of the grave of LH IIIA1, testimony that it had been reused (Cavanagh/Mee 1999). This provides us with a *terminus ante quem*, since the grave’s reuse is dated on the LH IIIA1-LH IIIA2. The Minoan architecture was propagated beyond Crete (Shaw 2009; Palyvou 2005b, 185-188): at Akrotiri in Thera, Phylakopi in Melos (LM I or LC I), Trianda in Rhodes (LM IA), Pylos in Messenia, Menelaion in Sparta (LH II-LH III), Mycenae and Tiryns, where the first Throne Room is dated at MH-LH I at the latest, since the Great *Megaron* with the first fortification walls were constructed in LH IIIA during the early 14th century<sup>6</sup>.

In Messenian Pylos, influenced by the highly Minoanised Kythera, some ashlar walls, found by Blegen, were identified by Klaus Killian as belonging to a Minoan or Minoan influenced ‘Cretan’ structure, dated to LH II/early LH IIIA1. Of particular interest is a double-axe ‘mason’s-mark’, on the face of one block as well as the double axe signs engraved on the *stomion* blocks of the LH IIA *tholos* tomb at Peristeria. A gypsum frieze with triglyphs and half-rosettes in Tiryns, the running spirals at the facade of the ‘Treasury of Atreus’, and the Tiryns gypsum triglyph and half-rosette resemble elements from Knossos (Shaw 2009).

Mycenaeans/Minyans had also constructed flood control and land-reclamation works, at many sites in mainland Greece, with, most typically, the ‘drainage’ of Kopais lake (Tassios 2006a; 2006b; 2008; Knauss 2002; Palyvou 2009), where Spyropoulos<sup>7</sup> unearthed sherds of MH period, from the Mycenaean dams still existing today. Furthermore, Mycenaean flood protection works, with the deviation of the Alpheios river, existed at Olympia (Tassios 2008; Knauss 2002). For sewage and sanitary installations, systems of water traps, and odor traps in palaces and town houses were unearthed in Akrotiri, comparable to the ones used in modern houses, as used from the 19th century AD onwards (Palyvou 1997). A possible artificial port at Pylos of the LH III period, with radiocarbon-dating of 1350 BC, is also discussed among the hydraulic works of Mycenaean (Hope-Simpson/Hagel 2006, 211).

The evidence ensuing from the aforementioned material may be combined with evidence from ancient literature. The walls of Troy are said to have been built by the gods Apollo and Poseidon, in cooperation with a mortal man, the king of

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<sup>5</sup> Cremasco/Laffineur 1999; Treuil *et alii* 1996, 354-357: the tomb is dated MH-LH. This implies an average date of 1550 BC.

<sup>6</sup> Papademetriou 2001; Maran 2012; Hope Simpson/Hagel 2006, 226: “The Mycenaean skill in engineering was initially learnt from the Minoans”.

<sup>7</sup> Iakovidis 1997; Tassios 2008, 12: “This advanced technology and the first phase of the works were developed since the middle of the 2nd millennium BC”, 14-15: photo’s of dams.

Aegina, Aiakos, who had close relations with the Cretans who colonised Troy<sup>7a</sup>. The walls of Tiryns are said to have been constructed by the Cyclopes for Akrisios. Cyclopes, the smith-deities, were part of the pre-Olympian trinity ‘Titans, Cyclopes, Hekatonheires’, in prehistoric Greece<sup>8</sup>, also being bringers of technology in mythological accounts. However, it might well be conceived that Cyclopes represent a labour-force brought in to build the walls, following Strabo: “Cyclopes who came by invitation from Lycia and gained their living from their handicraft”<sup>9</sup>.

### Technology in metal production

The presence of silver in eastern EM I Crete is surprising (Muhly 2008). There is evidence for an intensive exploitation, working, and production of silver and lead from the Laurion area mines from Late Neolithic, Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age, through to Late Bronze Age<sup>10</sup>. A cupellation workshop from the late-4th millennium BC (Proto-Helladic I/PH I), was excavated and hundreds of litharge (a mineral form of lead oxide) fragments were recovered (litharge of silver comes as a by-product of separating silver from lead), with evidence of the process of silver separation from argentiferous lead (Kakavogianni *et alii* 2006, 78-79). Specified quantities of metal were used as a medium of exchange in pre-coinage societies (Michailidou 2005; 2008).

Iron seal rings have been found at Dendra and Pylos containing nickel ranging from 2-11 per cent, derived from meteorites or from nickel-bearing ores, as in Larymna, Euboea, and Skyros (Varoufakis 1999). Iron seal rings at the Archaeological Museum of Athens are dated between the 15th and the 13th century BC. Iron – according to tablets from Akkad – had a six times higher value than silver (Varoufakis 2005). It should be emphasised that iron – as an extremely precious metal – had already been used in Crete since the first half of 17th century BC, as the finds from a human sacrifice at Anemospilia – near Archanes – confirm, where the priest wore a silver ring that was iron-plated. Furthermore, iron has also been encountered in later royal burials in Minoan Crete (Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1991).

The finds of weapons and panoplies in the graves of Mycenaeans in Crete led the archaeologists to call them ‘warriors’ graves’. The people lying in these graves may represent a local community that extended its authority by adopting

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<sup>7a</sup> Giannakos 2015, 758: about the meaning of the participation of the gods and the Mycenaeans’ technological level.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Intellect, Technology and Natural Forces’, the ‘equilateral triangle’ of the ‘manifested deity’: cf Tassios 2001; 2005; 2008.

<sup>9</sup> So-called *Gasterocheires*-Γαστερόχειρες (literally ‘bellyhands’): Str. 8.6.11/373; Apollod. 2.2.1; also: B. *Od.* 11.75-79, Paus. 2.25.8.

<sup>10</sup> Tzahili 2008, 10-11. Muhly 1997, 28, 32: “Silver at Laurion was being exploited by the mid-third millenium BC”, citing P. Spitaels in note 7. Stos-Gale/Gale/Houghton 1995, 130: “for the Mycenaean/Minoan world, the main source for lead, silver and copper was Laurion”. Stos-Gale (1982) supports that Laurion seems to be the predominant source of the finds in Shaft Graves at Mycenae.

new methods of battle. Products of cutting-edge technology usually offer predominance and superiority of weaponry to their ‘owners’ in battles. Minoans and Mycenaean produced and used tremendous weaponry both in war and in hunting. They did not trade their weapons, and only seldomly used their swords as gifts: the presence found far away from their provenance can hardly –if at all – be explained by trade (Sandars 1963).

### **Periods of prosperity and decline in palatial centers**

Great projects of *tholos* tomb constructions and other technological works were undertaken in times of prosperity. In order to build the Treasury of Atreus, houses were demolished, thousands of tons of rock and rubble were excavated and removed, blocks of limestone and conglomerate were quarried and carted in, fine stones were shipped from other parts of Greece and skilled craftsmen worked for many months to finish it, requiring tens of thousands of man-days in expenditure of effort (Cavanagh 2008, 337; Voutsaki 2012, 104). The grave goods of MH III-LH I periods provide assemblages of material culture indicating levels of prosperity, social complexity, artistic influence, and wealthy societal groups (Shelton 2012), showing an emerging elite in Mycenae, possibly the result of Mycenaean military prowess in this period (Colburn 2007; French 2012; Voutsaki 2005; Wiener 2007, 10-11).

A series of destructions of the main palatial centres took place in the period from 1400-1050/1030 BC (Middleton 2010; Giannakos 2012, 221-222; Sherratt 2001, 234: “a cardboard collapse of the mainland’s palaces, in LH IIIA2-IIIIB Greece”). Destruction processes of early Mycenaean Greece in LH IIIA1 may be caused by military conflict and were followed by the foundation of the palaces and the emergence of a stricter hierarchical order, as depicted in burial customs (Niemeier 2005). Through LH IIIA to LH IIIIB less effort and fewer resources were put into tomb construction, while prestigious items were entirely lacking in chamber tombs. Everywhere on the the mainland, palaces were built and rebuilt during this period and several widespread destructions that have been localised were usually followed by rebuilding on a massive scale (Cavanagh 2008; Kelder 2010, 99; Shelton 2012). In more details (Middleton 2010):

During LH IIA-III A1 at Mycenae, the Ramp House was reconstructed indicating some kind of prior disturbance; at Pylos, there was a destruction at the Palace; Knossos suffered a series of destructions; in Lakonia, Mansion 2 was abandoned. In LH IIIA2 at Mycenae the Pillar Basement, the Palace, and many Houses were destroyed (Petsa’s House, the Second Cyclopean Terrace House, the House of Wine Merchant, and the House of Lead [Atreus Ridge]), perhaps by an earthquake(?) [Middleton 2010: according to Mountjoy]. The House of Kadmos at Thebes was also possibly destroyed in late LH IIIA2/early LHIII B, while other parts of Kadmeia were in use later, and buildings at Tiryns were remodeled at this time (also: Dakouri-Hild 2012, 698-702). Parts of buildings of Iolkos dated to the 15th century BC, one of them identified as the Palace, had been destroyed by a powerful fire in LH IIIA (also: Adrimi-Sismani 2007, 164,

168, 175). The palace at Pylos was remodeled during LH IIIA2 or LHIIIB1. The catastrophes of which we have the evidence all over Mycenaean Greece from LH IIIA2 onwards could imply that approximately by 1350 BC the Mycenaean palaces were experiencing a period of prosperity, growth of population, but at the same time destructions in palatial centres without evidence of rich offerings in tombs, suggest a gradual degradation of power (Middleton 2010; Voutsaki 2001; 2005) and a step by step impoverishment of Greece.

### **15th-14th centuries BC: finds in Ḫattuša and the Mycenaean World**

A Mycenaean Type B bronze sword was unearthed at Ḫattuša, dated to the period of Tudḫaliya II, commemorating his victory over Aššuwa (including Wilušiya/Ῥίλιος and Taruiša/Τροία), mentioned in his Annals. This sword most probably belonged to the booty taken from a Mycenaean soldier. Besides this sword, various objects of Mycenaean influence and several texts, implying activities deep in Asia Minor and Alašiya/Cyprus, by members of the Mycenaean royal families, were also found (Giannakos 2012, 17-42):

- A silver bowl referring to the conquest of Tarwiza/Τροία by a king Tudḫaliya (II).
- A bronze sword at Izmir and one at Kastamonu, of Mycenaean type, dated to *ca.* the same era,
- A Mycenaean bronze spearhead at Niğde attesting of advanced technology of the 14th-13th centuries BC,
- A ceramic bowl with a depiction of an Aegean(?) warrior bearing a boar's tusk helmet at Ḫattuša dated to about 1400 BC,
- Fragments of wall paintings of Mycenaean technique in Büyükkale. The published colour photograph, of the fragments, lead to the linkage of the Ḫattuša's iconography with (Mycenaean) paintings from Bronze Age Mycenae, Tel-el-Dab<sup>Ca</sup>, Qatna, and Tel Kabri (Brysaert 2008, 101-102, 108, 155).
- Imported Mycenaean pottery LH IIIA2 in Maşat Höyük, in a LH IIIB context and
- A few Mycenaean sherds in Ḫattuša and Kuşaklı demonstrating the importance of hearth building, as also attested in Mycenaean palaces, as described in Tudḫaliya IV's Hittite ritual text, reconstructed from older sources.

The Indictment of Madduwatta, involving notes that under Tudḫaliya II's reign, Attarissiya, a lesser ruler in Aḫḫiyawa whom Hittites did not regard as King<sup>11</sup> (that is ḫḫaḫ), having 100 chariots with him, fought against a Hittite army in southwestern Anatolia and performed repeated<sup>12</sup> raids against Lukka and Alašiya/Cyprus.

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<sup>11</sup> Güterbock 1997b, 207. Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 97-98: "he might not have been viewed as King....a Mycenaean of high status". Bryce 2005, 129-130: "rather he was not an officially recognized king of the Land of Aḫḫiyawa". Gurney 1990, 21: "possibly an Achaean Greek chieftain". Tudḫaliya (II) in this paper is always I/II, following Bryce (2005).

<sup>12</sup> For "repeated": Güterbock 1997a, 200.

A Letter of a king of Ahhiyawa to a Hittite king, mentions that under Tudhaliya II's reign, "(a-)Ka-ga-mu-na-aš", the King of Ahhiyawa, owned the islands, after a dynastic marriage, with a princess of Aššuwa. The author endorses that, in Linear B, Agamemnon should be transliterated as either  $\text{𐀀𐀓𐀍𐀎}$  = a-ka-me-mo-no, (using the syllable  $\text{𐀓}$  =ka) or most probably:  $\text{𐀀𐀓𐀍𐀎}$  = a-\*gja-me-mo-no, (using the syllable  $\text{𐀓}$  =za, pronounced as \*kja, or \*gja<sup>13</sup>) that very much resembles a-ka-ga-mu-na of the Hittite tablet from Tudhaliya II's era (also Giannakos 2013, 429). We recall that Agamemnon (*πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν* (Hom. *Il.* 2.108) "that so he might be lord of many isles and of all Argos") returned to Mycenae bringing with him Cassandra, princess of Troy (member of Aššuwa), who had born to him two sons Teledamus and Pelops (Paus. 2.16.6-7: describes the graves of Cassandra and of the two children).

An Oracle Report (Tudhaliya II's era), "Concerning the enemy ruler of Ahhiya", who –almost certainly – is Attarissiya attested in the Indictment.

The Alaksandu treaty mentions that Labarna had conquered Arzawa and Wilusa. Afterwards, Arzawa began war and Wilusa/Ἔλιος "defected from Hatti". Later on Tudhaliya (II) campaigned against Arzawa but "he did not enter Wilusa", since "(Wilusa's) people were indeed at peace with the Kings of Hatti from afar, [and] they regularly sent [them messengers]". The Treaty does not mention Ahhiyawa, probably because the Hittites did not consider Ahhiyawa as a serious power at the time, *ca.* 1285 BC (Kelder 2010, 27, note 74; Bryce 1989; Freu/Mazoyer 2011, 90-102).

Furthermore, Muršili II conquered Millawanda/Miletos in *ca.* 1316 BC, and the Achaean ruler did not react – a fact depicting a serious weakening of Ahhiyawa, after *ca.* 1320 BC (Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 272; Kelder 2010, 27, note 74).

### 15th-14th centuries BC: Finds in Egypt and the Mycenaean World

Recorded relationships between Egypt and the Aegean appear from the 20th century BC until Tutankhamun, *ca.* 2000-1330 BC. Minoan finds imply that Cretan artists/artisans were working at Avaris/Tell-el-Dab<sup>ca</sup>. Impressive coloured wall paintings with acrobats in palm-groves, bull-leapers framed by half-rosettes, maze patterns, and griffins appear during Ahmose's reign – late 2nd Intermediate Period/early New Kingdom [??] – similar to those as in the Cretan Minoan Palaces, possibly implying that one of his wives was of Cretan origin<sup>14</sup>. The use of crushed Murex shells found within the plaster paste of Thera

<sup>13</sup> For the syllable  $\text{𐀓}$  =za: Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 44. Ruijgh 1967, 244-245 (§ 209), 210. Bernabé/Luján 2008, 220. Morpurgo-Davies 1988, 79-80. For the transliteration of the stem "μῶν" as *mo-no* in Linear B see: Promponas 1990, 18. Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 46. Duhoux 2008, 360. Ruijgh 1967, 24-25.

<sup>14</sup> Bietak (1995) proposed a political marriage as an explanation of Minoan royal emblems at Avaris, like the huge emblematic griffin, similar to the Knossos Throne Room's griffin (Bietak/Marinatos/Palyvou 2007, 86). Cf. Redford 2006, 192; Cline 2004, 239; Strange 1980, 51; Shaw 2000.

and Tell el-Dab<sup>c</sup>a, the techniques of plaster preparation and of painting, as well as the technique of impressed grid lines for the creation of repetitive patterns are not Egyptian, but Minoan (Bietak/Marinatos/Palyvou 2007, 68). Ahmose's axe and Aahotep's dagger were decorated with Aegean symbols, suggested by the Minoan form of the griffin<sup>15</sup>.

Gifts from T/Danaja – on the 42nd year of Thutmose III – are listed: “.chief] of Tanaya: Silver: a jug of Keftiu workmanship along with vessels of iron”<sup>16</sup>, indicating advanced iron-technology in Mycenaean Crete (consequently T/Danaja) at that era. Iron in this early stage was an extremely rare commodity, difficult to process (Kelder 2010, 36, 105; Lucas 1948; Ogden 2000) and consequently its use constituted cutting-edge technology. There are also references to iron-gifts to the Pharaoh in Amarna tablets (Lucas 1948; Moran 1992, *EA* 22, 25; Ogden 2000). After the rebuttal of the old theory about the Hittite monopoly of iron during the 2nd millennium BC (Sandars 2001; Muhly 2006), it could be inferred that iron was initially introduced and spread as luxurious metal, a position the metal retained and afterwards as a possible consequence of the real shortage of tin and even copper. In Tutankhamun's tomb, several iron objects were found<sup>17</sup>.

The famous list of Amenhotep III at Kom-el-Hetan mentions Keftiu, T/Danaja and the very well known Aegean places: Amnisos, Knossos, Kydonia, Mycenae, Thebes, Ilion<sup>18</sup> etc. Amenhotep's close relations with Achaean rulers are evident from remnants of his palace at Malkata and his faience plaques at Mycenae (Phillips 2007). Akhenaten performed two wars against the Hittites in Syria before

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<sup>15</sup> Bietak 1995; Warren 1995: “Aahotep's dagger and Ahmose's axe are decorated with Aegean symbolic information while the axe motifs combine Egyptian conquest of the Hyksos through the medium of an Aegeanizing motif, the Minoan form of griffin”. Mumford 2001: “an Aegean-derived niello dagger from Queen Ahhotep's tomb”.

<sup>16</sup> Redford (2003, 96, note 226) translates ‘iron’ and refers to the rarity of such a manufacture. Breasted (2001a, 217, note c): ‘Biz’, translating ‘iron’. Strange (1980, 96, note b): “iron” quoting Harris and Graefe, who doubt whether ‘biz’ could be iron, although it evidently must be some metal. Cline (2009, 110, 114) and Panagiotopoulos (2009): “iron (or copper (?))”. Kelder (2010, 36, note 105), referring to written communication with M. Raven: “it appears that the reading ‘iron’ for ‘bia’ is now widely preferred”. “da-na-jo=Danajo = Δανάϊος = Δαναός, was read in Knossos tablets Db1324, V1631”: Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 417. It echoes very close to T/Danaja of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

<sup>17</sup> Coleman/Manassa 2007, 77, 240, note 148: the iron-dagger found in the tomb was not made from meteoric iron; Lucas 1948; Muhly 2006; Ogden 2000.

<sup>18</sup> Karetsou/Andreadaki-Vlazaki/Papadakis 2000, 246; Strange (1980, 22, note 9) with citations from older publications; Cline (2004; 2009, 115) and Macqueen (2001, 162-163, note 30) believe that this transliteration is by no means certain and that presumably, for the Egyptians, ‘wrj’ was part of either ‘kftiw’ or ‘tny’. Latacz (2004, 131); Waleja-Elis. Kelder (2010, 38, note 111) refers to Goedicke: Aulis. Cline/Stannish 2011: the transliteration Ilion should probably be disregarded and it is either Eleia in Crete or Aulis. Kozloff 2012, 211: possibly Troy. For a possible transcription of the Egyptian wrj/wi-ry in Linear B wi-ro = ῥῖλος/ῖρος was read in a tablet from Knossos (Ventris/Chadwick 1956, 427, KN As1516). One ῥῖλος was Ilion's founder, and another ῥῖλος was Teukers' king and Dardanos's son: the “place of” (Ruijgh 1967), e.g. wiro: wi-ri-jo of wi-ro-(s)i-jo; cf. Wilusiya.

his sixth and during his fifteenth years of reign, as a *talatat* revealed, allowing Schulman to consider this: “a fact that allows speculations for a possible ‘alliance’ with Mycenaeans” (Schulman 1988; Coleman/Manassa 2007, 198-199), probably Mycenaean mercenaries.

Heavily armed northern mercenaries appear in Egyptian documents and the incursions of pirates, Denen, Lukka, and Sherden, had become so serious *by the reign of Amenhotep III*, that the Egyptians constructed coastal forts and patrolled the mouths of Nile (Redford 1992, 242; 2006, 196; Shaw 2000, 322; Coleman/Manassa 2007, 203; Breasted 2001b, 338). This event during Amenhotep III’s era reminds both Atreids, Agamemnon and Menelaus, as described by Homer and Strabo, who had also separately visited and/or raided Cyprus, Levant and Egypt – Odysseus also raided Egypt – (Hom. *Il.* 4.120-137, 225-230, 350-355; *Od.* 4.81-91; Str. 1.2.32/C 40), *and not jointly in groups, as the later Sea Peoples*<sup>19</sup>.

After Tutankhamun’s reign, T/Danaja are not mentioned any more by the Egyptian archives (Kelder 2010, 46, 85; Wachsmann 1987, 125; Cline 2009, 37-41, 113-116). This also implies that T/Danaja was seriously weakened after *ca.* 1351/1331 BC, as the Hittite archives depict about Aḫḫiyawa.

### **Was there a “flow of technological know-how”?**

In tablet Kbo 3.57, king Ḫantili boasts that he fortified the cities and Ḫattuša. Some researchers support that it was Ḫantili I, 1590-1560 BC, and speak about a flow of technology from east to west (Maner 2012; Seeher 2006) since the postern gates in the ‘Poternenmauer’ in Boğazköy date to the 16th century BC and the corbelled vaults occur only in the Argolid in LH IIIB. Apparently there is a misunderstanding, considering (besides the aforementioned datings):

- 1.- the Hittite king of the tablet is Ḫantili II, *ca.* 1450 BC, since at that era Kaška people attacked and sacked Ḫattuša and Nerik, the latter remaining under their sovereignty till Ḫattušili III, two centuries later<sup>20</sup>,
- 2.- the first bee-hive *tholoi*, dated to the mid/late-third millennium BC, appeared before the formation of the kingdom of Ḫatti (*ca.* 1650 BC),
- 3.- in civil engineering the three-dimensional bee-hive *tholos* ‘bearing huge earth weight’, with perfect fitting of the stone-blocks (a sheet of paper does not intrude in the stone-blocks’ joints) bridging much larger span (14,5m), is much more complicated to be designed, constructed, and remain for millennia, than the two-dimensional arc of the postern gates or the ‘tunnels’ inside the walls (span 2m), bearing only their own ‘dead-load’, with the rough, bungle-some fitting of the stone-blocks (Giannakos 2015),

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<sup>19</sup> Giannakos 2012, 68. Redford, 1992, 246, 244, note 19: “While Amenophis III and Ramesses II encountered the individual groups, the breakup of the Mycenaean age” – apparently just before and after 1200 BC – “forced communities to come together on a temporary basis”.

<sup>20</sup> Bryce 2009, 298; 2005, 113, 420 note 75, Schuler also; Freu/Mazoyer/Klock-Fontanille 2010, 163-164, Onofrio Carruba also; Collins 2007, 42.

- 4.- the two-dimensional arcs, inside the body of the walls of Tiryns with the creation of empty space inside the mass of the walls, appear for the first time as ‘engineer’s conception’, in Phylakopi on Melos, at the Late Neolithic or EBA (Tsountas 1928, 15, 30-34; Hope Simpson/Hagel 2006, 111; for dating of the fortification wall and its “cells”: Whitelaw, 2005, 49-51),
- 5.- in Kiapha-Thiti, Attica, the fortifications, dated LH I-II (which begins *ca.* 1620/1580 BC), “contain features like ‘sally ports’ and a ramp” (Hope Simpson/Hagel 2006, 27), and
- 6.- Phylakopi, Ayia Irini in Kea, and Crete had LB I fortifications or structures, which could have been relevant for the development of Mycenaean fortifications (Hope Simpson/Hagel 2006, 26-27).

The material evidence for Minoan/Mycenaean Greeks in the neighbouring two other Great Powers<sup>21</sup>, Hatti and Egypt, plausibly depicts an opposite ‘flow of technology’, from west to east. At this point, it should be emphasised that for the Mycenaean frescoes from Hattuša “the direction of technological transfer seems to go from west to east and the limited publicity given to these fragments is the likely reason why these paintings were never considered in relation to Aegean paintings and technological transfer discussions” (Brysaert 2008, 155, 102, 156-165).

### **15th to 14th century BC transition: material evidence from Cyprus**

The evidence from Hittite archives describes ‘repeated’ raids of Attariššiya (the ruler of Aḫhiya) against Cyprus from Lycia. Leaving the opinion that (Güterbock 1997a) “the text does not speak of conquest, and raids cannot be expected to leave tangible traces” aside, the evidence from Cyprus should be taken into consideration. The island suffered a number of destructions around 1400 BC (Åstrom/Åstrom 1972, 769-781; Dikaios 1971, 501-515; Doxey 1987), the era of Attariššiya: Enkomi was destroyed in *ca.* 1425 BC, rebuild and destroyed again in 1375 BC, Kourion was destroyed by fire. Phlamoudi, Nitovikla, and Nikolidhes were abandoned in a roughly contemporaneous era. Whatever the cause of the Cypriote destructions, they occurred at a point in time immediately preceding a notable Mycenaean influx (also Knapp 2008, 255-256), possibly even involving temporary control of the island (as Åstrom/Åstrom<sup>22</sup> believed<sup>23</sup>), which must had

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<sup>21</sup> Kelder (2010, 44) describes in an excellent analysis why Mycenaean Polities in Greece presented the characteristics of an ‘empire’, analysis cited and accepted by Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 6. Bryce (forthcoming) also: “There was obviously a high degree of interconnectedness between the Mycenaean centres, and quite possibly from time to time one of them exercised some form of hegemonic role, for military or commercial purposes, as a kind of *primus inter pares*”. See also Kelder 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Åstrom/Åstrom 1972, 771-772; see also Doxey 1987, 306, 316.

<sup>23</sup> Today “the temporary control of the island (by the Mycenaean)” is not accepted, since theories about heterarchy and hierarchy have been developed (Knapp 2013, 442-444; Peltenburg, 1996; 2012).

occurred roughly around the date of Knossos' destruction in *ca.* 1375 (Popham 1970, 85). Moreover, during this and the precedent era a network of fortresses was constructed in the northwestern (opposite to Lycian coast) and the north-eastern part of Cyprus, along the Mesaoria plain, as defensive constructions against "internal and external enemies" (Peltenburg 1996, 31-35; Knapp 2013, 433-434, 460). Furthermore, one of either Alassa-Paleotaverna or Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, both situated in mountainous areas, must have become the political and administrative centre of Alašiya/Cyprus during the 14th-13th centuries BC, replacing Enkomi, on the coastland<sup>24</sup>. These archaeological data could be compatible with raids around 1400 BC, destructions, and protection by withdrawal to the mountainous areas of the island. Approximately fifty years later, the king of Cyprus wrote to Pharaoh Akhenaten (Moran 1992, 111, *EA* 38): "Men of Lukki, year by year, seize<sup>25</sup> villages in my own country", implying that the raids were still going on and probably some regions of Cyprus were no more under king's dominance. The aforementioned evidence reminds us of the case of the Atreids in Homer and ancient literature: Kinyres, the King of Pafos at Cyprus, gave – as a hospitality gift – to Agamemnon a thorax (Hom. *Il.* 11.18-23). The Atreids considered as guest-gifts/ξένια even the commodities acquired "by violence and looting" from Cyprus and its seashores (Str. 1.2.32/40). Menelaus was wandering for eight years, coming to Cyprus, Levant and Egypt, where he gathered riches (Hom. *Od.* 4.81-91), not exclusively by peaceful means. Consequently, Greek literature also echoes raids at Cyprus, Egypt by the Atreids. We proposed that "Attariššiya" is the transcription of the name "Atreides/Ἀτρείδης" in Hittite<sup>26</sup>. This implies a working hypothesis: the redating of the Trojan War to the era of Attariššiya, approximately 1400 BC. Supporting evidence can be taken from the fact that the story of Troy had already been sung in hexameters, some time after 1450 [till 1050 BC] (Latacz 2004, 267-274; Giannakos 2012, 114-119; Ruijgh 2011, 283-287; Nagy 2010, 131-146; Kirk 1962, 105-125). In the next two paragraphs, we try to approach "Attariššiya" and "Atreid/Ἀτρείδης".

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<sup>24</sup> Knapp 2008, 152, the whole discussion, and in 249-258, migration and the Aegean 'Colonisation' of Cyprus. This opinion of Goren/Finkelstein/Na'aman 2004, based on petrographic analyses in laboratory of Alašiyian clay tablets found in Amarna, is not completely accepted today, even if their laboratory work has not been rebutted by any other experimental scientific work in lab, with the exception of narrative arguments of philological context (Merillees 2011; see also Knapp 2013, 438, commenting that Merillees's scope always is only to support that Alašiya of the Egyptian tablets is not Cyprus. Merillees is the only one who disagrees with this identification).

<sup>25</sup> Cambridge Dictionaries: seize = to take something quickly and keep or hold it; to take using sudden force. Oxford: capture, take, overrun, occupy; take over, subjugate, subject, colonize.

<sup>26</sup> Giannakos 2012, 32; 2013; 2015, 754. It had already been proposed by Barnett and by Brandenstein (cf. Page 1988, 30-31).

Liddell/Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*<sup>27</sup> cross-references the word Ἄτρεϋς to the word Ἄτρεής with accusative Ἄτρεά instead of Ἄτρεέα. In Linear B tablets<sup>28</sup> two words, for a region, have been read: a-ti-ri-ja and a-te-re-wi-ja. Ruijgh (1967, 175 §148, and note 393; 182 §154) supports that both were derived from a pre-Hellenic stem<sup>29</sup> included in the word Ἄτρεϋς<sup>30</sup> (the region of Ἄτρεϋς (?)); he transliterates the word a-ti-ri-ja as Ἄτριᾶ and the word a-te-re-wi-ja as Ἄτρηγιά. The Mycenaean language present ending in -εύς in the nominative of singular of the stems in -ηF since the ending in -o-jo/-o-ja, for masculins/feminins, is the genitive of singular (and i-jo for a patronymic adjective<sup>31</sup>), that is ending in -ῆFος (Ruijgh, 1967, 37 §15, 73 §49, 87 §67). The transliteration for the god Ἄρης, also a pre-Hellenic stem like the stem of Ἄτρεϋς, is a-re in Linear B (KN Fp 14,2 tablet), instead of a-te-re in Ἄτρεϋς. Ruijgh (1967, 87-88 §67) supports that certain loan-words, from pre-Hellenic speaking people, present some special problems. Thus, in the case of Ares the epic inflection is based in three different stems: Ἄρη- (e.g. accusative Ἄρην), Ἄρε(σ)- (e.g. vocative Ἄρες) and Ἄρη(φ)- (e.g. genitive Ἄρηος<sup>32</sup>). The stem Ἄρεσ-/Ἄρησ can be found in the datif Ἄρει, with the vocal verbalization of an aspirate vowel i. The aspirates were pronounced with a precedent σ or h<sup>33</sup>: (σ)i/Ἄρε(σ)ι or (h)i/ Ἄρε(h)ι. Furthermore, it is found in: a-re-i-jo = Ἀρείος/ Ἀρέ(σ)ί(j)ος; it should be reminded that the ending i-jo is the ending of (patronymic) genitive (of Ares = του Ἄρεως). In a similar way we approach the pre-Hellenic stem a-te-re of Ἄτρεϋς, very similar to a-re, which in Linear B is attested with two stems, one with digamma in a-te-re-wi-ja and one without digamma in a-ti-ri-ja. The stem with digamma vocally is attributed with an aspirant vowel i (as in a-re), that is with a sound precedent by σ or h. Consequently a-te-re-wi-jo could also represent the genitive of singular of the pre-Hellenic stem Ἄτρε/ηF: Ἄτρεώς/Ἄτρέ-ιος (e.g. Ἀγαμέμνων Ἄτρεώς or Μενέλαος Ἄτρεώς) with a sound σ before the ending of (patronymic)

<sup>27</sup> Liddell/Scott, 1997, 431. See also TLG: Pl. *Cra.* 395, sec.b, l. 1.2, 7-10; *EM* 165 l. 29-38.

<sup>28</sup> The words have been read in the tablets of Pylos PY Aa 779, Cn 40,14, Ma 335,1 and in the almost ruined PY Vn 493 as [...a-te?]-re-wi-ja (Ruijgh 1967, 304 §265).

<sup>29</sup> This implies that the stem is dated from the era before the arrival of the Greek tribes in mainland Greece. It is a very old stem, before the genesis of the epics.

<sup>30</sup> Also, Ventris & Chadwick, 1956, 178, lemma 45: “a-te-re-wi-ja: place-name; derivative of Ἄτρεϋς?”.

<sup>31</sup> “About patronymics in i-jo, see Hooker 1994, 123 §145. Also Ruijgh 1967, 206-207 §177; 265 §229: a-re-i-jo (KN L 641,1; PY An 656,6), Ἀρείος = Ἀρεῖος, it is a theonym or anthroponym derived from Ἄρης; it is much less possible that it is a patronymic adjective (citing the adversary opinion of N. van Brock, *RPh* 34 (1960), 223 [p. 144 §229, note 224], for a patronymic adjective). Garcia Ramon 2011, 229: a patronymic adjective is formed by adding the suffix -i-jo/-ios, to the father’s name, which is a clear indication of high rank, like e.g. e-te-woke-re-we-i-jo = son of Etewoklews (Etewoklewe<sup>h</sup>-ios)”. Melena 2014: Ares-jas. Duhoux 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Compatible to the more recent Ἄρεως: the stem in classical Greek is Ἄρεσ: Ἀρέ(σ)ί(j)ος → Ἄρε(σ)ος → Ἄρεως. Ruijgh 1967, 54-57; Melena 2014, 96.

<sup>33</sup> See Promponas, 1990, 39-42. Duhoux 2008, 355-356; Ruijgh 1967, 54-57; Melema 2014, 96.

genitive *i-jo*. The transliteration of Ἐτεοκλής/Ἐτεφοκλέφεζ/e-te-wo-kle-we, in Hittite, is Tawagalawa, with a turn of all the ε, and ο of the Greek word, in *a* in the Hittite word. We could imply that a possible transliteration of a-te-re-wi-jo/a-te-re-(σ)i-jo in Hittite could possibly be a-ta-ra-wi-yo/a/a-ta-ra-(σ)i-jo/a; the pronunciation of the Greek digamma Ϝ –in that era– could be transliterated in Hittite by the double šš of the a-tta-ri-šši-ya, which is close to the patronymic genitive “Ἄτ(ε)ρε”-(σ)i-(j)οζ/a-te-re-(s)i-jo = son of Atreus (Aresjas, “of Ares”, note 31).

### **Technology of Silver and Hittites in the Trojan War?**

We know that in Ḫatti nine silver mines existed inside the river Halys’ bend<sup>34</sup>. Up to 18,000 tablets are dealing with silver and tin trade in Anatolia, between Neša/Kaneš and Assur, during the period of the Old-Assyrian Colonies in Anatolia. Mining of silver ores in the Black Sea region is also mentioned (Yener 1986, 469-470; 2000, 46, 54). Ḫattuša and Ḫatti are sometimes written simply with the Sumerogram for silver<sup>35</sup>. Pharaoh Ramesses II connects Ḫatti with silver only<sup>36</sup>. The king of Arzawa requests only ‘silver’ from Ḫattusili III (Hoffner 2009, 352-354). Šuppiluliuma I sends Pharaoh only silver objects (Beckman 1999, 279), as greeting gifts. The first ‘equation’ that appears is apparently that Ḫatti was connected semantically with Silver – ἄργυρος, as official diplomatic documents, of Ḫatti, Egypt as well as of Arzawa, also depict.

Hittites called themselves people of the Land of Ḫatti<sup>37</sup>, identified by the region, where they lived. The Hittite texts were written in Akkadian and in Nešitic<sup>38</sup>, the language of Neša/Kaneš, the official language, spoken by the ruling class. There are also remnants of the language of Ḫatti-Ḫattian, in few surviving texts of religious/cultic character (Bryce 2005, 12; Melchert 2003). The three main languages in the Hittite kingdom were Nešitic, Luwian, and Palaic. Five more languages were identified in the archives. Palaic was spoken to the north, Luwian to the west and southwest and Nešitic with Ḫattian in central and eastern Anatolia, by groups of people with corresponding names. Ḫatti was a multilingual and multiracial land (Bryce 2005, 11, 16-20, 52-55, 387-389; Watkins 1986;

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<sup>34</sup> Yakar 1976, 116, 121; contra De Jesus 1978, 100-101. Str. 12.3.19/549: silver mines.

<sup>35</sup> Watkins 1986, 13, 53; Bryce 2006, 139.

<sup>36</sup> Breasted 2001a, 135, 138, note g: “This may point to the more plentiful use of silver in Asia Minor where it was produced”.

<sup>37</sup> Bryce 2005, 18-19, 396 note 45. The term ‘Hittite’ occurs in Bible (hittî, hittîm) for a small population group in North Syria and it was adopted by scholars due to its phonetic resemblance to the ‘Land of Ḫatti’ in texts of the LBA.

<sup>38</sup> Melchert 2003b, 15: “the name Hittite for this Language is by now too well established to be changed in favor of the more correct Nešite”; Hawkins 2003; Watkins 2008; Bryce 2005, 17, 387: “from the large number of texts written in this language it is clear that it became the official language of the kingdom”, reflecting “not a fossilized chancellery language but a living, spoken language”.

Melchert 2003b). Across the west and southwest seashore of Asia Minor the languages of Minoans and Mycenaeans were also spoken, as the material evidence points out<sup>39</sup>.

Homer uses different names for the Mycenaean Greeks: ‘Achaioi’, ‘Danaoi’, ‘Argives’ etc., though they were speaking a common Greek language, in different local dialects. Homeric epics may provide clues to determine the designations of ‘Hittites’. The Homeric ‘Catalogue of Ships’ may, as allegedly the most ancient part of *Iliad*, possibly recur to the era of the Trojan War. Homer describes the Trojan allies, using in three cases the term “τηλόθεν/from-very-far” (Hom. *Il.* 2.848-857/862-863/886-887). We note: a very distant Land/“τηλόθεν” from Troy, “Ἀλύβη-(H)Alybe” of Halyzones “the birthplace of silver” is present, Phrygians<sup>40</sup> are present, two of the three main Hittite kingdom’s linguistic groups, Paphlagonians/Pala and Lycians (speaking a kind of Luwian) are there, and a group consisting of Carians. Ancient authors had already mentioned “the inside River Halys’ bend<sup>41</sup> Halyzones”, connecting them with Halybes<sup>42</sup>. There is, however, no trace of the third main language (the Nešite/Nešitic). But there is a second ‘equation’: Halybe and Halyzones are connected semantically as the birthplace of Silver. It might therefore be supposed that the two first terms of the two aforementioned ‘equations’, to silver and to the “birthplace” of silver, can be equated: Halybe (the *birthplace of silver* as it was maintained in the core of the ancient literature and tradition) and Ḫatti and its capital Ḫattuša (which are written with the Sumerogram of silver, in Hittite texts, and also connected exclusively to silver, in Egyptian, Arzawan and Hittite official diplomatic texts) should be identified. At this point we should underline that Strabo (Str. 12.3.25/C 553), from Amaseia of Pontus – near the Hittite Tapigga – two thousand years before the decipherment of the Hittite archives, keeps the memory that – during the era of Trojan War – the people living in the territory of Kappadokia around Neša/Kaneš (Hittite’s cradle) were bilingual, speaking

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<sup>39</sup> For Minoan/Mycenaean Greek dialect: Niemeier (1998, 31) mentions the finds of Korfmann at Troy VI, with numerous objects of Mycenaean origin; Mee (1998, 138-141) for Mycenaean objects at Iasos, Miletus, Ephesus, Kolophon, Klazomenai, etc.; Vermeule 1986; Watkins (1986) at late Troy VI; Wiener (2007) for LH IIIA2-IIIB finds.

<sup>40</sup> Bryce 2005, 354-355: “Phrygians appeared after the fall of Hittite kingdom, or slightly later than Trojan War, possibly connected to Mushki of the Hittite texts”.

<sup>41</sup> Ἄλυξ-(X)άλυξ, or possibly (X)άλυ(φ)ξ. Str.; Hsch. s.v. Χάλυβοι, Χαλυβδική. Hesychius of Alexandria, 500-600 years later than Strabo of Amaseia (near the Hittite Tapigga), explains differently: τῆς Σκυθίας, ὅπου σίδηρος γίνεται, respectively σιδήρου μέταλλα: in both cases referring to ‘from Scythia’, not the Halys River. Contrarily, Strabo (Str. 12.3.24/552; 12.3.19-23/549-551) refers to the region inland of the Halys river estuary near Farnakia (Χαλδαίοι Χάλυβες), where the kingdom of Ḫatti was. Hesychius (Hsch. 2998-2998) also writes: “Halyzones Paphlagonian Nation” and “ἄλιζωνος· ἰσθμός, παρὰ τὸ ἀλί διεζῶσθαι”. According to *TLG Etymologicum Genuinum*, let. a, ent. 538, l.5: “ἄλις (nominative for ἀλί) οὖν το συστραφέν και συνεστραμμένον ὕδωρ”/ the water with turns/bends (Halys river bend?).

<sup>42</sup> Huxley 1960, 34-35; Page 1988, 163; both proposed: Ἀλύβη and Ἀλιζώνες could refer to Hittites. Χάλυβες = ‘Steel-people’.

Paphlagonian and one more language; apparently the Nešite/Nešitic. In that case, the linguistic/racial group living in the Hittite main territory inside River Halys' bend and outside (Kappadokia), the other two main linguistic/racial groups of Ḫatti (Luwians/Lycians and Paphlagonians/Pala) and the vassal kingdoms of the Hittite Great King (minor linguistic/racial groups like the Carians), are described by Homer as allies of Troy.

### **Material evidence for destructions in Troy VI, VIIa**

If the ancient literature keeps a memory of a core of real events around the expedition and the sack of Troy, then the material evidence of the archaeological site of the city is of crucial importance. How many destruction levels were unearthed, in Troy VI and perhaps VIIA? Carl Blegen unearthed three layers of destruction:

- (a) One destruction layer in Troy VIIh, during LH IIIA2/B, *ca.* 1300 BC, supposedly caused by an earthquake<sup>43</sup> - or by the impact of a meteorite, *ca.* 1318 BC? (see Cooper in this Talanta). Contrarily, Dörpfeld (Tolman/Scoggin 2013, 85) attributed the demolition of the upper wall of the city, the ruin of the gates, and the destruction of the walls of the inner buildings, to hostile hands.
- (b) One destruction layer at Troy VIIa, during mid LH IIIB, *ca.* 1260/1270 BC, supposedly caused by fire (Blegen 1963, 160-163). More recent estimations date this destruction level at 1190/1180<sup>44</sup> or at the end of LH IIIC/early phase of early Geometric period, thus, that “it does not come into consideration as the Homeric Troy” (Korfmann 1986, 25-26, referring to an observation by Podzuweit).
- (c) One layer depicting a “vigorous housecleaning”, dated at the transition between Troy VI f/g, around 1400 BC<sup>45</sup>. Blegen excavated the Pillar House and Houses VIF, VIG, with rich Minoan and Mycenaean sherds<sup>46</sup>: “The twenty-three vases in Deposit A on the floor, ‘scattered in the course of some vigorous housecleaning’ dated LM IB-LH II. All or most of these pots were manufactured within a generation or two around 1400 BC”. Mountjoy believes that this “assemblage of Mycenaean pottery is unusual....this is not a floor

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<sup>43</sup> Blegen 1963, 142-144, 160. Also Mountjoy's table distributed at the Conference “Nostoi”, Istanbul, 2011. Her lecture, The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: some Aspects arising from the Pottery, was delivered at NOSTOI. Indigenous Culture, Migration & Integration in the Aegean Islands & W. Anatolia - LBA & EIA, Istanbul, March 31-April 3, 2011. Mountjoys lecture was published as Mountjoy 2015, 37-80. Cline 1997: in the transition LH IIIA2/B, dated *ca.* 1340/1320 BC; Latacz 2004, 11: 1300 BC.

<sup>44</sup> Mountjoy's table at the ‘Nostoi’ Conference, 2011: see previous note; Mountjoy (1999, 298) dated at *ca.* 1210-1200 BC.

<sup>45</sup> Blegen's opinion, as Vermeule (1986, 88) cites. For VI f/g dating to 1400 BC: Blegen 1963, 174; Latacz 2004, 11; Mountjoy 1999.

<sup>46</sup> Blegen's opinion, as Vermeule (1986, 88) cites; Blegen 1963, 137: the basement of the House was filled up with soil and broken pottery.

deposit in conventional terms where whole pots are caught in situ as a result of a sudden event” (e.g. sack of a city), “but a deposit which has been widely scattered as a result of cleaning and leveling” (Mountjoy 1997, 278). If it were not the name of Troy and the *Iliad*, Hisarlık would doubtless have been pronounced a Mycenaean trading colony (Korfmann 1986); the housecleaning may have been done after the burning and destruction of the Houses VIG and VIF perhaps by invaders (Cline 1996, 148); LH II-III A1 looks to be at no distant date from the troubles that overwhelmed Knossos, LH II-III A1 looks to be – and brought to an end – the great productive and inventive age of early Greece (Vermeule 1983).

The destruction (b) is out of question since the polities of Mycenaean Palaces were extremely exhausted and/or ruined approximately after *ca.* 1240 BC. What about the first destruction level in *ca.* 1300 BC?

### **The Battle of Kadesh and the Trojan Allies**

The Battle of Kadesh<sup>47</sup>, between Muwatalli II and Pharaoh Ramses II, took place during the fifth regnal year of Ramses II dated to 1299 (Redford 2006, 114, 157)/1285 (Gardiner 1964, 443-455; Wiener, forthcoming)/1274 BC (Kitchen 1982, 54, 238-239; Shaw 2000, 484-485), and was a showdown between the armies of the two Kings (Bryce 2005, 221-245).

Muwatalli had been preparing his kingdom for this battle. First of all he put in order affairs on the west coast of Anatolia, signing the Treaty with Alakšandu of Wiluša. Furthermore, he shifted the Royal Seat of the kingdom from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša, closer to the frontier with Egypt, near Kadesh. He possibly left Ḫattuša under the jurisdiction of his brother, who later ascended the throne under the regnal name of Hattušili III<sup>48</sup>.

After the signing of the Alakšandu Treaty, he had the opportunity to bring, and brought with him, as allies in the battle of Kadesh, the people from almost all the Lands of Asia Minor with their chiefs<sup>49</sup>: Dardany, Naharin, Arzawa, Keshkesh, Maša/Mysia, Pedes/Pedascus(?), Karkisha/Caria, Lukka/Lycians, Kelekesh/Kizzuwatna, and others.

Aeneas, *āvāž* according to Homer, was a Dardanian king and chief in the Trojan War and ally of Trojans, called son of Dardanos by mouth of the god Poseidon

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<sup>47</sup> Description of the battle in: Bryce 2005, 234-241; Kitchen 1982, 53-64; Breasted 2001a, 125-174; Lichtheim 2006, 57-72. Shaushgamuwa Treaty: Bryce 2005, 239-241; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 50-68; Freu/Mazoyer 2011, 139-145.

<sup>48</sup> Bryce 2005, 232; Singer (2011, 631-633) doubts about Ḫattušili’s jurisdiction in Ḫattuša.

<sup>49</sup> Lichtheim 2006, 62-71: the Poem of the battle, 60-62: the Bulletin. Breasted 2001a, 135-157: the Lands Kheta/(Ḫt3), Naharin/(N-h-ry-n), Arvad/(Y-r3-tw), Pedes/(Py-d3-s3), Derden/(D3-r-d-ny), Mesa/(M3-s3), Kelekesh/([K]3 r 3-[k]y-š 3), Carchemish/(K-[r3]-k-my-š3), Kode/(Kdy), Kadesh/(Kdš), Ekereth/Ugarit (3-k 3-r3-t), Meseneth/(Mw-š3 – n-t), Keskes/ (Kš-kš), Lukka/(Rw-k3). Sherden/(Š3-r3-dy-n3) are referred as captives of Pharaoh Ramses, who fought at the side of Egyptian army; Bryce 2005, 235.

(Hom. *Il.* 2.819-20; 20.301-304). Dardanians<sup>50</sup>, Mysians<sup>51</sup>, Lycians<sup>52</sup>, Carians<sup>53</sup>, Cilicians<sup>54</sup>, and the people of Pedasos<sup>55</sup>, described by Ramses II as allies of Muwatalli II in the battle of Kadesh, are mentioned as allies of Troy in the *Iliad*. Moreover, Arzawa (the region around Ephesus), and Kaska (in the Pontic region) were also present. If the story of the Trojan War and the sack of Troy had taken place *ca.* 1300 BC, then it would have been impossible for Trojans/Dardanians and all their allies to participate in this battle, in a period from one to fifteen and twenty-six years later and victorious Aḥḥiyawa would not have been omitted in the Alakšandu treaty. Consequently, the destruction (a) of Troy is also out of question.

### **Ancient literature for Troy: severely destroyed or change of royal dynasty?**

In the *Iliad*, Hektor is referred to by name no less than 450 times, Priam 142, Aeneas 82, Paris 55, Helen 39 and the rest of the Trojans in an average of 11 times each<sup>56</sup>. This shows, at least quantitatively, that the Dardanian Aeneas is the most prominent hero among the Trojans, after Hektor and Priam. Homer has Achilles remark that Aeneas had the ‘hope’ to become “master of Priam’s sovereignty amid the horse-taming Trojans” (Hom. *Il.* 20.179-181); perhaps this is a clue of an internal conflict in Troy. The sea-god Poseidon then decides to save Aeneas’ life and Hera, the goddess spouse of Zeus, agrees and prophesises that Aeneas and his sons’ sons would be kings among the Trojans, after the fall of Troy (Hom. *Il.* 20.178-183, 300-312). There is a story that Aeneas “overthrew Priam” and “betrayed the city to the Achaeans”<sup>57</sup>. Probably a ‘memory’ was maintained that Aeneas was ‘protected’ by the Greeks and became king ‘by the gratitude of

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<sup>50</sup> Bryce (2005, 235, 454, note 45) agrees that Dardany are the Dardanians of the Troad, citing Götze (1975), 454, note 46: only Mellaart disagrees; Freu/Mazoyer (2011, 140) agree; Gurney 1990, 47: Drdny of Egyptian archives are the Dardanians of Wiluša; Gardiner 1964, 262, note 2, 270: The Dardany of the ‘Poem’ are doubtless Homer’s Dardanians. Breasted 2001a, 136, note c: Derdens are perhaps the Dardanians.

<sup>51</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.858: “And of the Mysians the captains were Chromis and Ennomus the augur;” translation by Murray 1924-25.

<sup>52</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.876: “And Sarpedon and peerless Glaucus were captains of the Lycians”, translation *supra*.

<sup>53</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.867: “And Nastes again led the Carians, uncouth of speech”, translation *supra*.

<sup>54</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.414-417: “My father (of Andromache) verily goodly Achilles slew, for utterly laid he waste the well-peopled city of the Cilicians, even Thebe of lofty gates. He slew Eëtion, ... (who) was lord over the men of Cilicia”, translation *supra*. In Cilicia Eëtion, father of Andromache (Hektor’s wife), was king.

<sup>55</sup> Hom. *Il.* 6.33-35 “and the king of men, Agamemnon, slew Elatus that dwelt in steep Pedasos by the banks of fair-flowing Satnioeis” Hom. *Il.* 20.92: “(Achilles) laid Lymessus waste and Pedasus withal”, translation *supra*.

<sup>56</sup> *TLG*-searching-machine. <<https://www.stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>>

<sup>57</sup> Hellanic. *FGrH* 4 F: 31; D.H. 1.47.1-6 and 1.48.3-4: “Aeneas betrayed the city to the Achaeans out of hatred for Alexander and that because of this service he was permitted by them to save his household”, “For Aeneas, being scorned by Alexander and excluded from his prerogatives, overthrew Priam; and having accomplished this, he became one of the

gods', after the sack of Troy, implying a far but not complete disaster for Troy. Ancient Aeolian literature keeps a conspicuous 'memory' of that event<sup>58</sup>: Troy was not entirely destroyed and was not left uninhabited. The city was not completely abandoned after its capture by the Achaeans, and there was even a surviving population that stayed in old Ilion and a dynasty that ruled over it. Traces of that dynasty are found in the narrative of Hellanicus of Lesbos' *Troiika* (Hellanic. *FGrH* 4, F 31, as reported by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (D.H. 1.45.4-1.48.1) and Strabo (Str. 13.1.40/600 – though in the following paragraph Strabo reiterates the Homeric version of complete destruction):

- After Aeneas escaped the capture of Troy by retreating to the highlands of Mount Ida, he negotiated with the victorious Achaeans his relocation to the city of Aíneia on the Thermaic Gulf.
- Eventually, Ascanius, Aeneas's son, returned to the old Ilion, where he joined forces with Skamandrius, Hector's son, in refounding it as the New Ilion. Ascanius and Scamandrius ruled New Ilion, till the migration of Aeolians, who expelled the descendants of Ascanius.

This image is closer to the situation of the 'vigorous housecleaning', in Troy VIf/g and the working hypothesis of a Trojan War *ca.* 1400 BC. Furthermore, according to the Alakšandu Treaty: "Wiluša defected from Ḫatti", during or before Tudḫaliya II's reign; Wiluša's defect obliged Tudḫaliya II to intervene militarily in the region. This reminds us the *Iliad*: god Poseidon prophesies a kind of change in diplomatic external affairs of Troy, by the change of the royal dynasty (compatible most probably with a "defect" of Troy from Ḫatti, since the three main linguistic/racial groups of the kingdom of Ḫatti are referred to as allies of the overthrown dynasty of Priam). After a possible dynastic change in Troy, the new pro-Greek kings kept good relations with Ḫatti 'sending messengers' and thus Tudḫaliya (II) 'did not enter Wiluša'. It could be inferred that *ca.* 125 years later, the Dardanians still remained rulers of Troy and, with all their allies, followed Muwatalli II in the battle of Kadesh. This image is also compatible with the participation of Idomeneus, *ǎvaž* of Knossos during the Trojan War, who is included in the six Kings 'the elders, the excellent chieftains of the Pan-Achaeans' (Hom. *Il.* 2.404) mentioned 73 times in the *Iliad*, fifth in number of references with Nestor and Diomedes (Giannakos 2013). After *ca.* 1375 BC, Knossos was no more an administrative and political centre of Crete, but only

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Achaeans", translation by Cary 1937, 155-157. Str. 13.1.53/608, quoting Sophocles: "at the capture of Troy a leopard's skin was put before the doors of Antenor as a sign that his house was to be left unpillaged" connecting Antenor with Aeneas: translation Jones 1929 [vol. 6: *Books XIII-XIV* (series: Loeb Classical Library, vol. 223)], 107.

<sup>58</sup> Nagy 2010, 198-199. Aeolians colonized and dwelled in Ilion and Sigeion. Aeolians of Mytilene and Ionian Athenians fought for the control over Hellespontus, while their versions strongly differ. Athenians won and the Aeolian version was swept away from the record.

remained a cultic centre. The administrative centre shifted to Kydonia in the west, not referred at all in the Iliad, so Idomeneus could not have been king of Knossos after 1375 BC (Giannakos 2012, 160-174; 2013).

The material evidence for the distribution of Mycenaean pottery over time including Troy VIIb at LH IIIC fluctuates (Mee 1978): 14% – LH IIA, 10% – LH IIB, 9% – LH IIIA1, 40% – LH IIIA2, 20% – LH IIIB, 7% – LH IIIC. We could imply that ‘something happened’ – approximately at LH IIIA1 – and just after that in LH IIIA2 the percentage was launched to 40% and maintained at 20% in LH IIIB. Trojans had been led in a ‘tightening’ of commercial or cultural relations and being influenced by Mycenaean standards, originals, and way of life, during Troy VI/VIIg, since LH IIB/LH IIIA1 until LH IIIB but not in LH IIIC.

The hypothesis of a ‘Trojan War’ around 1400 BC or “one to two generations before”, after which ‘Aeneas’, a new pro-Greek king, replaced Priam’s Royal family in Troy, coincides with the apogee of a larger period of prosperity in Mycenaean palatial centers, with high-level construction of massive large-scale intuitive engineering projects, depicting the conspicuous consumption and the development of original know-how and cutting-edge technology. This period is more compatible with military expansion, during which A-ka-ga-mu-na, perhaps the king of Aḥḥiyawa, owned the islands around Troy. The brother of the king of Aḥḥiyawa, a lesser ruler not the King (ἄναξ), was capable to perform raids deep in Asia Minor and against Cyprus and Denen performed also naval raids against the Egyptian seashores, obliging Pharaoh to patrol and fortify the Nile mouths. Furthermore, material evidence depicts that by 1350/1330 BC, the Aḥḥiyawan king was not personally operating in Asia Minor, but through local representatives and also D/Tanaja disappear from Egyptian documents (Giannakos 2012; Bryce forthcoming; 2005, 59; Kelder 2010; Wachsmann 1987). Consequently after 1350/1330 BC, Mycenaean could neither finance nor perform a “Trojan War”, as described in the epics.

### **The predecessor of Tudḥaliya I/II and Motylos**

Güterbock<sup>59</sup> makes mention of a note by the Byzantine author Stephanus Byzantius, saying that: “in Samyria, city of Caria (founded by Motylos), Motylos hosted Paris and Helen” (St.Byz. s.v. Σαμωλία; Hdn. *Hdn. Gr. (De pros. cath. 3.1, 289 line 42)* and suggested Motylos as an echoe of Muwatalli II.

There were two kings with the name Muwatalli: Muwatalli II, who signed the Alakšandu treaty, ca. 1285 BC, and Muwatalli I the predecessor of Tudḥaliya II, probably murdered by Ḥimuili and Kantuzzili, who placed Tudḥaliya II on the throne<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> Güterbock 1986, citing Paul Kretschmer’s, “Alakšanduš, König von Viluša”, *Glotta* 13, 1924, 205-213; Freu/Mazoyer 2011, 94.

<sup>60</sup> Kantuzzili: Tudḥaliya II’s father. Bryce 2005, 114-115, 121-122, 421, note 85-86; 2009: Muwatalli I (-1425), Tudḥaliya I/II (1425-). Collins 2007, 42; Freu/Mazoyer/Klock-Fontanille 2010, 25, 175-185 give: Huzziya II, Muwatalli I (1470-1465), Tudḥaliya I (1465-1440), Tudḥaliya II (1425-1390).

The Hittite tablet KUB III20/CTH 275 mentions Muwatalli I and Ḫimuili. The name of Muwatalli I in the tablet, written in Akkadian, is Mutalli, very close to Motylos (Miller 2013, 127):

“(?) and if it is extend [...] and his oath [...] to Muttall[i....] and her[e....] with Mu[talli....]. Ḫumm[ili....] thus [...] in [...]”.

Does Stephanus Byzantius, professor of the imperial school of Constantinople, transfer to us a memory of Muwatalli I/Mutalli, the predecessor of Tudḫaliya II, as Motylos, who hosted Paris and Helen in their journey to Troy? If so, it would be compatible to our working hypothesis about dating the Trojan War to Tudḫaliya II's era, with War's beginning on Muwatalli I's reign. Duris of Samos<sup>61</sup> estimated that the sack of Troy took place approximately 1.000 years before the campaign of Alexander the Great at Asia Minor, dating the sack of Troy to *ca.* 1334 BC, close enough to 1400 BC.

### Conclusions

Since the 16th century BC at least, Mycenaean Greeks possessed cutting-edge technology and advanced know-how in constructions of large-scale complicated projects, in the exploitation of metals like silver and iron, and also in the production of weapons that procured superiority in battles; furthermore, prosperity and military prowess is evident in the finds in tombs and graves, culminating in a period of prosperity around 1400 BC. After 1350 BC destructions in Palatial centres occur in combination with a lack of rich offerings in tombs and a gradual degradation of power. Furthermore, Mycenaean, around 1400 BC, had the ability to conduct raids: by land in south-western Anatolia, with battles against a Hittite army, and Cyprus and possibly naval ones against the seashores of Egypt, so that Pharaoh was obliged to patrol and fortify the Nile mouths. As a working hypothesis, I proposed that the Trojan War should be dated to *ca.* 1400 BC, to the era of Attariššiya-Atrides and Akagamuna-Agammemnon, with War's beginning on Muwatalli I's reign. Based on the archaeological evidence we could infer that the Hittite main territory inside the River Halys' bend and all the linguistic/racial groups of the vassal kingdoms of the Hittite Great King are mentioned by Homer as allies of Troy. In the archaeological site of Troy, one of the three destruction layers, in Troy VI/VIIa, is compatible with the proposed dating. Two of the destruction layers (1300 and 1190/1180 BC) are out of question due to several reasons. The material evidence of the third layer, *ca.* 1400 BC, or within a generation or two before 1400 BC, does not comply with the sack of a city in conventional terms, where 'whole pots are caught *in situ* as a result of a sudden

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<sup>61</sup> Duris *FHG* 11:1-3. Duris was, according to Athenaeus, a student of Theophrastus, who had been a student of Plato and Aristoteles. Aristoteles trusted to Theophrastus for a while his library and the management of the Peripatetic School.

event', but it could corroborate our investigations: internal conflicts, as echoed in ancient literature. Furthermore, the literary aspect of our research might well suggest that the bards began to sing of a type of overseas campaign against Troy, some-time after 1450-1050 BC, apparently ensuing the sack of Troy (*terminus post quem*).

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## UHHA-ZITI, KING OF ARZAWA: TANTALUS, KING OF LYDIA

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*It has often been remarked that some homonyms in Hittite texts can be correlated with certain others that appear in Greek legends. This investigation considers links between the Late Bronze Age documents and the mythology, but by comparing narrative content, rather than personal names. It focuses on Tantalus, a legendary king of Lydia, and, to a lesser degree, his son, Pelops. Traditions associated with these two figures are examined alongside data dealing with Uhha-ziti, king of Arzawa during the latter part of the fourteenth century BC, and his son, Piyama-Kurunta. It is concluded that the Hittite-Arzawan conflict of ca. 1318 BC and its aftermath inspired the myth of Tantalus, particularly with regard to the punishments said to have been inflicted upon him.*

**Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Almost as soon as the initial finds of Bronze Age tablets from Hattusa had been deciphered, there were claims that the documents contained references to figures known from Greek legend<sup>2</sup>. Since then, the debate has continued, as additional discoveries have been made and understanding of the texts has deepened<sup>3</sup>. Controversy arose in recent years, surrounding a disputed reading of ‘Cadmus’ in a letter that, it is now thought, was sent by a Mycenaean king to a Hittite monarch<sup>4</sup>. Yet such associations have been viewed with scepticism. For instance, although Sherratt (2010) concluded that the Homeric epics probably embody memories from the second millennium BC, she doubted that the Bronze Age Greeks had had dealings with the Hittites. After all, Hittites are not explicitly

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<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to state that she is unable to translate Hittite or other Bronze Age texts and is dependent upon the scholarship of others (e.g. *AT*, Hoffner (1998, 2009) and Beckman (1999)) for information from such sources. For abbreviations and dates see p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Hall 1909, 19-20; Luckenbill 1911; Güterbock 1983, 133; 1984, 114; 1986, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Huxley 1960, 29-48; Cline 1996, 148-150, note 66; 1997, 197-201; Mason 2008, 58-60.

<sup>4</sup> *CTH* 183; *AT* 134-137; Gurney 2002, 135; Latacz 2004, 243-244; Katz 2005, 423-424; Watkins 2008, 135-136; Hoffner 2009, 290-292; Cline 2013, 60-61; Melchert *forthcoming*. In 1997, the publication of the eighth-century BC Çineköy bilingual inscription substantiated the historical foundation of stories involving the legendary seer, Mopsus (Barnett 1953; Tekoğlu/Lemaire 2000; Oettinger 2008).

named in ancient Greek literature, nor are there any references to the power exercised by Hatti, particularly in the western coastal regions of Anatolia<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, consideration of the legendary Trojan War within the context of the archaeological and documentary record was regarded as a worthwhile exercise by Cline (2008, 16), who believed it could act as a bridge between the academic world and the general public.

Several factors indicate that Greek legend has its roots in the Bronze Age cultures of the Aegean. Nilsson (1972, 28; cf. Cline 2013, 44) observed that locations which feature prominently in the tales can be mapped surprisingly well onto the network of recognized Bronze Age sites. Moreover, he noted that some of the places mentioned, such as Mycenae, had little or no significance in subsequent epochs. He therefore argued that stories with a strong local context most probably originated when the settlements concerned had been important, a situation that can frequently be correlated with the latter part of the second millennium BC. The discovery that the script incised on Linear B tablets constitutes a vehicle for an archaic form of Greek gave further encouragement to the linkage of Greek myth with the Bronze Age, since some of the texts refer to deities whose names anticipate those of Olympian gods and goddesses (Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 125-127; Hiller 2011, 183-186). Linguistic analysis of the Homeric poems, particularly the *Iliad*, has also revealed ties with the Bronze Age. Formulaic phrases, which have been traced to the Mycenaean era, are embedded in the verses, with some passages reaching back to an earlier, pan-Indo-European stratum<sup>6</sup>.

So, if there are grounds for believing that some source material for Greek legend comes from the second millennium BC, is it reasonable to look for corroborative evidence in Hittite documents? The Anatolian tablets contain many citations of a domain known first as Ahhiya and later as Ahhiyawa. While there is not universal agreement on the issue (Mountjoy 1998, 51; Sherratt 2010, 11), there is an increasingly held view that this term designated an area of mainland Greece, as well as other territories, and that the 'King of Ahhiyawa' was a Mycenaean monarch<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, excavation of Bronze Age sites along the Aegean littoral of Asia Minor has yielded sufficient markers of Mycenaean activity to demonstrate a significant Greek presence in the area<sup>8</sup>. Some years ago, Ünal (1991) posed the question: did the Hittites and the Mycenaeans know each other? In the light of recent discoveries, the answer to this challenge is

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<sup>5</sup> Poisson 1925, 81; Huxley 1960, 36; Ünal 1991, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Janko 1992, 9-19; Jamison 1994; Wiener 2007, 6.

<sup>7</sup> AT 4, 6; Güterbock 1983, 138; 1984, 121; Bryce 1989, 3-5; 1999, 258; 2005, 57-60; Cline 1996, 145; 2013, 57; Hawkins 1998, 2, 30-31; Niemeier 1998, 20-25, 43-45; 1999, 143-144; 2003, 103-104; 2005, 16-19; Kelder 2004-05b, 151, 158-159; 2005, 159-162; 2010, 119-120; 2012, 43, 46, 50; Watkins 2008, 135-136; Melchert *forthcoming*.

<sup>8</sup> AT 272-274, 277-278; Niemeier 1998, 32-36, 40-41; 1999, 149-150, 153-54; 2003, 103, 106-107, fig. 4; 2005, 10-16. Excavations at Miletus have upheld the ancient tradition that the settlement was founded by Minoans (Niemeier 2005, 1, 4).

almost certainly affirmative and the enquiry should now be refined to ascertain how close were the links across the Aegean.

Surveying the latest research, Watkins (2008, 136) declared that information supplied by Hittite texts pointed to the operation of international correspondence and alliances, including intermarriage, among the ruling families of Late Bronze Asia Minor and Greece<sup>9</sup>. In turn, Bryce (1999, 259-260, 262-263) believed that considerable numbers of Anatolians had settled in Greece during the Mycenaean period and that some of the migrants had occupied influential positions in the palatial hierarchy. Such a state of affairs would have facilitated the exchange of news and ideas (cf. Niemeier 2005, 16). Following the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, therefore, a sufficient level of awareness about notable incidents in Anatolia could have survived in Greece to allow memories to be incorporated into local legend. Across the sea, in Asia Minor, records of current events were buried in the ruins of Hittite palaces, to be discovered by modern archaeologists. Careful examination of Greek mythology and Hittite data may thus produce vestiges of related accounts.

If the historical context is supplied by Hittite sources, it is clearly advantageous to consider Greek legends that possess an Anatolian dimension. This article will evaluate episodes dealing with Tantalus and, to a lesser extent, his son, Pelops; a subsequent paper will pursue the question of Pelops in more detail. This is not the first time that an investigation into traditions about Tantalus and Pelops has examined the contribution of Hittite material. Hall (1909, 19-20) put forward the idea that Pelops was a Hittite immigrant and associated the name 'Myrtilus', which occurs in the central myth about the hero, with those of Hittite kings called 'Mursili' and an early sixth-century BC tyrant, Myrsilus, of Lesbos. Poisson (1925), who made similar comments with respect to Myrtilus/Mursili, declared that Tantalus should be identified as a Hittite monarch. Several decades later, Huxley (1960, 46) equated Pelops with the Ahhiyawan ruler to whom the Tawagalawa Letter (*CTH* 181) was addressed. In two complementary articles, Cline (1996, note 66; 1997, 205-206) drew attention to Pelops' affiliation with Asia Minor and noted numerous allusions in Greek literature to the Anatolian background of the dynasty that was said to have governed Mycenae. More recently, Mason (2008, 60), in addition to re-iterating the Myrtilus/Mursili link, declared that Pelops was 'the figure in Greek myth most likely to have a Hittite connection.' He remarked upon Tantalus' strong ties with Mt. Sipylus (Sipil Dağı) in Asia Minor and the Hittite influence that could be perceived in Pelops' reputation as a charioteer (*Hom. II.* 2.104).

The discussion that follows will assume the validity of relationships such as Apasa = Ephesus and Millawanda = Miletus, which pair toponyms in Hittite texts with those known from the first millennium BC (Hawkins 1998). With regard to homonyms, as noted at the beginning of the Introduction, certain char-

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<sup>9</sup> *AT* 275; Bryce 1999, 258-261; Cline 2013, 61; Melchert *forthcoming*.

acters from Greek mythology possess names that resemble ones attested in Hittite documents. Eteocles/Tawagalawa and Alexander/Alakšandu are significant examples of this phenomenon, while ‘Mopsus’, through its Linear B form ‘*Mo-go-so*’, can be aligned with Hittite ‘*Muksus*’ and Hieroglyphic-Luwian ‘*Muksa-*’ (Oettinger 2008, 63-64; Cline 2013, 55, 63-64). Other proposed couplets, however, have more doubtful value. In the cases of Mopsus and Alexander, the coincidence between the spheres of activity of the legendary and historical figures lends weight to the linguistic association (Barnett 1953, 142; Oettinger 2008, 64-65). This discussion, though not ignoring similarities between the names of real and mythical individuals, will therefore focus on matching narrative elements. Information concerning Tantalus will be compared to what is known about Uhha-ziti, a late fourteenth-century BC king of Arzawa in western Asia Minor. It will also be proposed that legends dealing with Pelops indicate that one of his main role models was Piyama-Kurunta, a son of Uhha-ziti.

### **Uhha-ziti of Arzawa**

#### *(a) The prelude to Mursili II’s invasion of Arzawa*

Uhha-ziti was king of Arzawa for a period in the second half of the fourteenth century BC. The west Anatolian kingdom was a significant force in the political world of the day and its sovereign was a person of considerable importance. One of Uhha-ziti’s predecessors, Tarhundaradu, had conducted negotiations with Amenhotep III of Egypt (*ca.* 1391-1353 BC) for a marriage alliance between an Arzawan princess and the pharaoh. During the decades leading up to Uhha-ziti’s reign (and for several years of his rule), an Arzawan monarch could have legitimately aspired to the title of ‘Great King’, which would have ranked him alongside the leading potentates of the Middle East<sup>10</sup>. Resurgent Hittite power under the leadership of Suppiluliuma I (*ca.* 1350-1322 BC) put an end to such pretensions. Hittite campaigns in western Asia Minor are thought to have culminated in a peace treaty with Arzawa which constrained Uhha-ziti’s influence. The prologue to a diplomatic protocol between Suppiluliuma’s son, Mursili II (*ca.* 1321-1295 BC), and Manapa-Tarhunta, king of the Seha River Land, implies that a formal agreement had once been entered into by Uhha-ziti and the Hittite crown (*CTH* 69 §4’ (A i 34’-62’); Beckman 1999, 83). Yet Uhha-ziti was not reduced to a mere cipher; Suppiluliuma ceded the strategic citadel of Puranda to him, and so Arzawa was by no means vanquished<sup>11</sup>. Indeed, when Mursili II succeeded his father, Uhha-ziti openly defied Hittite authority.

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<sup>10</sup> *AT* 46; Hawkins 1998, 10, 20, note 34; 2009, 74-75, 80; Berman 2001, 13, 20; Cline 2001, 226, 242; Kelder 2004-05a, 65; 2004-05b, 152-153; Bryce 2005, 52, 193; Hoffner 2009: 269-271, 273-277.

<sup>11</sup> Puranda has been identified as Bademgediği Tepe, about twenty-five kilometres north of Ephesus. *CTH* 61.II §10’ (B iii 26’-27’); *AT* 38-39; Hawkins 1998, 14, note 38; 2009, 79; Greaves/Helwing 2001, 506; Easton/Hawkins/Sherratt/Sherratt 2002, 98; Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 82; Meriç 2003, 79-81; Yildirim/Gates 2007, 290.

(b) *The Hittite-Arzawan war*

In the third year of Mursili II's reign (*ca.* 1318 BC), Uhha-ziti allied himself with the city state of Millawanda (Miletus) and the (unnamed) king of Ahhiyawa. Although Miletus was, at that time, a Hittite vassal, it was also a thriving Mycenaean enclave. Mursili, no doubt aware of Ahhiyawan ambitions in the region, regarded this initiative as an unfriendly act and promptly dispatched a Hittite force to attack and sack Miletus<sup>12</sup>. A second factor in the deterioration of Hittite-Arzawan relations was Uhha-ziti's refusal to hand over to Mursili several groups of fugitives. Hittite rulers attached the greatest importance to the return of dissidents and enemies<sup>13</sup>. If the Arzawan monarch had previously been party to a peace treaty with the Hittite crown, the repatriation of such individuals would almost certainly have been one of his consequential obligations. His failure to comply could have provided the motive for Mursili's subsequent charge that he had been guilty of breaking an oath. To compound the affront to the government in Hattusa, Uhha-ziti resorted to undiplomatic language in his reply to Mursili's communications, calling the young Hittite king 'a child', someone too puerile to run a country. Not surprisingly, Mursili was deeply angered by the insult<sup>14</sup>.

Since this behaviour could not go unpunished, the Hittite ruler launched a large-scale punitive expedition against Arzawa. On the march towards Uhha-ziti's capital, Apasa (Ephesus), Mursili received what he interpreted as divine approval for his action: in the vicinity of the River Sehiriya (Sakarya Nehri/River Sangarius) and Mt. Lawasa (Eryiğit Dağı/Mt. Dindymus), a celestial object passed above the Hittite army, travelling from east to west. According to Hittite documents, the entity was visible over a wide territory: 'the land of Arzawa' and 'all Hatti' saw it. Mursili was later informed by King Mashuiluwa of Mira-Kuwaliya that the missile had landed in Ephesus and that, as a result, Uhha-ziti had suffered injuries to his knees<sup>15</sup>.

The Arzawan king did not assume personal command of armed resistance to Mursili II's invasion, either because of his impaired physical state, or his age – he had at least two grown up sons (*AT* 47). One of these, Piyama Kurunta, who had already led a force that had sustained a decisive defeat at the hands of Mashuiluwa of Mira-Kuwaliya, was appointed to head the Arzawan army that confronted the Hittites. The Arzawan prince, however, was the victim of another military reverse, being comprehensively routed by Mursili at Walma (Holmi,

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<sup>12</sup> *CTH* 61.II §1' (A ii 23'-26'); *AT* 28-29, 45-46; Güterbock 1983, 134-135; Hawkins 1998, 14; Niemeier 1999, 150; 2003, 105; 2005, 10-13, 19-20; Kelder 2004-05a, 51, 61; Bryce 2005, 193.

<sup>13</sup> *CTH* 61.I §12' (B ii 29'-41'); *AT* 10-11; Hawkins 1998, 14; Bryce 2005, 52, 193.

<sup>14</sup> *CTH* 61.I §16' (A ii 9'-14'); *CTH* 68 §22' (E iv 34'-45'); *AT* 14-15; Hoffner 1980, 313; 2009, 390 note 267; Beckman 1999, 80; Bryce 2005, 193-195.

<sup>15</sup> *CTH* 61.I §17' (A ii 15'-21'); *CTH* 61.II §5' (B ii 23'-24', A ii 2'-6', 11'-14'); *AT* 14-16, 32-33; Garstang 1943 40-41; Garstang/Gurney 1959, 76-77; Hawkins 1998, 14, 22; Bryce 2005, 194.

near Karamikkaracaören) on the River Astarpa (Akar Çay/inland River Cayster) and then pursued back to the coast as the Hittites advanced on Ephesus. In panic, the city's inhabitants fled: Uhha-ziti, together with his family, sought refuge on an offshore island, perhaps one located in the Ahhiyawan sphere of influence<sup>16</sup>. Considerable numbers of Arzawans climbed Mt. Arinnanda (Dilek Yarım Adası/Mt. Mycale), about thirty kilometres south of Ephesus. The mountain is a prominent landmark: "a colossal ridge of rock .... rising abruptly from sea level to over one thousand, two hundred metres and jutting out into the sea"<sup>17</sup>. At the time of the Arzawan war, the massif presented an even more isolated topographical feature than it does today. On the southern flank, for example, the ancient coastline ran along the base of the ridge far inland to Magnesia on the Meander (Mountjoy 1998, fig.8; Brückner 2003, 122, 135, fig.1). Mursili II, having secured all lines of access to the promontory, used hunger and thirst to force the fugitives to surrender. A third contingent of Arzawans escaped northwards to Puranda where, for a brief interval, they were safe from the Hittites: with the onset of cold weather, Mursili was obliged to retire to winter quarters and wait for spring<sup>18</sup>.

(c) *The aftermath of the conflict*

By the time hostilities resumed, Uhha-ziti had died on his island sanctuary<sup>19</sup>. One of his sons, probably Piyama-Kurunta, stayed on the island, while another, Tapalazunawali, returned to the mainland and joined the garrison of Puranda. After a brief skirmish near the citadel and a short siege, Puranda was taken, but Tapalazunawali evaded capture<sup>20</sup>. Following these events, one of Uhha-ziti's sons, most likely Piyama-Kurunta, though it could have been Tapalazunawali, left the island where he had sheltered to seek asylum with the king of Ahhiyawa. The Arzawan prince may have found a haven in Ahhiyawan controlled territory in Anatolia, or on an Aegean island within that realm's sphere of influence, but it is possible that he went to Ahhiyawa itself, mainland Greece. The Hittite monarch wrote to his Mycenaean counterpart asking for the return of the fugitive; his request was successful in that Uhha-ziti's son and a group of

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<sup>16</sup> CTH 61.I §17' (A ii 21'-32'); CTH 61.II §2' (A i 27'-30'); Strabo 14.2.29; AT 14-16, 28-29; Calder/Bean 1958; Güterbock 1983, 135; Hawkins 1998, 14, 30; Niemeier 2003, 105; Bryce 2005, 194. At this period, the site of Ephesus (Apasa) was next to the sea (Kraft/Brückner/ Kayan/Engelmann 2007, 128, 130, 146, figs. 1, 4, 6).

<sup>17</sup> CTH 61.I §18' (A ii 33'-40'); CTH 61.II §8' (A iii 27'-33'), §9' (A iii 34'-49'); AT 16-18, 34-36; Hawkins 1998, 14, 23, notes 130-131, fig. 10; Easton/Hawkins/Sherratt/Sherratt 2002, 97-98; Bryce 2005, 194-195.

<sup>18</sup> CTH 61.I §18' (A ii 33'-35'), §19' (A ii 46'-49'); CTH 61.II §8' (A iii 32'-33'), §10' (B iii 38'-39'); AT 16-19, 34-35, 38-39.

<sup>19</sup> CTH 61.I §20' (A ii 50'-52'); CTH 61.II §10' (B iii 40'-43'); AT 18-19, 38-39.

<sup>20</sup> CTH 61.I §20' (A ii 53'-56') - §24' (A ii 79'-82'); AT 18-23; Hawkins 1998, 14; Easton/Hawkins/Sherratt/Sherratt 2002, 98; Meriç/Mountjoy 2002, 82; Meriç 2003, 86; Bryce 2005, 195.

companions were transferred to Hittite custody. There is a possibility, however, that this outcome was achieved without the agreement or assistance of the king of Ahhiyawa<sup>21</sup>. In view of the fact that Mursili II had previously razed the Mycenaean settlement of Miletus to the ground, it would be understandable if the Ahhiyawan ruler had refused to cooperate.

After the defeat of Arzawa, Mursili II deported from sixty-five to one hundred thousand of the country's inhabitants to Hittite governed regions and incorporated the kingdom into the neighbouring state of Mira. Arzawa may have ceased to exist, but a postscript to the conflict remains visible to this day<sup>22</sup>. At Akpınar, near Manisa, on a north-facing slope of Mt. Sipylus, some seventy kilometres north of Ephesus, there is a sculptural edifice (Calder/Bean 1958). The monument, which was never finished, consists of a human figure in high relief, set within a carved niche, and is considered to be a product of local Bronze Age culture, rather than an example of Hittite art. Furthermore, its situation, above a spring on a hillside looking across the fertile valley of the Gediz Nehri (River Hermus), suggests that it formed part of a sacred complex. Two Hittite inscriptions are incised on the rock face beside the monument: the characters in one of them include the name 'Kuwatnamuwa', which is known to have been that of a son of Mursili I<sup>23</sup>. Texts record that the Hittite king, once he had subjugated Arzawa, led his army northwards, probably through the Karabel pass (Houwink ten Cate 1983/84, note 38; Hawkins 1998, 21, 24). During that advance, or as Prince Kuwatnamuwa took a detachment of troops in an ancillary move, the Hittites may have marked their victory over Arzawa by defacing the Akpınar shrine (Niemeier 1999, 151).

#### (d) *Divine intervention*

What exactly appeared in the sky above the Hittite army as it advanced on Arzawa? Opinion is divided between a thunderbolt and a meteorite<sup>24</sup>. Taking the regional aspect into account – the place where Mursili II witnessed the missile is over four hundred kilometres from Ephesus, where the object, or part of it, landed (Calder/Bean 1958) – the event should be identified as the transit of a meteorite.

A meteorite will be seen throughout hundreds of square kilometres of territory, though it may be visible for only a brief interval, lasting from a few seconds to almost a minute (McCall 1973, 44; Hutchison 1983, 10). For example, on the 9th

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<sup>21</sup> *CTH* 61.I §25' (A iii 1'-12'); *AT* 22-24, 48; Güterbock 1983, 135; Houwink ten Cate 1983-84, note 34; Del Monte 1993, 66; Hawkins 1998, 14, 30, note 202; Freu 2004, 291; Bryce 2005, 195, note 21.

<sup>22</sup> *CTH* 61.I §27' (A iii 26'-41'); *CTH* 61.II §9' (A iii 50'-52'); *AT* 24-27, 36-38; Singer 1983, 206; Hawkins 1998, 15; 2009, 75, 80; Bryce 2005, 197, 445 note 31.

<sup>23</sup> Güterbock 1956, 53-54; André-Salvini/Salvini 1996, 14, 16-20, figs. 2-10; Niemeier 1998, 42; 1999, 151; 2003, 105-106; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 203.

<sup>24</sup> *AT* 15, 33, 47; Del Monte 1993, 63 note 21; Freu 2004, 290; Bryce 2005, 194, 444 note 13.

October, 1992, a meteorite was observed for about forty seconds as it travelled over seven hundred kilometres from Kentucky to Peekskill, New York State (Perron 2001, 7, 9). An impression of the phenomenon viewed by the people of western Asia Minor *ca.* 1318 BC can be gained by considering the meteorite strike that occurred near Chelyabinsk, Russia, on the 15th February, 2013<sup>25</sup>. A fireball, whose brightness outshone the morning sun, suddenly appeared in a clear sky. During the object's swift trajectory, several explosive episodes of fragmentation were distinguished, which generated powerful shock waves. On reaching ground level, these shattered windows, damaged buildings, and injured hundreds of people, some severely. The passage of the meteorite also caused a heat wave that was felt by individuals beneath the route, despite the low ambient temperature. The brilliant fireball and the explosions that accompanied it were seen and heard more than one hundred kilometres either side of the direct pathway of the meteorite.

If recovered, a meteorite, or portion of a meteorite, is found to be a stone covered in a black fusion crust, the result of its descent through the earth's atmosphere<sup>26</sup>. The Chelyabinsk meteorite produced a shower of tiny shards, but fragments can be much larger and their dispersal zone can cover an extensive area. Fragments of a meteorite that passed close to the town of Jilin, China, on the 8th March, 1976, were deposited as much as ninety kilometres apart; the largest piece weighed one thousand, seven hundred and seventy kilogrammes. Meteorite fragments are generally much smaller: the Peekskill stone was about twelve kilogrammes in weight (Hutchison 1983, 17, fig. 1.6; Perron 2001, 7, 9).

Assuming that the untoward incident noted in the Annals of Mursili II was the passing of a meteorite over Anatolia, local people would have experienced a startling sequence of visual and aural phenomena: the sudden appearance of a blazing fireball in the sky, explosions like loud thunderclaps, gusts of shock waves and, for those beneath the pathway of the missile, a surging heat wave. Finally, pieces of rock, most of them small, but some substantial, would have tumbled down from the heavens. One of the latter kind, it seems, fell on Ephesus. Without the benefit of modern science, how would the Hittites have regarded the fourteenth-century BC event? Ancient Middle Eastern societies were conversant with, and carefully categorized, manifestations of cosmic activity, such as meteorites and comets. These were seen as signals from the gods and an extensive body of omen literature was available to permit their interpretation (Bjorkman 1973, 92, 94-95). A collection of astrological texts compiled at Hattusa closely followed Akkadian documents (Leibovici 1956, 11; Hoffner 1980, 330), showing that the Hittites were familiar with the original data and held

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<sup>25</sup> The event is extremely well documented, having been filmed at the time on many closed circuit television and mobile phone cameras. It subsequently featured in a television programme, 'Meteor Strike: Fireball from Space,' broadcast on Channel 4 (United Kingdom) on 3rd March, 2013.

<sup>26</sup> McCall 1973, 61, 64-65; Sears 1978, 34-36; Hutchison 1983, 10; Zanda/Rotaru 2001, 8, 10.

similar opinions on the material<sup>27</sup>. Mursili II, commanding an army in the field, was not in a position to consult this archive, but his view of the celestial object would have been informed by the prevailing Hittite attitude to such matters. The annals of the king's reign record that he considered the meteorite to be an instance of *para handandatar*, 'divine justice', the Storm-god's response to the misdeeds of Uhha-ziti<sup>28</sup>. Given the likely existence of a peace treaty between Uhha-ziti and Suppiluliuma I, the Arzawan king, through his ill-judged challenge to Hittite authority, had been guilty of disloyalty to his suzerain. He had broken the sworn allegiance of a vassal in the case of the fugitives and, with his insulting language, had displayed profound disrespect to Mursili. The Hittite monarch, reflecting on the apparent demonstration of the Storm-god's will, would have felt he had been justified in destroying both Uhha-ziti and his realm.

### **Tantalus of Lydia**

#### *(a) The figure of Tantalus*

Tantalus was one of the three sinners (the other two being Tityus and Sisyphus) encountered by Odysseus in the Underworld (Hom. *Od.* 11.576-600). Tantalus stood in a pool of water that lapped his chin, with fruit-laden branches placed above his head. As soon as he tried to drink, the water receded and vanished; when he attempted to pick some fruit, a breeze blew the branches out of reach. This is the fate that inspired the concept 'to tantalize', with which the mythical figure is now usually associated.

Tantalus was portrayed as an old man and was, according to most sources, the son of Zeus and Plouto (Wealth)<sup>29</sup>. Anatolian by birth, he was reputed to have been the king of Lydia. Occasionally, his father was named as Tmolus, the personification of the mountain range that forms the northern boundary of the Cayster valley (Küçükmenderes Nehri)<sup>30</sup>. With his son, Pelops, he was linked to a long list of places in Asia Minor and the east Aegean: Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Lesbos being the most frequently cited<sup>31</sup>. While Pelops was said to have migrated to Greece, it was accepted that Tantalus, though expelled from

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<sup>27</sup> The Hittites monitored the sky for their own purposes too. The worship of the Goddess of Darkness involved rooftop ceremonies conducted at night, while the back of her cult statue was decorated with images of celestial objects (*KUB* 29.4 §1'-2'; Beal 2002, 197, 202-205). In the Aegean, untoward cosmic events appear in the visual record. For example, what seems to be a meteorite or comet is shown above the central, running figure on the 'Runner's Ring', found at Kato Syme, Crete, and dated to the Late Minoan IA period (Lebessi/Muhly/Papasavvas 2004, 11, 15, colour pl. I, pl. 2).

<sup>28</sup> *CTH* 61.I §17' (A ii 15'-17'); *CTH* 61.II §5' (A ii 2'-4'); *AT* 14-15, 32-33; Hoffner 1980, 314-315, 328.

<sup>29</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.585, 591; E. *Or.* 5, 986; D.S. 4.74.1; Paus. 2.22.3; *Sch.* on *Od.* 11.582-592; Hylén 1896, 11-15.

<sup>30</sup> Str. 13.4.5; *Sch.* on E. *Or.* 5; Tz. *H.* 5.10. 444-456; Hylén 1896, 3-4, 13-14; Calder/Bean 1958.

<sup>31</sup> Pi. *O.* 1.24; 9.9; S. *Aj.* 1291-1292; A.R. 2.357-359, 790; D.S. 4.74.1, 4; Str. 12.8.2, 21; 14.5.28; Paus. 2.22.3, 5.1.6, 5.13.7; Hdn. 1.11.2; Hylén 1896, 3-10.

Paphlagonia by Ilus the Phrygian, had remained on the eastern side of the Aegean (Th. 1.9.2; D.S. 4.74.4). Tantalus and his family had strong connections with Mt. Sipylus<sup>32</sup>. His daughter Niobe, the wife of Amphion, king of Boeotian Thebes, was alleged to have been turned to stone on the mountain. The Bronze Age monument at Akpınar may have been known in Antiquity as the ‘weeping Niobe’ and may also be identified as the statue of the ‘Mother of the Gods’ made by Tantalus’ other son, Broteas. Not far from this shrine, a stepped platform was popularly referred to as the ‘throne of Pelops’<sup>33</sup>.

(b) *The crimes of Tantalus*

The cause of Tantalus’ downfall lay in a series of offences committed against Zeus and the other gods, of which the most notorious was the serving of a meal made from the dismembered body of Pelops to an assembly of deities on Mt. Sipylus<sup>34</sup>. Tantalus’ motive for the crime was never fully explained, but some writers thought that he had been prompted by a misguided sense of hospitality, or a desire to test the divinity of his guests<sup>35</sup>. Although Pindar (*O.* 1.36-39, 46-53) denied that anything amiss had occurred, he nonetheless gave credence to Tantalus’ appalling behaviour by supplying so many incidental details. Pelops, resurrected through divine intervention afterwards, lost a shoulder blade in the ordeal; the missing component of his skeleton was replaced with an ivory substitute. Following his revival, the youth was carried off by Poseidon to be his lover. An oblique reference by Euripides (*Hel.* 388-89) to Pelops’ precise role in the banquet seems to cast him as a compliant participant in his father’s scheme<sup>36</sup>. Tantalus was also implicated in the theft of a golden dog from Zeus’ sanctuary on Crete. Pandareus of Miletus (according to Paus. 10.30.2, the town of that name on Crete, not the Anatolian port), who actually stole the animal, passed it to Tantalus to conceal from the gods. The latter disclaimed all knowledge of the dog when accused by Hermes, employing a false sworn oath to bolster his lies. Zeus, who naturally knew the truth, struck Tantalus with a thunderbolt and buried him beneath Mt. Sipylus as a punishment for perjury, while Pandareus

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<sup>32</sup> Pi. *O.* 1.36-38; Paus. 2.22.3, 5.13.7; Hylén 1896, 5; Bean 1972, 58-62.

<sup>33</sup> Hom. *Il.* 24.602-617; *A. fr.* 277 (Weir Smyth/Lloyd-Jones 1995, 556-562); S. *Ant.* 823-831; S. *fr.* 441aa (Lloyd-Jones 1996, 228-229); Pherecyd. *fr.* 38 (Jacoby 1923, 73); Paus. 1.21.3; 3.22.4; 5.13.7; 8.2.7; Pearson 1917, 3. 94-98; Bean 1972, 63, fig. 8; Gantz 1996, 536-537; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 203-204. An alternative site on Mt. Sipylus, a free-standing rock on the outskirts of Manisa, has been officially recognized as the ‘weeping Niobe’. In the author’s opinion, this identification is incorrect, since resemblance to a female figure is only perceptible from a single, constrained viewpoint (Bean 1972, 54-55; André-Salvini/Salvini 1996, 7-12, fig.3).

<sup>34</sup> E. *IT* 386-388; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3; Ov. *Met.* 6.403-411; Hyg. *Fab.* 83; Hylén 1896, 38-43; Sourvinou-Inwood 1986, 40, note 21.

<sup>35</sup> Pi. *O.* 1.39; *Sch.* on Pi. *O.* 1.40; Serv. on Verg. *G.* 3.7; Gantz 1996, 534.

<sup>36</sup> Pi. *O.* 1.24-27, 40-42; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3; Lyc. 152-159; Ov. *Met.* 6.403-407; *Sch.* on Pi. *O.* 1.40; Gantz 1996, 534; Kovacs 2002, 52 note 14.

was turned to stone for his part in the felony. Although literary references to the myth are comparatively late, Pandareus' daughters are mentioned in the *Odyssey* (20.66-78) and a scene painted on a sixth-century BC cup illustrates the story<sup>37</sup>. A further charge levelled at Tantalus was that he had stolen nectar and ambrosia from Olympus, thus abusing the trust and friendship of the gods<sup>38</sup>. A much more serious allegation related to his abduction of Ganymedes, son of Tros, a crime usually ascribed to Zeus. The seizure of the boy was named as one of the factors behind a battle fought between Tantalus and Ganymedes' uncle, Ilus, at Pessinus in central Asia Minor<sup>39</sup>. The fault most often ascribed to Tantalus, however, related to the spoken word (*Ov. Am.* 2.2. 43-44; Hylén 1896, 32-35). Electra, one of his descendants, claimed he had displayed 'an unbridled tongue, a most disgraceful malady', though she did not specify what he had said (*E. Or.* 10; Kovacs 2002, 413). Perhaps Tantalus had been discourteous to the Olympian gods, or had divulged confidential conversations with them to his fellow men<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, there was the duplicitous use of an oath in his denial of possession of the golden dog<sup>41</sup>.

(c) *The punishments of Tantalus*

Cannibalism, rape, theft, and lying – Tantalus' scandalous activities were certainly grave enough to consign him to the depths of Hades. Alternative punishments, though, to those described in the *Odyssey*, were believed to have been imposed on him for these crimes. As noted above, the affair of the golden dog caused Zeus to strike Tantalus with a thunderbolt and bury him under Mt. Sipylus. Another penalty, again inflicted by Zeus, saw the reprobate bound hand and foot, and suspended from a high mountain (*Sch.* on Hom. *Od.* 11.582-592). A further sanction, given equal prominence in ancient Greek literature to the torments recounted by Homer, centred upon an ominous stone, which hovered in mid-air above Tantalus' head, threatening to crush him instantly if it fell (Hylén 1896, 56-59, 60-63; Frazer 1898, 5. 392).

The stone is first mentioned by the seventh-century BC author Archilochus: "let the stone of Tantalus not hang over this island" (*Archil. fr.* 91, lines 14-15 (Gerber 1999, 132-133)). Other early references occur in the works of Alcaeus and Alcman, both of whom lived during the second half of the seventh, and the first decades of the sixth century BC<sup>42</sup>. Pherecydes of Leros, who was active around the middle of the fifth century BC, also alluded to the stone, claiming that

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<sup>37</sup> Ant. Lib. 36; Paus. 5.22.3; 10.30.2; *Sch.* on Pi. *O.* 1.91; *Sch.* on Hom. *Od.* 19.518; Eust. on Hom. *Od.* 19.518; Hylén 1896, 44-47; Barnett 1898, 638-640; Beazley 1931, 282 (side B); Brijder 1991, 447-448, pl.116c (side A); Gantz 1996, 535.

<sup>38</sup> Pi. *O.* 1.60-64; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.1; Hylén 1896, 35.

<sup>39</sup> D.S. 4.74.4; Hdn. 1.11.2; *Sch.* on Lyc. 355; Hylén 1896, 47-49, 49 note 2; Gantz 1996, 536.

<sup>40</sup> Ath. 281b; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.1; D.S. 4.74.1-2; Hyg. *Fab.* 82; Gantz 1996, 533-534.

<sup>41</sup> Ant. Lib. 36.3; Paus. 10.30.2; Gantz 1996, 535.

<sup>42</sup> Alc. *fr.* 365 (Campbell 1982, xiv, 394-397); Alcman. *fr.* 79 (Campbell 1988, 268, 448-449).

it had come from Zeus (Pherecyd. *fr.* 38 (Jacoby 1923, 73)). Pausanias (10.31.12), describing a fifth-century BC painting of Hades by the artist Polygnotus, remarked that Tantalus was shown enduring the pangs of hunger and thirst recorded by Homer, with the addition of the stone above his head. The travel writer wondered if the painter had been influenced by Archilochus and thought that the latter was responsible for introducing the ominous stone to the legend. This is possible, but Archilochus' phraseology suggests he was reiterating an established saying, whose origin lay well before his lifetime (Gantz 1996, 533). Indeed, Plutarch (*Moralia* 803A) cited the lines as an example of a maxim derived from mythology. Furthermore, no less an authority than Pindar referred to the stone twice, once in a proverbial manner, comparable to that of Archilochus: 'since a god has turned away from over our heads the very rock of Tantalus' (Pi. *I.* 8.9-10; *O.* 1.55-58; Race 1997, 205).

As Pausanias' description of Polygnotus' painting reveals, the two punishments involving food and drink deprivation, and the ominous stone were not mutually exclusive. It is difficult, despite this association, to imagine a setting in which both punishments could have been inflicted at the same time, since the respective contexts are completely different. Homer stated that Tantalus endured hunger and thirst in the Underworld, but Euripides (*Or.* 5-7) pictured him suspended in mid-air beneath the ominous stone (Hylén 1896, 50-54, 77-83). Nevertheless, however the representation of the twin penalties was achieved, they appear to have been connected with each other.

(d) *The origin of the ominous stone*

Although the stone was positioned over Tantalus' head, it was not invariably regarded as a static object. The idea that it was capable of falling, perhaps quite suddenly, was the reason for Tantalus' fear, so it was potentially active. In addition, a passage in Euripides' *Orestes* (982-984) creates the impression that the stone could be assigned a dynamic character. Electra, musing over her family's violent and tragic past, speaks of the stone as a βῶλος<sup>43</sup>, attached in some way to golden chains, and suspended between heaven and earth, but even so carried by whirlwind or vortex down from Olympus. The image conveyed by the lines, though hard to define, is clearly predicated on cosmic turmoil. Indeed, a celestial aspect is implicit in all references to the stone that nominate Zeus, who ruled the heavens, as the responsible agent.

Throughout the ancient world, tales must have circulated about the rare occurrence of stones plummeting out of the sky. As in early modern societies, lack of scientific knowledge and vocabulary ensured that such events were regarded and described as the work of supernatural powers (McCall 1973, 17-19; Zanda/Rotaru 2001, 17-19). One of the first analytical treatments of meteorites was given by Anaxagoras, a fifth-century BC philosopher. His writings have not

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<sup>43</sup> βῶλος (*bolos*, 'a clad of nugget'; *LSJ* 334, s.v. βῶλος).

been preserved, but it is known from other authors that he viewed the sun as a fiery stone, with the stars and planets as other stones, detached from the Earth and ignited by their own movement. Should the system be disturbed in any way, there was a chance that one of the celestial stones would descend to the Earth (D.L. 2.10.9-12; West 1960, 368-369). Scodel (1984) linked Tantalus' stone to the teachings of Anaxagoras, arguing that the passage from *Orestes* mentioned above was influenced by the philosopher's astronomical ideas. While it is possible that was the case, Tantalus' stone occurs in literature before the time of Anaxagoras, for example in the seventh-century BC fragment of Archilochus quoted earlier. In that passage, the stone is portrayed as a rock manifested above to threaten the land below. This and similar traditions could have prompted Anaxagoras to develop his theories, instead of being derived from them. The firm impression is that Tantalus' stone was viewed as an exceptional event, a rock that appeared from heaven on high. If the legend has any foundation in fact, it was probably based upon the fall of a meteorite. Certainly, from wherever it was that Euripides gained inspiration for the verses in *Orestes*, the lines are evocative of the transit of a meteorite. The mythical stone is described as an indeterminate mass, hurtling downwards through the sky, with the golden chains suggesting the glittering fragmentation episodes that often attend the brief trajectory of one of those cosmic missiles.

### **Uhha-ziti and Tantalus**

#### (a) *The name 'Tantalus'*

As noted in the Introduction, this discussion is focused on similarities between factual and mythological narratives, rather than on those connecting the names of real and fictional people, but it is useful to consider the background of 'Tantalus.' It is generally understood as a corruption of *ταλαντεία*, 'a balancing or suspended motion'<sup>44</sup>, a reference to the suspended or balancing stone, or *ταλάντατος*, most wretched<sup>45</sup>, an allusion to the sufferings of the unfortunate monarch (Pl. *Cra.* 395D-E; Scodel 1984, 22)<sup>46</sup>. In Chantraine's opinion, however, these are false etymologies and he related 'Tantalus' to *ta-ta-ro*, which occurs as a homonym on Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos. He postulated an initial *\*tal-tal-os*, essentially a duplicated form of 'Atlas,' to which a provisional meaning 'the one who carries (the sky)' could be assigned (Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 584; Chantraine 1984-90, vol. 2, 1091). From this premise, it follows that

<sup>44</sup> *LSJ* 1753, s.v. *ταλαντεια*.

<sup>45</sup> From *ταλαος* (*talaos*, 'much suffering'; *LSJ* s.v. *ταλαος*).

<sup>46</sup> Graves (1990, 2. 30), believing the connection with *ταλαντεία* to be valid, argued that 'Tantalus' signalled the stumbling walk of the legendary figure, whom he identified as a ritually lamed, sacred king. While this interpretation is a product of Graves' particular analysis of Greek myth and should be evaluated accordingly, it curiously resonates with Hittite texts. These stated that Uhha-ziti had suffered leg injuries as a consequence of the fall of the celestial object on Ephesus.

‘Tantalus’ has a Late Bronze Age pedigree and should be associated with the heavens – from where the ominous stone materialized. If ‘Tantalus’ is interpreted as an epithet, then its lack of resemblance to ‘Uhha-ziti’ is not a significant issue.

(b) *Tantalus and Croesus*

Before embarking upon a detailed examination of a relationship between Tantalus and Uhha-ziti, it should be mentioned that there are grounds for linking the former with Croesus, king of Lydia. Geographically, Lydia can be regarded as the Iron Age successor of either Arzawa or the Seha River Land (Hawkins 1998, 24; Freu 2004, 292). Politically, however, Arzawa, as the most influential regional power during the middle decades of the fourteenth century BC, was equivalent to the dominant Lydian realm of the seventh and sixth centuries. The Lydian monarchs, from their inland capital at Sardis, controlled extensive stretches of the Aegean coast, including cities such as Ephesus, and several offshore islands. Croesus, like Tantalus (whose mother was wealth personified), was fabulously rich. Both rulers witnessed the destruction of their kingdoms – the Persians defeated Croesus and annexed his lands into their empire – as a consequence of their own arrogance and folly<sup>47</sup>. The disappearance, with the passing of the Bronze Age, of the toponym ‘Arzawa’ and familiarity with Croesus’ life story may have brought about the affiliation of Lydia with the domain governed by the legendary Tantalus. Yet, although cognisance of Croesus’ career and fate may have helped to shape Tantalus’ character, social position, and activities, several aspects of the mythical figure are attested in ancient Greek literature prior to the epoch of the last Lydian king. Tantalus and the punishment of hunger and thirst are described in the *Odyssey*; Niobe and her association with Mt. Sipylus recorded in the *Iliad*, and the ominous stone first appears in the writing of Archilochus. These texts can be assigned to the eighth and seventh centuries BC, while Croesus’ reign occupied the middle decades of the sixth<sup>48</sup>. If, therefore, a real-life individual supplied those elements of the Tantalus’ tradition, the model must be sought further back in time.

(c) *The crimes of Uhha-ziti and Tantalus*

Just as Uhha-ziti operated on the periphery of the exclusive club of ‘Great Kings’, so Tantalus enjoyed limited social intercourse with the gods. He was invited to banquets on Olympus and was privy to the deities’ private conversations<sup>49</sup>. Both monarchs were mature in age: Tantalus was generally conceived as an old man and Uhha-ziti, at the time of the conflict with Mursili II, had at least two adult sons. Nonetheless, though Tantalus and Uhha-ziti were dignified in years and standing, they were ruined through their own misguided actions.

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<sup>47</sup> Hdt. 1; Pl. *Cra.* 395D-E; Str. 14.5.28; Boardman 1999, 94-102.

<sup>48</sup> Janko 1982, 231; Boardman/Griffin/Murray 1993, 834; Gerber 1999, 5.

<sup>49</sup> E. *Or.* 8-9; Ath. 281b; D.S. 4.74.1-2; Hylén 1896, 22-26.

The most infamous of Tantalus' crimes, the meal at which the dismembered body of Pelops was set before the gods, can be understood as an allegory for the battle fought between the Arzawans and Hittites at Walma. Tantalus served Pelops, who may have dutifully submitted to his fate, to the Olympians, while Uhha-ziti promoted his son, Piyama-Kurunta, to command the army that opposed Mursili II. It is likely that the prince readily accepted the commission. Unfortunately, the Arzawan forces were cut to pieces in the engagement and, as subsequent resistance was led by another son of Uhha-ziti, Tapalazunawali, it is possible that Piyama-Kurunta was wounded at Walma. However, just as Pelops, though he lost a shoulder bone in the macabre feast, was resurrected, so the Arzawan prince, even if hurt, survived the carnage of the battlefield to join the flight from Ephesus. Tantalus' son, following his revival, was spirited away by Poseidon to be the Sea-god's lover. The sea was also the means of Piyama-Kurunta's salvation since, with the rest of the Arzawan royal family, he escaped across the waves to an Aegean island.

Piyama-Kurunta was probably the son of Uhha-ziti who sought sanctuary with the king of Ahhiyawa, perhaps on mainland Greece. Pelops' emigration from Asia parallels the journey of the Arzawan prince. 'Asia' is considered to have evolved from *Aššuwa/A-si-wi-ja*, which appears in texts from Late Bronze Age Egypt, Hittite Anatolia, and Mycenaean Greece. During the latter part of the second millennium BC, the term 'Assuwa' referred to territory of uncertain extent in western Anatolia. The first occurrence of 'Asia' in ancient Greek literature, though, is in the context of marshland fringing the River Cayster (Küçük-menderes Nehri) where it flows into the Aegean Sea<sup>50</sup>. In the fourteenth century BC, the shoreline of the same estuary ran beneath the walls of Ephesus, the capital of Arzawa and the departure point for Uhha-ziti, Piyama-Kurunta, and the rest of their entourage (Kraft/Brückner/Kayan/Engelmann 2007, fig. 1).

Additional links between Piyama-Kurunta and Pelops cannot be sustained, however, since a Hittite document states that Uhha-ziti's son was returned to the custody of Mursili II. This information conflicts with Greek legend, which maintained that Pelops remained in the Peloponnese, where he died and was buried (Pi. O. 10.24-25; Paus. 6.22.1). The author is currently preparing an article that will address this issue and explore the origins of Tantalus' son through further consideration of Hittite texts.

The theft of the golden dog by Pandareus and Tantalus may be a reflection of one of the episodes that precipitated the war between Hatti and Arzawa. While the underlying cause of the conflict was Uhha-ziti's rebellious stance, the situation was exacerbated by the dispute over the return of groups of fugitives to Hatti. The Arzawan king refused to hand them over to Mursili II. Though it is difficult to understand why a golden dog would symbolize bands of fugitives,

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<sup>50</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.460-461; Th. 1.9.2; Paus. 5.1.6; Cline 1996, 140-144; 1997, 192-194; 2013, 58-60; Watkins 1998, 202-204.

the scenarios in myth and history are not dissimilar. Tantalus kept the animal, which he declined to give back to its rightful owner, Zeus, and Uhha-ziti retained the fugitives, whom Mursili considered should have been transferred to his jurisdiction. Furthermore, the identity of Pandareus' home town may have changed, under the influence of the golden dog's place of origin, from Anatolian to Cretan Miletus. The initial version of the story could have included a reference to the port in Asia Minor whose alliance with Uhha-ziti helped to unleash the Hittite invasion of Arzawa.

Uhha-ziti's greatest crime in the eyes of Mursili II, though, was the violation of an oath, probably his promise as a vassal king to obey his overlord, which would have been contained in a formal treaty with the Hittites. For this, the Hittite ruler believed that the Arzawan monarch had suffered divine punishment (*CTH* 69 §4' (A i 34'-62')); Beckman 1999, 83). Tantalus' most reprehensible deed in the affair of the golden dog was not the acceptance of stolen property, but the deception he practised on Zeus by means of an oath. The Lord of Olympus blasted the mortal king with a thunderbolt in response. Therefore both Uhha-ziti and Tantalus broke their solemn word over the possession of something (a group of fugitives and a valuable statue, respectively) that did not belong to them and suffered dire consequences as a result. Tantalus' form of speech caused him trouble on other occasions too: it was claimed that he was rude and indiscreet in his language. This failing was also displayed by Uhha-ziti, when he used an 'unbridled tongue' to insult Mursili II and call him a child.

(d) *The punishments of Tantalus and the consequences of the Arzawan war*

The closest analogies between Tantalus and Uhha-ziti relate to the punishments inflicted upon the mythical figure and the situation that unfolded after the fall of Ephesus. First and foremost is the penalty of the ominous stone, a likely allusion to the fall of a meteorite. According to Greek legend, the stone was dispatched from Olympus by Zeus to reduce Tantalus to a state of abject fear in retribution for his various crimes. The Hittites placed a similar construction on the meteorite that appears to have landed on Ephesus *ca.* 1318 BC, believing that it had been sent by the Storm-god to demonstrate his condemnation of Uhha-ziti's behaviour. Another strong connection exists between the trials of hunger and thirst endured by Tantalus and the fate of Uhha-ziti and many of his subjects. After the defeat at Walma and the descent of the meteorite on Ephesus, the Arzawan king escaped to an island in the Aegean Sea, where he remained, evidently in poor health, until his death not long afterwards. At the same time, large numbers of Arzawans were besieged by Mursili on the barren heights of Mt. Arinnanda. As observed above, the mountainous promontory was even more encircled by the waves during the Late Bronze Age than it is now. In his official annals, Mursili II placed special emphasis on the tactics he had employed to force the Arzawans to come down from the mountain: he stated, with grim satisfaction, that he had used hunger and thirst to compel them to surrender (*CTH* 61. II § 9' (A iii 45' - 49'); *AT* 36-37). A conflation of Uhha-ziti's sojourn on the Aegean island and

the Arzawans' desperate plight on Mt. Arinnanda appears to have produced Tantalus' torment in Hades where, engulfed by water, the king was tortured by hunger and thirst. Like Tantalus, Uhha-ziti suffered in the midst of water. Just as Tantalus was starved, thirsty and surrounded by water, so the Arzawan fugitives, with the sea virtually all around, were deprived of food and drink. Earlier it was remarked that the coupling of the ominous stone with food and drink deprivation suggested that the twin punishments of Tantalus stemmed from a common background. This perhaps lies in the series of events that comprised the meteorite impact and the sufferings of Uhha-ziti and the Arzawans. A further doom assigned to Tantalus, that of being bound hand and foot and suspended from a high mountain, also accords with the confinement of the Arzawans on the isolated ridge of Mt. Arinnanda.

In the affair of the golden dog, Zeus's reprisal against Tantalus was to hurl a thunderbolt at the king and then bury him beneath Mt. Sipylus. If the theft of the fantastic animal is a metaphor for Uhha-ziti's alliance with Miletus and his withholding of fugitives from the Hittites, then the thunderbolt constitutes another reference to the presumed meteorite. Similarly, the second part of the penalty, being buried underneath Mt. Sipylus, would refer to the explosive effects of the meteorite impact. As was the case with casualties of the recent Chelyabinsk meteorite, Uhha-ziti's reported injuries could have been caused by collateral damage to buildings. The episode also highlights Tantalus' association with Mt. Sipylus, which is worth exploring in the context of Mursili II's Arzawan campaign. The Akpınar monument indicates that, when the edifice was created during the Late Bronze Age, the mountain possessed a religious significance. Since the Hittites carved an intrusive inscription beside the relief, the image and the message it projected evidently existed at the time of Uhha-ziti's conflict with Mursili. If Mt. Sipylus was viewed as a sacred landscape when Uhha-ziti was king of Arzawa, then Tantalus' special connection with the same mountain can be regarded as another factor that aligns the mythical king with the real life monarch.

## **Survival of knowledge**

### *(a) General points*

The question of the survival of historical knowledge from the second to the first millennium BC is crucial to the viability of the pairing of Tantalus and Uhha-ziti. During the latter decades of the fourteenth century BC, groups of Mycenaean Greeks residing throughout the Aegean would have been affected by current affairs in western Anatolia. The destruction of Miletus, then a Mycenaean settlement, by the Hittites *ca.* 1318 BC must have been a critical incident in their lives. In addition to the port's unfortunate inhabitants, it undoubtedly impinged upon their families, friends, and business associates living elsewhere in the region, including mainland Greece. Similarly, the retreat of the Arzawan fugitives to Mt. Arinnanda would have struck a chord in Greece, as the headland marked the boundary of an area of concentrated Mycenaean influence (Niemeier 2005, 16). There is also ceramic evidence for Mycenaean contact with Ephesus and, to a

lesser extent, Puranda, where the Arzawan-Hittite conflict was played out<sup>51</sup>. Although it is almost certain that Uhha-ziti's son, probably Piyama-Kurunta, and his retainers who fled, perhaps as far as mainland Greece, were sent back to Anatolia, less exalted refugees from Mursili's campaign, both Arzawan and Greek, could have stayed. They would have been in a position to spread the alarming tale of the meteorite fall on Ephesus and other developments in western Asia Minor<sup>52</sup>. Dissemination of news of these events was thus neither restricted to the upper echelons of society, nor to individuals with access to written forms of communication.

(b) *Mursili/Myrsilus*

Although 'Arzawa' and 'Uhha-ziti' disappeared from public consciousness, the name of their implacable foe remained in common parlance to a surprising degree. Not only did 'Mursili', like the names of other notable rulers of Hatti, 'Suppiluliuma' and 'Hattusili', surface in the dynasties of Neo-Hittite kingdoms, it enjoyed a broader distribution and deeper significance than comparable examples. The extensive campaigns conducted by Mursili II in western Asia Minor propelled his name into folk history on both sides of the Aegean. 'Mursili' evolved from being a regnal name of the ruling family of Hatti to constituting a generic title, 'Myrsilus', in Greek vocabulary. It denoted authority, derived from the memory of Hittite influence in general and the deeds of the fourteenth-century BC monarch in particular. One instance of 'Myrsilus' relates to sixth-century BC Lesbos, an island with which Tantalus was associated (Hylén 1896, 3, 7) and on which excavation has uncovered a marked level of continuity from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age. Variants of 'Myrsilus' also occur as place names in the east Aegean littoral and, importantly for this study, as the name of a character in Greek mythology. Myrtilus is the pivotal figure in the foremost legend dealing with Tantalus' son, Pelops<sup>53</sup>. Against a backdrop that suggests a pervasive memory of the name and activities of Mursili II, it can be argued that other reminiscences of the period endured. The singular fate of Uhha-ziti, through its transposition into the tragedy of Tantalus, presents a further example of this phenomenon.

(c) *Memories of the meteorite*

Another reason for the survival of 'Mursili/Myrsilus' is the Hittite king's involvement with the *ca.* 1318 BC meteorite, which no doubt conferred an aura

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<sup>51</sup> AT 272-274, 277-278; Niemeier 1998, 40-41; 2005, 14; Gates 1996, 319; Greaves/Helwing 2001, 506; Yildirim/Gates 2007, 290; Kelder 2010, 52, 55-56.

<sup>52</sup> Evidence of continued exchanges between Greece and Anatolia is provided by two tablets from the final phase (*ca.* 1190/1185 BC) of the Late Bronze Age port of Ugarit on the Syrian coast. They show that Mycenaean Greeks based in Lycia had contact with the government in Hattusa until the last years of the Hittite kingdom (RS 94.2523; RS 94.2530; AT 253-262; Mountjoy 2004, 190; Singer 2006, 250-252; Bryce 2010, 47, 51).

<sup>53</sup> Gantz 1996, 541-543; Dale 2011, 18-19, 22, notes 18, 23, 24.

of divine approbation upon him. Given the practical effects of the event and the interpretations placed upon it, the fall of a meteorite on Ephesus at such a decisive moment in international affairs must have created a deep and lasting impression on contemporary populations of the southeast Aegean (del Monte 1993, 64 note 22). The memory of the incident evidently survived in Ephesus until at least the first century AD. According to the New Testament, St. Paul's visit there provoked civil unrest, which a local official sought to placate by reminding the angry crowd of the city's status as the guardian of the icon of the goddess Artemis (Diana), and of the sacred stone that had fallen out of the sky. Since two similar incidents are extremely unlikely to have happened at the same place, even during an interval covering more than a millennium, the cult image in question was almost certainly derived from the fourteenth-century BC meteorite. Moreover, there is evidence that the most probable location for the impact spot of the meteorite, or a portion of it, became sacred ground soon after the incident itself. Fragments of Mycenaean pottery and ceramic figurines of animals found in strata beneath the Artemision at Ephesus prompted Bammer (1990, 141-142, fig. 12) to date the inception of cultic activity there to the latter phases of the Late Bronze Age<sup>54</sup>.

Traditions inspired by the Late Bronze Age meteorite persisted elsewhere in Asia Minor. The late second-to early third-century AD writer Herodian (1.11.1-2; Whittaker 1969, ix) recorded that, in 204 BC, a statue of the *Magna Mater* was brought to Rome from Pessinus. It was alleged to have been thrown down from the sky by Zeus at some point in the past and to have landed near the Anatolian town. No one knew from what kind of material the icon was made: it was said that no human being had created it. The object was, in fact, a stone,

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<sup>54</sup> *Act.Ap.* 19:35; Phythian-Adams 1946, 119-120; Garstang/Gurney 1959, 88; Morris 2001, 138, figs. 1, 2. It is beyond the scope of this paper to consider in detail the cult statue of Artemis *Ephesus*, but some thoughts on the subject are relevant. The sculpture constitutes a more elaborate working of elements present in the icon of Artemis *Pergaea* (Artemis of Perge), which has been viewed as a meteoritic stone. Indeed, since Perge has a Late Bronze Age foundation, being mentioned in Hittite texts, and lies close to the southern coast of Anatolia, the image of its patron goddess could have been created around another fragment of the ca. 1318 BC meteorite (Mansel/Akarca 1949, 64, pl. XVIII, nos. 76, 77; Mellink 1998, 39). Furthermore, certain features (including the enigmatic chest appendages) of statues of Artemis *Ephesia* also occur in representations of Zeus *Labrandeus*. The god's sanctuary at Labranda, in southwest Asia Minor, is dominated by a cleft dome of rock, the focal point of an ancient sacred landscape. Although this natural feature was formed by gradual erosion, its appearance suggests the stone was shattered by a cataclysmic event. It is understandable that prehistoric people apparently identified this as a blow from the Sky-god's sacred double axe (Morris 2001, 141, fig. 4; Karlsson 2013, 180-188, figs. 6, 7). The similarity of form demonstrated by images of Artemis *Ephesia* and Zeus *Labrandeus* is thus attributable to a common heritage derived from cosmic events (and perceived incidents of that nature). While the exact significance of the decorative components of the cult statue of Artemis *Ephesia* remains elusive, it can therefore be concluded, from comparison with images of Artemis *Pergaea* and Zeus *Labrandeus*, that they referred in some way to untoward celestial phenomena.

light enough in weight to be carried by Roman matrons<sup>55</sup>. Pessinus (Sivrihisar) has been identified as Hittite Sallapa, which Mursili II reached soon after observing the transit of the cosmic missile overhead (Garstang 1943, 40-41; Garstang/Gurney 1959, 76-77). In view of the town's position, close to the apparent trajectory path of the *ca.* 1318 BC meteorite, it is conceivable that the so-called statue of the *Magna Mater* was a fragment of that celestial object. Herodian follows his reference to the image of the Great Goddess with an account of a battle near Pessinus between Tantalus the Lydian and Ilus the Phrygian (*cf.* D.S. 4.74.4). Mursili II fought the Arzawans at Walma, about eighty kilometres south of Pessinus/Sallapa, shortly after leaving the town and witnessing the extraordinary manifestation in the sky. If the Pessinus stone was a fragment of the Late Bronze Age meteorite, Herodian unwittingly relayed a summary of the incidents (meteorite then battle) that took place in the vicinity of the town towards the end of the fourteenth century BC. Intriguingly, he connected Tantalus with the military engagement.

### Conclusion

Two main findings result from the investigation of Greek myths and Hittite texts carried out in this article. Firstly, it has been possible to demonstrate that a passage in the Annals of Mursili II almost certainly describes the transit of a meteorite across Asia Minor *ca.* 1318 BC. At least two fragments of the meteorite may have been recovered (at Ephesus and Pessinus) and venerated as holy objects for over a millennium<sup>56</sup>. The late fourteenth-century BC event may well have reinforced contemporary belief in celestial deities and could therefore be significant for the development of religious thought in prehistoric Anatolia. At Ephesus, it possibly inspired a cult that evolved into the worship of Artemis Ephesia, whose temple became one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The extraordinary, even momentous, nature of the cosmic incident probably left a political legacy as well, playing a large part in the creation of a folk memory of Mursili II throughout the east Aegean.

Secondly, there is a strong likelihood that the legendary Tantalus, king of Lydia, was based upon the real life Uhha-ziti, king of Arzawa. Acknowledgement of this association sets an important precedent, as it allows that certain narratives in Greek myth were derived from historical circumstance. Although such a conclusion has far reaching implications, in many ways the pairing of these two characters constitutes a special case. On this occasion, the curious nature of the legends involved and the detail supplied by the Hittite texts facilitated comparisons. Generally, when a particular myth displays similar features to an attested historical episode, the relevant sources contain insufficient data to enable a rigorous analysis to take

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<sup>55</sup> Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 199. The stone was eventually housed in the Temple of Cybele (whose pediment is depicted on the *Ara Pietatis* altar) on the Palatine Hill (Liv. 29.10, 11, 14; Ov. *Fast.* 4.247-248).

<sup>56</sup> A third fragment may have been worshipped as the icon of Artemis *Pergaea* until the Roman Imperial era (see note 51).

place. The Trojan War is the prime example of this impasse: though a factual basis is often assumed, no suitable situation has yet been determined.

Overall, mythology remains an ephemeral field of study; even the connection of Tantalus with Uhha-ziti, for which so much support has been marshalled here, cannot be proved conclusively. Yet, while no archaeologist of the twenty-first century is likely to follow the approach of Heinrich Schliemann who, relying on Homer and Pausanias, found the walls of Troy – if, indeed, he did find those: also see Kolb elsewhere in this issue – and the gold of Mycenae, there may be a continuing role for tradition in exploration of the past. Awareness of context obtained from legend may still inform today's more scientific excavators. Certainly, the Late Bronze Age structures on Ayasülük Hill, Ephesus, which have been identified as the remains of Uhha-ziti's citadel, may be regarded as the palace of Tantalus<sup>57</sup>.

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### ABBREVIATIONS AND DATES

*AT* = Beckman, G.M./T.R. Bryce/E.H. Cline (eds.) 2011: *The Ahhiyawa Text* (series: Writings from the Ancient World 28), Atlanta, GA,

*CTH* = Laroche, E. 1971: *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, Paris.

*KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, various editors and authors, (Heft 1, 1921→), Berlin.

*LSJ* = Liddell, H.G./R. Scott/H. Stuart Jones/R. McKenzie (eds.) 1956 (9th edition): *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford.

*RS* = Ras Shamra text, cited by inventory number (Güterbock, H.G./H.A. Hoffner 1957: *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*, Chicago, IL; see <<https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/CHDP.pdf>>).

*StoBotT* = *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Alten Orient der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1965→, Mainz/Wiesbaden.

Dates of Hittite kings are taken from Bryce (2005, xv) and absolute chronology of Late Helladic ceramic periods and their relationship with Hittite history from Mountjoy (1998, 46). The identification of Hittite place names with locations in Asia Minor follows the scheme for Hittite geography proposed by Hawkins (1998). Classical Greek toponyms from Anatolia are taken from Calder/Bean (1958). Abbreviations of classical authors and their works are taken from Liddell, H.G./R. Scott/H. Stuart Jones/R. McKenzie (eds.) 1996 (9th edition): *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, and Glare, P.G.W. 2000: *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford.

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<sup>57</sup> *AT* 46; Büyükkolancı 2000, 39; Bryce 2005, 444 note 9.

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A NEW SIGNED CORINTHIAN *ARYBALLOS*

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*In this paper we discuss a Corinthian aryballos, which is said to have been found in Thessaly. The presence of a potter's and/or painter's signature on this finely potted and elaborately decorated early sixth-century aryballos potentially added to the socioeconomic value of the pot in ancient times. The name 'Laphilos' could indicate a master painter of quatrefoil aryballoi that perhaps relate to the Liebieghaus Group.*

**Introduction**

Corinthian *aryballoi* are one of the most abundant ceramic find categories of the Archaic period in the Greek mainland and in locations across the Mediterranean basin. Although these closed shapes, featuring a narrow neck aperture and a broad mouthplate, were suited to holding (scented) oil, they could also have been traded, dedicated, and buried as empty containers (Payne 1931, 5 note 3; Parko 2001, 59; Stissi 2003, 78; Kunisch 2006, 193 note 13; Neeft 2006, 105 note 5)<sup>1</sup>. In this article, we discuss an unpublished early sixth-century BC<sup>2</sup> piece that was probably found in Thessaly and is kept today in a private collection in Athens (Ephorate of Private Archaeological Collections EAIAΣ 72)<sup>3</sup>. The *aryballos* bears a common, yet exceptionally detailed, quatrefoil motif and an unparalleled painted inscription by (or on behalf of) its maker (Fig. 1). The likely Thessalian provenance is also of interest, especially because the Archaic period is largely under-represented in Thessaly and a systematic study of Corinthian pottery in Thessaly is lagging behind in the literature.

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<sup>1</sup> For perfumes, see Frère 2008, 210 and Lambrugo 2013, 317-342.

<sup>2</sup> All subsequent dates are BC.

<sup>3</sup> Maria Papageorgiou will publish more Corinthian *aryballoi* from this collection.

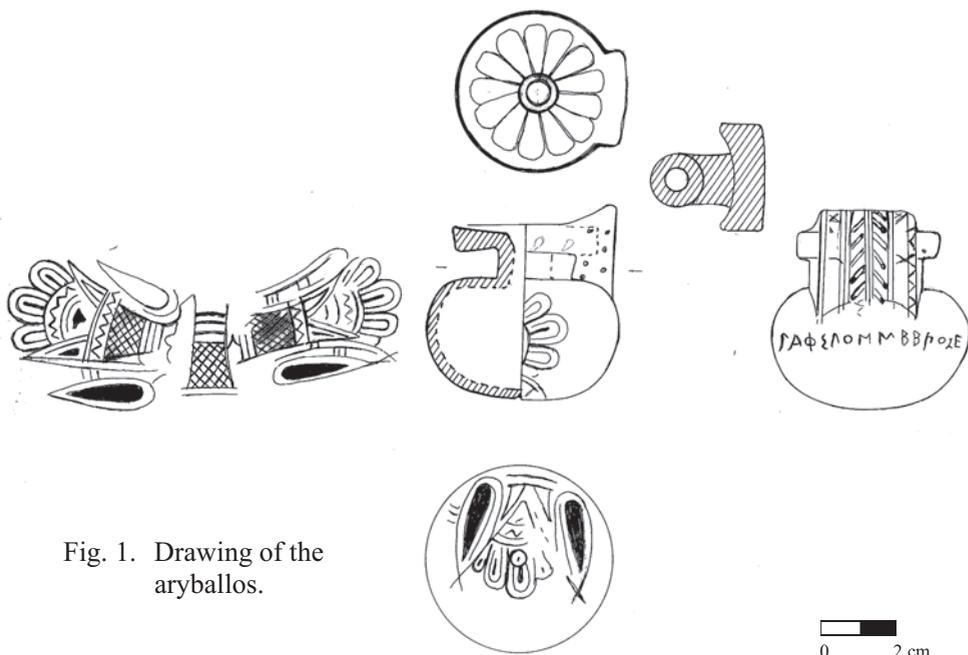


Fig. 1. Drawing of the aryballos.

### Description

*Condition.* The *aryballos* has survived unbroken and is complete except for a chip of 1 cm in length at the junction of the handle with the mouthplate. The present owner informed us that, nearly a century ago, farmers used to bring ancient pottery they recovered in their fields to her father, who owned a company of agricultural machinery at Volos. The chip, most likely, is a scar caused by a sharp agricultural tool hitting the *aryballos*. A large part of the *aryballos*' surfaces is covered by encrustations. These are solidified light soils (clays), which are common in the fertile Thessalian plains.

*Shape.* This small round (or ball) *aryballos* measures 5.0 cm in height and 5.1 cm in diameter and is of Payne's shape A (Payne 1931, 287). The globular body of the *aryballos* is not completely spherical but slightly compressed and features a small round indentation at the centre of its flat underside. The *aryballos*, therefore, balances well in upright position.

The flat strap handle, as one would expect for *aryballoi* of this shape, is visually prominent and large (height: 2.8 cm; width: 3.2 cm; and thickness: 1.0 cm). Yet the handle is much heavier than that usually seen on other *aryballoi*, and its upwards sloping part is quite exceptional and constitutes an elaborate element. The mouthplate has a slightly concave top, 3.9 cm in diameter, growing to a depth of 4.3 cm where the heavy handle is added to it, and its side is 0.7 cm high. The aperture of the neck measures 0.9 cm and the external diameter of the neck is 1.3 cm.



Fig. 2. The herringbone pattern on the handle.



Fig. 3. The elaborate quatrefoil motif.

*Surface.* The surface of the *aryballos* is smooth and largely unscratched, indicating repeated burnishing by the potter and little use by the vase owner(s). The clay fabric is fine, resulting from thorough purification and kneading of the clay, and its yellowish pale ivory colour is typical of Corinthian wares. In addition to the potter, the painter of the *aryballos* - who may have been an individual other than the potter - also invested time in its manufacture by applying the brownish black and added purple clay paint with confident brush strokes. All decoration is in the outline technique without any incisions. Unfortunately, almost all of the paint has flaked off by now.

*Decoration.* The mouthplate features a rosette with 13 petals bounded by a line at the edge of the rim and another running around the mouth aperture (Fig. 1)<sup>4</sup>. A dense cross-hatching pattern decorates the vertical side of the rim and the surface of the handle at the mouthplate. Each of the narrow sides of the handle shows two vertical rows of short strokes, sloping upwards towards the centre. The rendering of the stripes creates an unpainted area between them. A similar herringbone pattern, bordered by three vertical lines, is drawn at the centre of the handle (Figs. 1 and 2). The decoration of the handle extends onto the globular body, possibly indicating lack of precision on the part of the painter.

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<sup>4</sup> Dirt and encrustation hinder the identification of any paint inside the mouth that would have facilitated the smooth flow of oil.

The main ornament of the *aryballos* appears at the front, opposite the handle, as well as at the sides and base. It is a quatrefoil motif where the spreading quadruple lotus consists of four calyxes with petals and four large ovoid-shaped leaves (Figs. 1, 3, and 4).

### Commentary

When emptying its oily contents, the *aryballos* could be held upside down, as shown in Attic vase paintings that date to the late sixth and early fifth century, such as a red-figured *krater* attributed to Euphronios (Berlin F2180, Schöne-Denkinger 2009, pl. 21.2-3; *BAD* 200063)<sup>5</sup> and a red-figured *kylix* attributed to Makron (Peccioli 244410, Bruni 2009, 235, fig. 3). For our top-heavy flask, the large handle and rim facilitated its handling and manipulation. The user could rest his/her thumb on the upwards slopping upper part of the handle to dispense small amounts of oil.

The lotus motif is reminiscent of the type of quadruple lotuses that came into being under Oriental influence in the Protocorinthian period (Payne 1931, 147 fig. 54B). However, the elongated bracts of the lotuses and the loose circumscribed leaves bear more resemblance to later variants (Payne 1931, 147, fig. 54C and, especially, 54D). All parallels we could find are simpler, as exemplified by those on two *aryballoi* excavated in Caere and Berezan respectively (Zurich 2449, Isler 1973, pl. 4.10-15; St. Petersburg B.78-93, Bukina 2009, pl. 21.5). Apparently, our *aryballos* shows an unusually elaborate motif.

Humfry Payne dated *aryballoi* with elaborate quatrefoils, his type NC 485A, to the Middle Corinthian (MC) period (*ca.* 600-575)<sup>6</sup>, a chronology generally accepted by other scholars. The ‘degenerate’ type of quatrefoil *aryballoi* (NC 1263), which already begins in the MC period, encompasses innumerable mass-produced pieces (Payne 1931, 321; Ure 1934, 43; Amyx 1988, 443). The particularly elaborate pattern of our *aryballos* gives rise to two possibilities. First, the principle that the motif deteriorates with time could imply that the *aryballos* is early in the sequence. Second, this particular *aryballos* may have served as a showpiece for a painter and/or workshop owner who also practised and/or coordinated the contemporary less laborious execution of quatrefoils on other *aryballoi*. For Attic figured pottery, for which the scholarly identification of painters’ hands is in general more advanced than for Corinthian wares, the same painter could embrace a refined and a cursory drawing style for different vases (Smith 2014, 144). Thus, we would date the *aryballos* early in the sixth century only tentatively.

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<sup>5</sup> In the database of the Beazley Archive <<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>> *BAD* refers to the vase number.

<sup>6</sup> For a lower date of MC wares, based on assemblages of Corinthian and Attic pottery from graves at Sindos, see Tiverios 1985-86, 80. We are grateful to Stefanos Gimatzidis for this reference.



Fig. 4. The motif on the underside of the *aryballos*.

Is it possible to assign our *aryballos* to a painter or group? Some MC quatrefoil *aryballoi* show a female's head facing left on the backside of the handle and either a star or a wheel on the body below the handle. A quatrefoil *aryballos* from Italy, for example, is similar to our piece in terms of the decoration on the mouthplate and the side of the rim, yet shows a woman's head on the handle and a wheel below it (Rennes D.863.1.7, Laurens/Touchefeu 1979, pl. 9.3-4; Touchefeu-Meynier 2004). Darrell Amyx classified *aryballoi* with these characteristics under the Liebieghaus Group (Amyx/Lawrence 1975, 32; Amyx 1988, 164-165; Neeft 1991, 49-50). He observed, however, that for some *aryballoi* the drawing is of a high standard and/or the compositions are distinct, and hence he posited that these pieces relate only remotely to this group. In actual fact, *aryballoi* of the Liebieghaus Group are not the only types of elaborate quatrefoil *aryballoi* (NC 484-485A): Kees Neeft has isolated three distinct hands and two groups, one of them being the Group of Zürich 2449, but it remains unclear whether all of these belong to one workshop<sup>7</sup>.

The absence of the typical characteristics of the Liebieghaus Group on our piece could reflect a painter's willingness to mix and match familiar and less familiar visual elements. As such, the reserved rosette and cross-hatching pattern on the rim generated the impression of a visually standardised quatrefoil *aryballos*. The elaborate quadruple lotus motif, the herringbone, and the inscription, however, all communicated to prospective vase buyers that this *aryballos* was unusual. Unique MC *aryballoi* include a recently published find from Isthmia, which bears a cinquefoil and a figural scene (Isthmia IP 2429, Arafat 2008, fig. A.1). A further unparalleled *aryballos*, excavated at Corinth, shows a swan with raised

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<sup>7</sup> K. Neeft, personal communication.

wings, the drawing of which undoubtedly takes cues from a quatrefoil motif (Corinth CP-1972, Amyx 1996, pl. 20.76). Clearly, *aryballoi* of shape A, regardless of whether or not they belong to the Liebieghaus Group, exhibit more varied decoration than Payne postulated (see Arafat 2008, 56). Whether our *aryballos* then relates to the Liebieghaus Group remains unresolved. We now turn to an examination of the *aryballos*' inscription, which suggests a piece with a special purpose.

### The inscription

The same brownish black paint has been used for the inscription as for the quatrefoil and other ornaments, thus suggesting that the writer was also the painter of this *aryballos*. This contention is strengthened by the comparable thickness of the brushstrokes for the inscription and for most of the lines of the quadruple lotus. Although the paint for the letters has faded (Figs. 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7), the inscription is legible and reads 'Laphilos made me' (ΛΑΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕ ΕΠΟΙΕ). The height of the letters ranges from 2 mm for the *omicrons* to 6 mm for the *phi*. For most letters, the height is 4 or 5 mm (4 mm: the *alpha*, the *san*, the *mu*, the first two *epsilons*, and the second *iota*; 5 mm: the *lambdas*, the first *iota*, the *pi*, and the last *epsilon*). The inscription appears at 0.3-0.4 cm below the handle and runs horizontally from left to right. This direction was common for Early Corinthian (EC) inscriptions (Jeffery 1990, 117), suggesting a date early in the MC period for our *aryballos*. The quatrefoil motif was probably completed before painting the inscription. The gap between the lotus petals and the beginning of the inscription on the left is 0.8 cm. On the right, however, only 0.1 cm separates the last letter from the lotus petals. Despite the thoughtful drawing of inscriptions on Archaic pottery in general (Osborne/Pappas 2007), the artisan in this case ran out of space and wrote with some haste.

The letter forms are typical of Corinthian script (Jeffery 1990, 114), implying that the writer was a Corinthian and not a foreigner living in Corinth. In particular, the two *iotas* are of the early four-stroke form (Amyx 1988, 549; Jeffery 1990, 115; Wachter 2001, 228), the first two *epsilons* are of the sharply angled *beta*-looking type (Jeffery's type ε2 and ε1, in the order they appear), and the last *epsilon* (Jeffery's type ε3) is the distinct type Corinthian script used for the long e-vowel (Arena 1967, 127-128; Lorber 1979, 96-97; Jeffery 1990, 114-115; Wachter 2001, 243). Furthermore, the *alpha* is Jeffery's type α3, which occurs before 550, and the two *omicrons* are small, as one would expect for Corinthian inscriptions (Jeffery 1990, 116). The two *lambdas*, the *phi*, and the *mu* are all of an early date, and specifically Jeffery's types λ1, φ1, and μ1. The *pi* need not be discussed, since the Corinthians used just one type. Finally, the 90° clock-wise 'Σ' is the *san*, which gave way to *sigma* only in the early fifth century (Jeffery 1990, 116).

Although the letters are neat, they are more cursive and smaller than those in vase inscriptions of the EC period (see Jeffery 1990, 126). The letter forms



Fig. 5. Part of the inscription reading ‘ΛΑΦΙΛΟΣ’.



Fig. 6. Part of the inscription reading ‘ΜΕΠΠΟΙΕ’.



Fig. 7. The three dots below the *san* of the inscription.

resemble those in a dedicatory inscription, which is yet to be read with certainty, on a Late EC/Early MC round *aryballos* imitating a Corinthian prototype from the Delian sanctuary on Paros (Paros 4; Rubensohn 1962, 121-124; Detoratu 2003-09, note 205, fig. 191). Even more so, the letters of our inscription, and their size in relation to that of the *aryballos*, are comparable to those appearing on a bespoke MC *aryballos* of similar dimensions that shows a dance performance and a swirling long inscription (Corinth C-54-1, Roebuck/Roebuck 1955, pl. 63). As for this bespoke *aryballos* (see Osborne/Pappas 2007, 145-146), the presence of writing on our piece was integral to the visual impact of the vase. While most Corinthian vase inscriptions date from 580-550 (Wachter 2001, 34), our inscription is earlier and as a rare feature it may have contributed to the prestige of this *aryballos*. How could we interpret the inscription?

The content, ‘Laphilos made me’, would suggest a signature by the potter and/or painter. Signatures, however, are rare on Corinthian ceramics (Lorber 1979, 125-126), where inscriptions generally label the individuals, animals, and other creatures of the figural scene (Amyx 1988, 548). Based on Fritz Lorber’s seminal study, signatures appear on only 5 Corinthian pots and *pinakes* (Lorber 1979, 109)<sup>8</sup>. Another early MC quatrefoil *aryballos* shows, on the broad surface of the handle, a female head, perhaps a hetaira’s<sup>9</sup>, near whose mouth we find the words

<sup>8</sup> A potter’s signature also appears on a Protocorinthian candlestick excavated in Ithaka and bearing an inscription in non-Corinthian script (Robertson 1948, 89; Lorber 1979, 12.7).

<sup>9</sup> Such busts could relate to maturation rites for young women of status (Klinger 2009).

‘I am Aineta’, whilst below the handle appear 9 names of men, in all probability Aineta’s admirers (Wachter 2001, 47-48.COR 18, 280; Gerleigner 2012, 99). Furthermore, four Late Corinthian (LC) quatrefoil *aryballoi*, all made in the same workshop and bearing simpler quatrefoils than our specimen, feature short inscriptions with individuals’ names (Pottier 1929, pl. 5.3-4; Arena 1967, 90-91.37-40, pl. 10-11.1-2; Wachter 2001, 66-67.COR 47-50). These inscriptions are dedications produced to order, rather than signatures (Wachter 2001, 281). On present evidence, a parallel to our signed quatrefoil *aryballos* is missing.

The name ‘Laphilos’ is unknown amongst Attic and non-Attic vase inscriptions, yet it occurs in epigraphic evidence from Argolis, Lakonia, Boiotia, and Phokis (Fraser/Matthews 1997, 269; 2000, 256, s.v. Λάφιλος)<sup>10</sup>. The cognate name in Attic/Ionic script would be ‘Leophilos’, which is also uncommon<sup>11</sup>. Thucydides mentions a certain Laphilos, who is otherwise unheard of, as one of the Spartan signatories of peace treaties with Athens in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian War (*Thuc.* 5.19.2; Gomme 1956, 679). Amyx refrained from identifying painters’ hands within the Liebieghaus Group. On this piece, nonetheless, we could have the name of a painter, and possibly master, for a sequence of quatrefoil *aryballoi*. The second word, the direct object ‘με’ refers to the *aryballos* itself and, unsurprisingly for Corinthian vase inscriptions, there is no elision between ‘ME’ and ‘ΕΠΟΙΕ’ (see Wachter 2001, 246).

Concerning the third word, the verb ‘ποιέω’ (to create) is unusual for Corinthian vase inscriptions (see Lorber 1979, 131; Amyx 1988, 661; Wachter 2001, 367). The exact reading of ‘ΕΠΟΙΕ’ gives rise to different possible interpretations of the inscription<sup>12</sup>. On the one hand, the lack of available space could have forced the writer to omit the ending ‘-ΣΕ’ from ‘ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ’ in the aorist<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, as we mentioned above, the last ‘E’ of the inscription (Jeffery’s type ε3) differs from the preceding two (Jeffery’s types ε2 and ε1 respectively). Evidently, the last *epsilon* here stands for the diphthong *epsilon iota* so that the third word would be in the imperfect tense ‘ΕΠΟΙΕΙ’. In this case, the inscription is complete and the writer intentionally chose the imperfect. The ending ‘-ΕΙ’ can be seen in a sixth-century engraved inscription in Corinthian script reading ‘ΠΙΛΟΣ Μ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ’<sup>14</sup> in retrograde on a roof tile that was found in a house at Arta, north-western Greece (Pliakou/Kontogianni 1997, 568, pl. 210a; Whitley 2002-03, 57-58, fig. 99)<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> The name ‘Λάφιλος’ is not attested in any volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Compare to John D. Beazley’s comment about Sophilos’ name (Beazley 1956, 37).

<sup>11</sup> A.W. Johnston, personal communication.

<sup>12</sup> For interpreting the third word, special thanks are due to Georg Gerleigner.

<sup>13</sup> For the absence of *nu ephelkystikon* in non-Ionic script, see Wachter 2001, 234.

<sup>14</sup> Our reading, based on the image in Whitley 2002-03, 58, fig. 99.

<sup>15</sup> We are grateful to Alan W. Johnston and Georgia Pliakou for these references.

According to some scholars, including Amyx and Lorber, the verb in a signature by Timonidas on a MC flask is also in the imperfect and reads ‘ΕΓΡΑΦΕ’ (Athens 277; Lorber 1979, 37-38-40; Amyx 1988, 564). Rudolf Wachter, however, considers the badly preserved second letter from the end a *psi*, so that the verb reads ‘ΕΓΡΑΨΕ’ in the aorist (Wachter 2001, 56). Apparently, the imperfect in our inscription is rare for Corinthian wares. It is more frequent on Attic vases, yet these date to a later period than our *aryballos* and comparisons may not be appropriate<sup>16</sup>.

Three vertical dots appear below the *san* of the inscription (Fig. 7). The dots have been drawn carefully and cannot be accidental splashes of wet clay paint. They could be yet another decorative element, perhaps directing a vase viewer’s attention to the presence of writing. Alternatively, the three dots could be punctuation, even though punctuation is exceptionally rare amongst Corinthian inscriptions (Jeffery 1990, 116). Furthermore, it is uncommon to have punctuation below a vase inscription<sup>17</sup>. Punctuation consisting of three painted dots appears in the abecedarium of a LC(?) *aryballos* at Athens (Canellopoulos 1319; Amyx 1988, 568.51; Wachter 2001, 68.COR 51) and in a dedicatory inscription on a fragment from a large vase (Corinth C-70-352; Amyx 1988, 593.127).

Unlike the large-scale production of specific decorative schemas, such as that of the quatrefoil motif, painted inscriptions were neither devised nor copied *en masse*. Even by copying the inscription the writer would have aimed to create a show piece, perhaps advertising his drawing and writing skills as the proprietor of a large workshop specialising in the manufacture of quatrefoil *aryballoi*. If so, the signature would have raised the monetary value of the *aryballos* and thus its marketability in foreign places. It is with a Thessalian audience in mind that we examine below the occurrence of this Corinthian flask in Thessaly.

### Corinthian pottery in Thessaly

As with all items in private collections, caution about findspots is pertinent. A

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<sup>16</sup> In Henry Immerwahr’s *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions* (CAVI), there are 10 vases, all from the later sixth century, where ‘ΕΠΟΙΕΙ’ appears in a non-fragmentary form (CAVI nos. 950, 2067a, 2351, 3253, 3621, 4590, 5301, 6379, 6760, and 8162). The word ‘[Ε]ΓΡΑΦΕ(N)’ is shown on another 8 Attic vases, ranging in date from *ca.* 525 to the end of the fifth century (CAVI nos. 60, 207, 1288, 2050, 2387, 2579, 2689, and 4420). In addition, a late sixth-century red-figured *alabastron* bears two incised inscriptions reading ‘ἡλινος εποιε’ and ‘Φσιαχς εγραφε’ (CAVI no. 5790). CAVI version of January 2009, accessed 26 November 2012, available from <<http://avi.unibas.ch/home.html>>.

<sup>17</sup> R. Osborne, personal communication.

<sup>18</sup> In the earliest twentieth century, Konstantinos Glavanis, a person with the same surname as the collector, helped with the financing of trial excavations at Pagasai (Demetrias), the protection of antiquities, and the publication of a book about the archaeological museum of Volos (Arvanitopoulos 1909, 9-10).

Thessalian provenance for this *aryballos*, nonetheless, seems likely, given the collector's testimony about farmers bringing antiquities to her father in Volos<sup>18</sup>. The fine preservation of the *aryballos* suggests that it was found in a grave, rather than a deposit containing cleared domestic or dedicatory pottery. The exact Thessalian findspot remains unknown. A future scientific analysis of the encrustation and dirt, and comparisons with the chemical and geological composition of local soils, could assist in determining, albeit only in broad terms, a region in Thessaly as the potential findspot.

How does our *aryballos* fare within the context of other Corinthian pottery found in Thessaly? Archaic evidence in Thessaly is generally scarce and/or not well preserved (for example, see Stissi 2004, 116; Frussu 2008, 77; Pikoulas, 2009). In addition, there exist no comprehensive studies about the distribution of Corinthian wares in Thessaly. Despite these limitations, brief excavation reports mention Corinthian *aryballoi* and other Corinthian shapes in various Thessalian locations. In eastern Thessaly, these include:

- Nea Ionia, Volos (Rontiri 1993a, pl. 77; Volos K 731, Batziou-Efstathiou 2004, 136)
- Spartias-Latomeion, 9 kilometres west of Volos (Stamelou/Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 166, 177, fig. 15.a-c)
- Pherai (Arvanitopoulos 1926, 108; Morgan 2003, 92, 95; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2008, 241)
- Larisa and its wider ambit (Tziafalias 1975; 1984, 150; Galles 1972; Hanschmann 1981, 120; Volos K 2997, Batziou-Efstathiou 2004, 135)
- Phthiotic Thebes (Arvanitopoulos 1908, 180)
- Almyros (Malakasioti 1992, 233, pl. 70a)
- Pharsalos (Verdelis 1952, 202-203)

In western Thessaly, which has received less investigation and publication, Corinthian pottery is reported, for example, at:

- Ktouri (Morgan 2003, 89, with references)
- Orphana (Rontiri, 1993b)
- Kedros Karditsas (Kastanis' collection, Entry Book of the Archaeological Museum of Volos)<sup>19</sup>

Notwithstanding its visual uniqueness, our *aryballos* was one of numerous Corinthian ceramics reaching Thessaly in ancient times. Contrary to notions of isolation in traditional scholarship, the people living in Thessaly were integrated

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<sup>19</sup> We would like to thank Aimilia Kalogianni and Charalambos Intzesiloglou for this information.

with far-reaching trade networks that supplied imported pottery to Greek, Aegean, and Mediterranean destinations (see Volioti, *forthcoming*). Quatrefoil *aryballoi*, in particular, were distributed widely and in all directions of maritime travel emanating from Corinth (Martelli 1972, 23-24, with references) and it is not surprising to find them in Thessaly.

### Concluding remarks

Within the large corpus of MC quatrefoil *aryballoi*, our flask is significant for its elaborate and finely executed decoration, its rare potter's and/or painter's signature, and its probable Thessalian provenance. Scholars of Corinthian and Attic pottery have traditionally paid more attention to pieces showing figural scenes than those bearing patterned decoration. The deterioration of quatrefoils on sixth-century round *aryballoi* (Payne 1931, 147-148, 320-321; Ure 1934, 43-45) reflects painters' tendency towards increasing haste in decoration. Despite this trend, some time in the early sixth century a Corinthian vase painter decided to write his, or another individual's, name on a quatrefoil rather than a figured *aryballos*. In all likelihood, the painter's decision was not random. Inscriptions on figured *aryballoi* would normally appear in the area of the figural scene. For quatrefoil *aryballoi*, by contrast, writing could occupy its own designated space below the handle. In this manner, the painter could advertise more successfully the name 'Laphilos' whilst communicating to the vase viewer the decorative effects of writing as distinct from those of ornamental patterns.

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SOME CLUES OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD  
AND THE ROMAN EAST HIDDEN IN CHINA'S  
*EARLY FOUR HISTORICAL BOOKS\**

Yang Juping 杨巨平

*The contacts between China and the Hellenistic world may trace back to the establishment of the Silk Road. From the Chinese diplomat Zhang Qian (2nd century BC) onwards, many Chinese and foreign envoys, merchants, and even monks to and fro between Central China and the Western Regions (Xiyu, 西域) as far as the Mediterranean and India, brought information of Roman and Hellenistic Civilization into China. Reflections of messages and oral reports are to be found in the early Chinese official historical books. Although the records about them are sometimes confused, ambiguous, or even anachronistic, they actually provide first-hand information about the Western Regions where Greek and Roman culture once prevailed. This article will focus on the records about the Western Regions in the so-called Early Four Historical Books (前四史) and try to discern the clues hidden in them which contain the information of Hellenistic and Roman world and the courses and the way by which this kind of information was brought into China and eventually mingled with the main stream of Chinese historical and cultural tradition.*

**Introduction**

The so-called “*Early Four Historical Books*” consist of *Shiji* (史記) by Sima Qian (司馬遷), *Hanshu* (漢書) by Ban Gu (班固), *Houhanshu* (後漢書) by Fa Ye (範曄), and *Sanguozhi* (三國志) by Chen Shou (陳壽). One particular chapter in Sima Qian’s work is devoted to the introduction of historical events and countries, peoples, and kingdoms in the Western Regions, i.e. the areas from the west of China to the Mediterranean. From Sima Qian onwards, the inclusion of one or more chapters focusing on the affairs of the Western Region in Chinese formal historical books became standard. The reasons for this are as follows: on the one hand, there had been a continuous link between Central China and the Western Regions, regardless of changes in the political situations

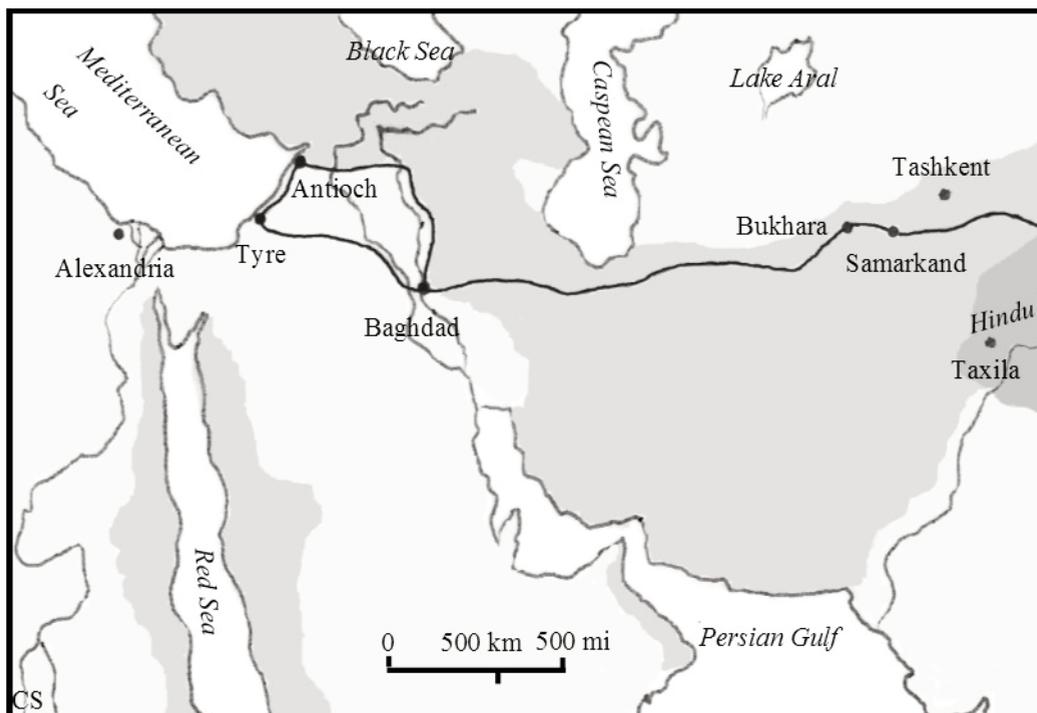
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in both China and in the local regions, and on the other hand, Chinese knowledge of the Western Regions increasingly grew as time went by. The periods of the former and later Han dynasties and the Three Kingdoms largely coincide with the Hellenistic period and the ages of the empires of Kushan, Parthia, and Rome that coexisted from the first century AD onwards. These three empires occupied the lands of the former Hellenistic kingdoms and became the natural successors of Hellenistic Civilization. The Silk Road covered all the mentioned areas. The chapters about the Western Regions in the “*Early Four Historical books*” most probably contained much useful information about Hellenistic and Roman Civilizations and could provide some clues about the exchanges of all kinds between China and other civilizations.

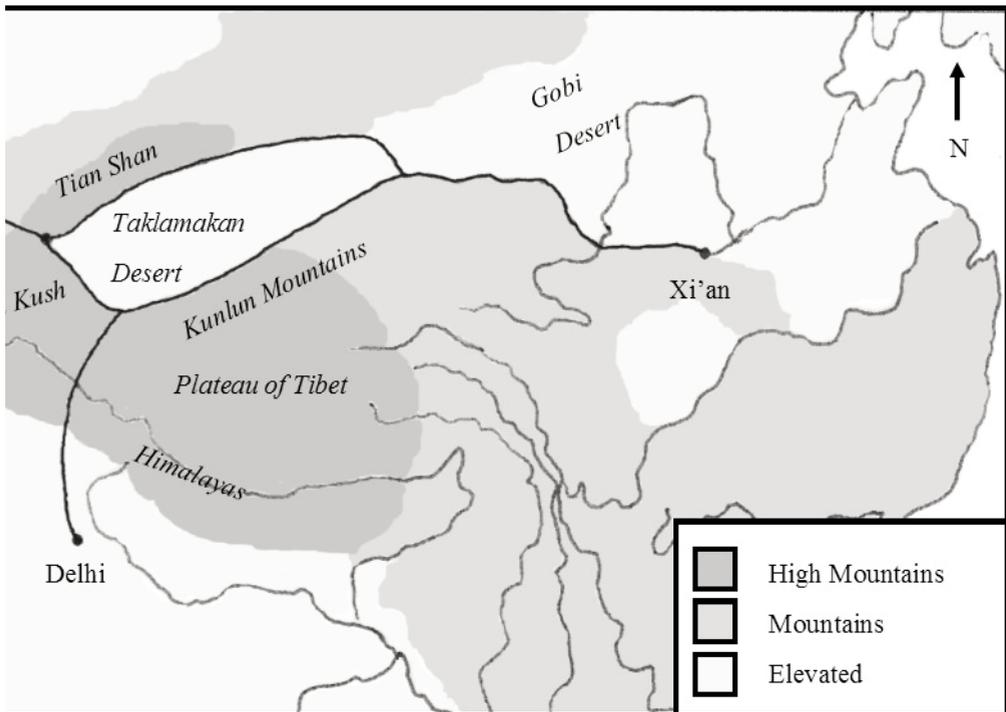
**The description of Greco-Bactria and philhellenic Parthia in “Dayuan Liezhuan” in *Shiji* (“大宛列傳 Collective Biographies of Dayuan” in the *Records of the Grand Scribe*)**

All records about the Western Regions beyond Congling (蔥嶺, Onion Range, the Pamir Mountains) in the later three books of the “*Early Four Historical Books*” are based on the “*Collective Biographies of Dayuan*” in *Shiji*. That chapter contains a report to the Emperor Hanwu Di (漢武帝, ruling 141-87 BC) from Zhang Qian (張騫), an envoy to unite the Dayuezhi (大月氏), a nomad



people from today's Gansu province of China, against the Xiongnu (匈奴), a nomadic people living on the steppes of North and Northwest-China. Although his mission failed, he brought back home first-hand information about the Western Regions. The first country he visited after he escaped from the Xiongnu was Dayuan (大宛). From there, he was led to Kangju (康居) by a guide from Dayuan, whereafter he arrived in Dayuezhi. By that time Dayuezhi had subdued Daxia and settled in the North of Amu River. Daixa, according to Zhang Qian in his report, was reduced to a dependent state South of the Amus under the rule of Dayuezhi (Sima 1959, 3157-3158). Dayuan is generally identified with the area of Fergana, Kangju with the Valley of the Zarafshan River and the land at two sides of the Syr River. If we accept this geographical and political situation, the areas within Bactria and Sogdiana passed along by Zhang Qian, were conquered and ruled by Alexander, the Seleucid kingdom and the Greco-Bactrian kingdom successively. Zhang Qian also heard of one large country, Anxi (安息), to the East of Dayuezhi, which has been identified with Parthia. The latter also had been a province of the Empire of Alexander and, thereafter, the Seleucid kingdom. Almost in the same time (in the middle of the third century BC) both Bactria and Parthia became independent from the Seleucid kingdom. It must be

Fig. 1. Silk route. Drawing: Clio Stronk.



noticed, however, that the founders of the Parthian kingdom were not Greeks but Parthians. Parthia's rulers were conscious of Hellenistic culture and called themselves "the lovers of Greeks or Greek culture" (Philhellenes)<sup>1</sup>. Zhang Qian ignorantly entered this world, which was new for him. What Zhang Qian saw and heard in the Western Regions might have been the remains of Hellenistic civilization<sup>2</sup>.

Above all, Zhang Qian seems to have been surprised about the enormous amount of towns and cities in Dayuan, Bactria, and Anxi. There were more than seventy walled towns and cities both large and small in Dayuan, and several hundreds in Anxi, and some in Bactria (Sima 1959, 3160; 3162; 3164). The records have been confirmed by classical authors and by modern archaeological discoveries. Alexander the Great and his successor Seleucus I had founded many Greek cities, colonies or settlements, and garrisons in Central Asia, India, and Western Asia, some of which would have been in Bactria<sup>3</sup>. According to Strabo, the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides once ruled "a thousand cities"<sup>4</sup>. Although these records need to be further verified, especially the allegation of "the country of One thousand Cities" must be an exaggeration, some of them already existed and, by the time of Zhang Qian's arrival, became prosperous. Zhang Qian might have visited these cities, whether or not there were still Greek inhabitants in them. The best example as the site of a Greek city is Ai Khanum in Afghanistan (Bernard, 1982; cf. Yang 2007c). The site was located in the northeast of Afghanistan along the modern Amu River (ancient Oxus River). Greek theater, Corinthian and Ionian capitals, gymnasium, the sculptures of figures such as Heracles and Hermes, Greek inscriptions and traces of Greek writing, and Greek

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<sup>1</sup> For details see Yang 2013.

<sup>2</sup> See my article (Yang 2007a) about information about Hellenistic culture brought to China by Zhang Qian; here, I will provide a brief summary of and some supplements to it.

<sup>3</sup> For the cities that were attributed to Alexander the Great as a founder, see Plu. *Mor.* 328E, though Plutarch only mentioned the number ("more than seventy") of the all cities of Alexandria founded by Alexander among so-called "savage tribes"; Arr. *An.* 3.28.4 (one in Caucasus, here intending the Hindu Kush); 4.4.1 (one on the Tanais, here intending the Syr River, ancient Jaxartes); 5.19.4 (two on the Hydaspes, modern Jhelum River in Punjab); 6.15.2; Str. 11.11.4 (eight in Bactria and Sogdiana); Just. 12.5.12-13 (one on the Tanais, twelve in Bactria and Sogdiana); Plin. *Nat.* 6.18.47-49 (one in Margiane); Curt. 7.10.15-16 (six in Margiane). For those attributed to Seleucus I, see App. *Syr.* 9. 57 (fifty nine in the entire territory of Seleucid kingdom). For the detailed research on these cities, see Cohen 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Str. 15.1.3; see also Just. 41.1.8. For the discussion of the "thousand cities", see Leriche 2007, 121-153. Although admitting that numerous military colonies or settlements in Bactria were actually established by Greeks in Bactria, he thinks that "the Greeks did not pursue a systematic policy of founding towns"; they "did not really found a major city except for Ai Khanoum"; "the creation of cities was only exceptional in Greek Bactria". His conclusion is that "'Bactria of a thousand cities' appears to be a phrase applicable not so much to the Hellenistic period but rather to the one which followed the departure of Greeks." Leriche's idea should certainly be taken into consideration, but it cannot be denied that precisely the cities and towns founded by Greeks in Bactria and India catalysed the developments of Kushan cities.

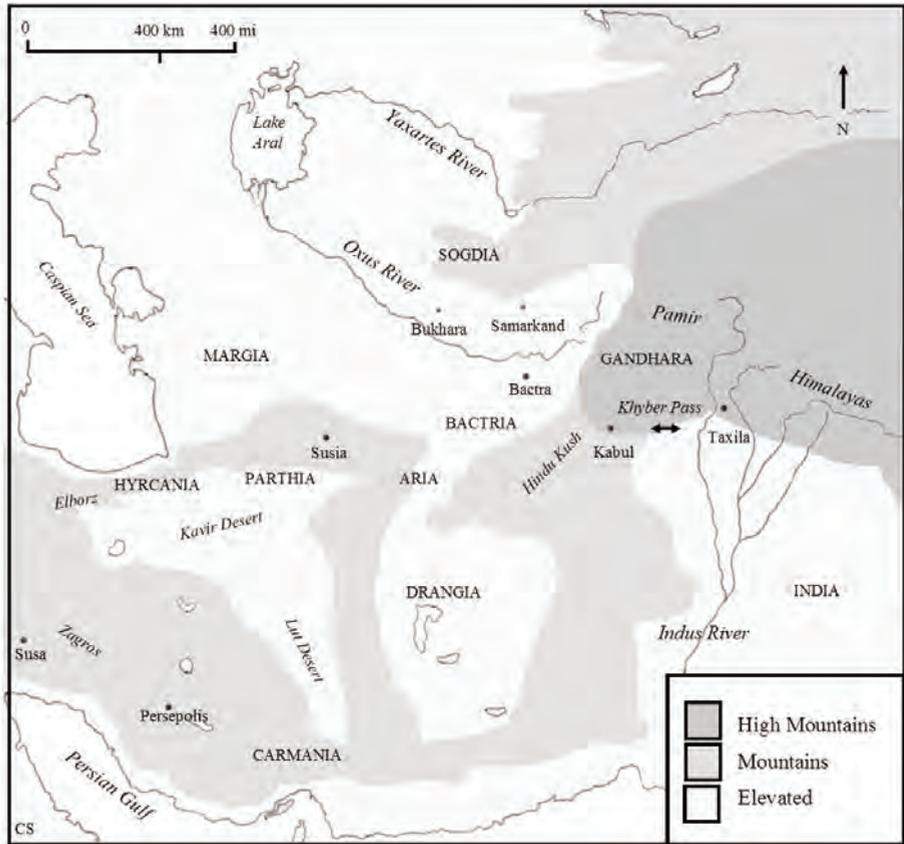


Fig. 2. Route from China to the south. Drawing: Clio Stronk.

coins have been unearthed since 1964, although large excavations had to stop in 1978. When Zhang Qian returned to China, he took the route along the Southern mountains of the Tarim basin (Sima 1959, 3159). This means he could probably pass by this Greek city on his way back to China, if he went eastwards up the Amu River and over the Pamir Mountains. Other sites such as Hekatompylos, Parthunisa (Nisa), Merv, Marakanda (Samarkand), Alexandria Eschate (Khujand), have also been identified with their modern locations. In recent years the site of the Greek colony or garrison of Termez has been confirmed by the French archaeologists Pierre Leriche and his team (Leriche/Pidaev 2007, 209). Secondly, Zhang Qian provided information about the coins issued by the kings of Anxi (安息): “The coins of Parthia are made of silver. The face of the king appears on the coin. As soon as one king dies the coins are changed, on which appears the new face of his successor” (Sima 1959, 3162). Anxi is generally identified with Parthia, the kingdom being founded by Arsaces, the head of a

nomadic tribe (the Aparnians) (Str. 11.9.2). Anxi might be the transliteration of it in Chinese and was used as the name of his country. The kings of Parthia called themselves Philhellenes, as was stated above: they adopted Greek as one of the official languages and issued Greek-style coins with Greek legend and Greek deities on them. The kind of coins with the head or an image of a king was introduced by Alexander the Great. His successors, the Seleucid kings, continued this tradition (Yang 2007b). The description of Zhang Qian of Parthian coins indeed reflects the basic features of the Greek-style coins issued by Parthian kings<sup>5</sup>. Moreover Zhang Qian mentioned the habit of calligraphy in Anxi: “they write horizontally on leather” (Sima 1962, 3162). This record describes the wide use of one kind of parchment created and made in Pergamon, a Hellenistic kingdom in Asia Minor, and the way of writing in Greece and the Near East. Zhang Qian was surprised by these special materials and the system of writing, as it was totally different from the Chinese custom of writing on bamboo slips or pieces of silk, vertically.

Thirdly, for the first time in his life, Zhang Qian saw grapes and wine, which were abundantly present in these regions<sup>6</sup>, which might be associated with the Greeks who had been settled in Western and Central Asia. Although we are not sure that the Greeks following Alexander and his successors were the first to introduce the grape into Central Asia, it certainly were Greek settlers who introduced and transmitted the new viniculture. Both Strabo and Sima Qian (from Zhang Qian) mentioned a particular phenomenon in Central Asia: great amounts of wine could be stored and kept well for long (Str. 15. 3.11; 11.10.1-2; Sima Qian 1959, 3171). After Zhang Qian, the viniculture was imported into central China<sup>7</sup>. The pronunciation of the Chinese word “蒲陶” (*Pu Tao*, “grape”), first transliterated by Zhang Qian, possibly comes from the ancient Greek word “βότρυς, *botrus*”, which means a bunch of grapes<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> As to the basic features and evolution of Hellenistic coins, see Metcalf 2012, 173-294; Carradice/Price 1988, 104-136.

<sup>6</sup> Sima 1959, 3171: “The wine is made of grapes in Dayuan and the lands around it. The rich can have the storage of wine as much as over ten thousands Dan (石) and its quality can be kept good as long as several decades”.

<sup>7</sup> Sima 1959, 3171-3172: “The envoys of the Han emperors brought the seeds of the grapevine and the purple medic back to Central China. So the emperor Wudi (Tianzi 天子, the Son of Heaven) began to plant them in lands of great fertility. The number of Heavenly Horses (天馬) rose steadily and many foreign envoys came to the capital, so that the grapevine and the purple medic were planted over large areas near the palaces and hotels.”

<sup>8</sup> Chavannes 1962, (Vol. 2, Chapter 8) 7. Pall Pelliot cites this explanation brought forward by Ritter, which was supported by Kingsmill and Hirth, while he himself was hesitant to accept it. See Pelliot 1962, (Vol. I, Chapter 5) 82-83. The American scholar B. Laufer does not agree either; see Laufer 1919, 226. However, his conclusion might be outdated because of new Greek evidence discovered in Ai Khoum and the coins with Greek legends in Bactria and Parthia, which confirm the popularity of Greek in Central Asia in the Hellenistic Period and beyond. Zhang Qian surely heard the word and assured it as the name of vine, transliterating it as Chinese “蒲陶”.

Fourthly, the political situation in Daxia described by Zhang Qian<sup>9</sup> corresponds with Strabo's report that the Greco-Bactrian kingdom was destroyed by four Scythian tribes from the north (Str. 11.8.2). One of these, the Tochari, should be identified with the so-called Dayuezhi in Chinese, because the lands of previous Bactria were generally called Tuhuoluo (吐火羅) in later Chinese records<sup>10</sup>. It happened that Dayuezhi people occupied Bactria after the Greeks there retreated into India, just before the middle of the second century BC<sup>11</sup>. In the beginning of the first century AD, Kushan, one of the five parts of the Dayuezhi confederation, subdued the other four parts and established a vast empire of Kushan (Fan 1965, 2921). Since Bactria had been conquered by Dayuezhi from the northwest of China and then was ruled by Kushans until the third century AD, and since the Tochari were one of the four tribes that destroyed the kingdom of the Greeks in Bactria, it is probable that Dayuezhi is the Tochari mentioned by Strabo.

Fifthly, according to the record of Sima Qian, "from Dayuan to Anxi the customs were similar and people could understand each other although they spoke different dialects" (Sima 1962, 3174). That means that there was a common language in this area and *Koine* Greek could have played such a role. Greek inscriptions and remnants of papyri found at the site of Ai Khanum confirm that the Greek language was in general use<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> "There is no powerful king in the country but the cities and towns always have their small chiefs. The soldiers there are weak and fearful to fight. . . . . When Dayuezhi immigrated westward, it defeated Daxia and subjected the people of Daxia under its rule" (Sima 1962, 3164).

<sup>10</sup> The name of "Tuhuoluo" first appeared in *Weishu* 魏書 (The History of Wei Dynasty) as "Tuhuluo, 吐呼羅", one of the different transliterations for it in Chinese (see below). Later it was introduced in more detail in "*Suishu*, 隋書 *book of Su*" (*the History of Sui Dynasty*). According to these two records, it should be located in the east of Bactria near the Pamirs (Wei 1974, 2277; Wei/Ling 1973, 1853-1854). However the most detailed and exact record about Tuhuoluo should be the chapter "the original lands of Duhuoluo (覩貨邏, another transliteration for it)" in *Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (The Records on the Western Regions of the Great Tang Dynasty) by Buddhist Xuanzang (玄奘), who passed through this area himself in the first half of the seventh century when he went to India for learning the sutras of Buddhism. It says: "going through the Iron Gate one arrived in the original land of the country of Duhuoluo. It is over one thousand *li* from its south to north, and over three thousand *li* from its east to west. It links Pamirs in the east, Persia in the west, the Great Snow Mountains in the south, and the Iron Gate in the north. The Amu River flows westward in the middle of the country." (Ji 2000, 100). Obviously, Duhuoluo includes the lands at two sides of the Amu River, namely Bactria that was controlled for nearly four centuries by Dayuzhi and Kushans in succession.

<sup>11</sup> See Sima 1959, 3161-3162, 3164. The people to have destroyed Daxia are still disputed. It is possible that Sakas (Sai People, 塞人) in the valley of the Ili river, might have attacked Bactria when they were forced by the Dayuezhi tribe to immigrate southwards. However, they did not occupy the land there, but finally settled in the area of Seistan, named after them in the southeast of Iran and south of Afghanistan. Following them, Dayuezhi people arrived in Bactria and subdued it. (see Ban 1962, 3901)

<sup>12</sup> Bernard 1982, 148-159; Wiesehöfer 1996, 114; Holt 1999, 176; 2005, 160.

Finally, there is a story that the king of Dayuan (today's Fergana) was killed by aristocrats who colluded against him. This event might throw light on the tradition of Macedonian kingship that the power of kings was restricted by a council which consisted of aristocrats of various tribes. Perhaps this tradition was still preserved to some extent in the ruling rank of Dayuan in Sogdiana. As part of the Hellenistic world, Sogdiana had been controlled by the Greeks from the conquest of Central Asia by Alexander the Great in 330 BC to the coming of Dayuezhi almost in the middle of the second century. According to J. Lerner, the king of Bactria Euthydemus I once "governed Sogdiana either as a satrap under Diodotus II, or as an independent sovereign" and issued his own coins with the regal title and the bridled 'horned' horse (Lerner 1999, 84, pl. I-II). Chinese 宛 is pronounced as "Yuan". It happened that in modern Uzbek, Greeks are still being called "Yunon"<sup>13</sup>. There might be some similarity in pronunciations between "Yuan" and "Yunon". "Yunon" probably comes from Yavanas or Yona, which was the special name for those Indo-Greeks in Indian Language (Yang 2013)<sup>14</sup>. Dayuan should be regarded as a part of Greco-Bactria kingdom. If there remained some Hellenistic traces it would be understandable. In one word the travel of Zhang Qian in the Western Regions should be revalued and reviewed. He was the first known of Chinese people who entered the Hellenistic world.

### **Some clues for the Indo-Greek Kingdoms in "Xiyu Zhuan" in *Hanshu* ("西域傳 The Descriptions of the Western Regions" in *The Han Histories*)**

Indo-Greek is a modern specific term coined by the historian A. Narain in his monumental book *The Indo-Greeks* published in 1957. It is generally used to describe the Greeks who stayed in India after Alexander, especially the Greeks who invaded India from Bactria from the early second century BC onward and remained there till their disappearance around the turn of the first century BC and AD. In their peak of power, they occupied all the northwest of India including Afghanistan south of the Hindu Kush, and even launched a long-distance raid eastward as far as the Pataliputra, the capital of the Sunga dynasties located in the valley of the Ganges River, in the reign of Menander I, the king of Indo-Greeks (ca. 155-135 BC). Later these Greeks split in many small kingdoms but most of them could not exist for long because of the inner struggles among them or the invasions or threats of newcomers from the north or west<sup>15</sup>. From the very early first century BC onwards, some Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kingdoms appeared in the North-West of India. They subdued some of these small principalities of Indo-Greeks, and received their bilingual coins, Greek and

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<sup>13</sup> I found the evidence in a tri-language caption in the Ark Museum of Bukhara, September 21, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> The standard name for Greeks in Achaemenid inscriptions is *Yauna*: both 'origins' appear very related to that word [JPS].

<sup>15</sup> For the names and reigns of these Indo-Greek kings and their territories, see Boppearachchi 1991, 453.

Kharosthi (a kind of Indian script), and the Greek deities depicted on them. The recovery of the history of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, and Indo-Parthians mainly relies on the coins issued by them, and considerably less on literary evidence in India. Are there some clues to these Indo-Greek kingdoms and other Hellenistic information in Chinese documents which referred to contemporary India? *Hanshu*, the second of the former four historical Books, seems to throw light on this question to a certain extent.

*Hanshu* was compiled by Ban Gu (AD 32-92) in the Later Han Dynasty and recorded the history of the Former Han Dynasty up to AD 25. In the chapter of “Xiyu Zhuan”, the last recorded event took place in AD 23. Since the time of Zhang Qian and Sima Qian, more than hundred years had passed. The political situation and cultural environment in the Western Regions had changed considerably. Meanwhile, the Chinese had become more and more familiar with countries and peoples there. Some of them, which were only heard of in the time of Zhang Qian, had established diplomatic relations with the Han Empire. The Silk Road from China to the Mediterranean had emerged. With the extending and developing of it, more detailed foreign information was brought into China. Ban Gu’s source about the Western Regions was obviously from his brother Ban Chao (班超) who had been in charge of the affairs of the Western Regions for about 30 years (from AD 73-102, promoted to Protector Governor in AD 91). Two important countries were mentioned in *Hanshu*: Jibin (罽賓) and Wuyishanli (烏弋山離). Both appear to have some relations with the Indo-Greeks or their heritage.

According to the record of Ban Gu, Jibin was located in the North-West of India, possibly in Gandhara, where the Indo-Greeks used to stay. For Jibin, two issues should be investigated further. Firstly, its coins: “on the obverse is a man riding on a horse and on the reverse is a man’s face”. Undoubtedly, this kind of coins can be attributed to Greek-styled coinage, similar to that of the Indo-Scythian Kings because of the same figures on both obverse sides: a man on horseback. However, the figures on the reverse sides of the Indo-Scythian coins are in general Greek gods standing frontally or in profile<sup>16</sup>, which obviously differs from the coins of Jibin and the Indo-Scythians. Given that the compilation of *Hanshu* was largely completed by Ban Gu in the second half of the first century AD, there might be a possibility that Ban Gu had mixed up the coins of Jibin with those of the so-called “Nameless King”, Soter Megas of the Kushan Empire, for his coins are similar to the ones that Ban Gu described as the obverse being alike to the reverse. This hypothesis, however, is evidently anachronistic because the reign of this “Nameless King” was in the second half

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<sup>16</sup> This type of coins was issued by the Indo-Scythian kings Vonones (ca. 75-65 BC), Spalirises (c. 60-57 BC), Azes I (ca. 57-35 BC), Azelises (ca. 57-35), Azes II (ca. 35-12 BC), etc.: see Li 2008, 116-127; Srivastava 1996, Pl. II. 4, 6, 9; III. 2, 5, 6-7, 9-10; IV. 1, 4-8.

of the first century AD<sup>17</sup> and the events relating to the Han Court and Jibin took place in the first century BC. However, given that Ban Chao, who was the General-Protector of the Western Regions and a brother of Ban Gu, could get in touch with the Kushans many times (Fan 1965, 1579-1580), he most probably saw the coin of the *Nameless king* and transmitted some features of this kind of coins to Ban Gu. It seems that there is another possibility that Ban Gu mistakenly combined both obverse sides of the coins of the Indo-Scythians and the Kushan *Nameless King* or other Greeks as the two sides of the coins of Jibin. As we know, the Greek king Eucratides (*ca.* 171-145 BC) of Bactria once issued a certain type of coins: bust or head of king/Dioscuri on horseback. If its obverse and reverse are exchanged, it would be basically consistent with the coins of Jibin. But this coin was issued earlier than the period of Scythians or Jibin. Anyway, although we do not know exactly where Ban Gu got the information about the coins of Jibin, it cannot be denied that the information of Greek-styled coins once again was spread into China.

The second point is the identity of the Rong Qu Prince (容屈王子) who overthrew the King of Jibin with the assistance of an envoy of the Han court. These events were recorded as follows: “the Han dynasty got into contact with Jibin during the reign of the Emperor Wudi (汉武帝, 140-87 BC). The King Wutoulao (烏頭勞) of Jibin thought that his kingdom was so far away from China that Chinese troops could not reach it, so he killed the Chinese envoys repeatedly. After Wutoulao had died, his son succeeded to the throne in the reign of Han Yuandi (汉元帝, 48-33 BC). He sent envoys to China with tributes to apologize for the wrongdoing of his father. A Chinese general, Wen Zhong (文忠), escorted his envoys back. However, the king tried to murder Wen Zhong. Having discovered the conspiracy, Wen Zhong joined forces with the prince of Rong Qu (容屈王子), Yinmofu (陰末赴), and together they attacked Jibin and killed its king. Then Wen Zhong made Yinmofu king of Jibin and granted him the seal and ribbons (as sign of his subjection to China) on behalf of the Han Emperor” (Ban 1962, 3885-3886).

According to W.W. Tarn and other scholars, Rong Qu is possibly the Chinese transliteration of “Yonaki” (“Greek city”). The city, then, should be Alexandria-Kapisa (located in today’s Begram in Afghanistan). Yinmofu should be Hermaios,

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<sup>17</sup> There are two main arguments about Soter Megas’ position in the chronology of the early Kushan royal family. According to the first one, Vima Taktu and Soter Megas are the same person, whose reign possibly falls in the middle and late first century AD or even at the beginning of the second century AD, the time span being between 20 to 55 years. This has been accepted by most scholars. According to the second one, Soter Megas was one of the kings of the early Kushan Dynasty, whose reign was from 97/92-110 AD (Bopearachchi 2007). However, in my opinion Soter Megas was a satrap who had been sent to India by the Kushan king. He became so powerful that he called himself “Soter Megas” on his coins. He belonged to the same generation as Yan Gaozhen who was the second king of the Kushan mentioned by Fan Ye in the *Houhanshu* (1965, 2922) and his reign falls approximately in the later years of the first century AD. See Yang 2009.

the son of the ruler of the Greek city. Wutoulao might be the name of the Scythian Spalyros/Spalyrisis/Spalirises (reigned *ca.* 60-57 BC or 50-47 BC) who styled himself the brother of the King (ἀδελφού του βασιλέως) on his coins. Wen Zhong, mistakenly, regarded ἀδελφού as the king's name, he transliterated it as 'Wutoulao' (烏頭勞)<sup>18</sup>. It is generally believed that Hermaios was the last Greek king of the family of Eucratides in northwest India. If this hypothesis is tenable, Hermaios would be the first and also the last Indo-Greek king who accepted seal and ribbon from China and established a formal political relation with the Han court, and the Greek kingdom of Jibin could be admitted as a vassal state of China. However, the friendly relationship did not keep for long, for troubles and conflicts continued to appear between the kings and the Chinese envoys in Jibin. Later, Jibin sent envoys twice to the Han court to apologize for their mistakes, but both were refused and relations between the two countries were cut off (Ban 1962, 3886-3888).

What needs to be pointed out is that Tarn's argument was totally rejected by N. K. Narain and others in the 1950s<sup>19</sup> and also opposed by Osmund Bopearachchi in recent years. Bopearachchi thinks that the reign of Hermaios should be in *ca.* 90-70 BC (Bopearachchi 1991, 453), which evidently does not match the time when Yinmofu ruled as a king according to the records of *Hanshu*. However, no matter whether Yinmofu could be identified with Hermaios or not, it is quite possible that Han China might have had some contacts with the Indo-Greeks who still remained in the northwest of India in the 1st century BC. Ban Gu particularly mentions that "The people of Jibin are ingenious in carving, ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying; in building palaces and mansions; in weaving wool, ornamental perforation, and embroidery" (Ban 1962, 3885). It means that both the art of Greek sculpture and the Chinese techniques of silk weaving were well-known there.

Wuyishanli (烏弋山離) is the last country at the end of the southern stretch of the Silk Road. It should be located to the south of Kabul in Afghanistan and includes the areas of ancient Seistan and Arachosia. "Wuyishanli" as a name of one kingdom may be a transliteration from the capital of Seistan, Alexandria Prothasia or Alexandria in Kandahar<sup>20</sup>. According to the records of Ban Gu, the coins here were rather peculiar: on the obverse was a man's head and on the reverse a man on horseback (Ban 1962, 3889). In fact, that is just one type of

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<sup>18</sup> See Tarn 1951, 469-473, 418, 339-342. Tarn's conclusion was based on the views of, among others, Von Gutschmid Whyllie. For the coin of Spalyros and its legend, see Li Tiesheng 2008, 118. In the legend of his coins, he called himself the king's brother. Maybe he was only a vice king by that time. He became a king in the middle of the 1st century BC or from *ca.* 60-57 or *ca.* 50-47 BC.

<sup>19</sup> Although not accepting Tarn's argument, in fact Narain could not solve the problem whom the "Yinmofu and Wutoulao" could be identified with. See Narain 1957, 154-155.

<sup>20</sup> Sun 1978; Yu 1992, 168-171; Cohen 2013, 255-256, 283-286.

the coins of the Greeks in Bactria and India, and as mentioned above it is the basic coin-type of the *Nameless king* Soter Megas. Obviously, Ban Gu had noticed the difference of the coins between Jibin and Wuyishanli.

**Information about Daqin (大秦), Tiaozhi (條支) and Buddhism in “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu* (“西域傳 Biography of the Western Regions” in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty*)**

In the later Han Dynasty, Chinese knowledge of the Western region became more and more extensive with the expansion of exchanges between China and the distant countries in the East Mediterranean and India. Although Hellenistic kingdoms had already disappeared, the information related to the Hellenistic legacies also continued to be brought into China. The “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu* provides some clues for it.

*Houhanshu* was written and completed in the early fifth century AD. Concerning the compiling principle of his “Xiyu Zhuan”, the author Fan Ye said: “Ban Gu had recorded the cultures and customs of the Western Regions in *Hanshu* in detail. What is described in the ‘Xiyu Zhuan’ differs from the former. All events recorded in it took place after the beginning of the reign of Jianwu (AD 25-57, one of the reign titles of the Emperor Liu Xiu) and had been recorded by Ban Yong (班勇) at the end of the reign of Emperor Andi (AD 107-125)” (Fan 1965, 2912-2913). It means that, in his chapter on the Western Regions, the author would not repeat what Ban Gu had described but focused on the new materials from Ban Yong, the son of Ban Chao. As the successor to his father’s career as a general, he had gone to the Western Regions twice<sup>21</sup>. Although his stay in the Western Regions did not last longer than his father’s, he offered more new information from the distant West and India. By that time, the political situation of the Western Regions had changed significantly. Firstly, both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Kingdoms in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean had been annexed by the Roman Empire. The latter had expanded eastwards to the Euphrates River and was confronting Parthia (Anxi) along it. Secondly, those small kingdoms of Greeks, Scythians, and Parthians in Northwestern India had been replaced by the Kushan Empire. Thus, at that time there were three strong powers which could be compared with China in Eurasia, namely Rome, Parthia, and Kushan. Except Han China, the other three Empires largely occupied regions that once had belonged to the Hellenistic world. Parthians, Scythians, and the people of Dayuezhi, all were originally nomads. In order to rule these newly occupied and civilized regions well, they had to assimilate the cultures of the conquered peoples, and adopted the Greek-styled

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<sup>21</sup> The first was in the first year of the reign of Yongchu (永初元年, AD 107) of Emperor Andi (漢安帝). The second was in between the sixth year of Yuanchu (元初六年, AD 119) of Emperor Andi (漢安帝) and the second year of Yongjian (永建二年, AD 127) of Emperor Shundi (漢順帝).

coins, Greek gods and art, as well as other legacies of Hellenistic world. Although it is hard to identify the characteristics of Hellenistic culture from the “Xiyu Zhuan” in *Houhanshu* clearly, more implicit clues can still be noticed. Particularly, for the first time in Chinese historical books, Daqin was introduced, a country where its people look like Chinese (Fan 1965, 2919).

In the preface of “Xiyu Zhuan”, the author generalized the closer relation between China and the countries in the Western Regions as far as the Mediterranean: “From Tiaozhi and Anxi to the other countries that are far beyond 40,000 *li* away from China and near the sea, all tried to pay tribute to China through several successive interpreters”<sup>22</sup>. He especially emphasizes that the influence of Han Empire was so extended and powerful that Meng Qi (蒙奇) and Dou Le (兜勒), two distant countries, sent their envoys to China in order to submit their tribute and to request to be a vassal of China<sup>23</sup>.

Although the kingdom of Tiaozhi (generally identified as the Seleucid Empire<sup>24</sup>) had earlier been annexed respectively by Anxi (安息) and by Rome, the capital city of Antioch still existed. The countries far beyond 40,000 *li* (an unreliable figure implying a distance far away from China) should be located in the areas of the Eastern Mediterranean. Envoys from these countries necessarily must have brought some information about their culture to China. It might be the exotic influences that changed the style of stone carving-drawings during the Han Dynasty. The appearance of these amazing patterns, such as beasts with wings and with human faces, the Honeysuckle motif (忍冬纹) and the Grape motif (葡萄纹), may well be attributed to the influence of Hellenistic art (see Shen 1985, 67-73; Zheng 1926) which could only have been introduced from the former Hellenistic world.

The information about Buddhism in India and its introduction into China are also described in *Houhanshu* into great detail. The “People of Shen Du” (身毒, India) “practice the Buddhist way, not to kill any life, or to wage war. Gradually, all these taboos have become customary for the Indians” (Fan 1965,

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<sup>22</sup> Fan 1965, 2910. Undoubtedly, there is some exaggeration in these words, but certainly some of the most distant countries did have contacts with China. “Paying tribute” is just a way of communication and does not mean a real vassal relationship.

<sup>23</sup> Fan 1965, 2910. The problems surrounding the identities of Mengqi and Doule are complicated, and many different arguments have been put forward without general acceptance of any of them, which is why I will leave it at rest here, to discuss it in another article. However, in my provisional opinion, these two countries should be in the areas neighboring China. Otherwise they would not have asked the court of Han to accept them as vassals of China. The Emperor Hedi (漢和帝) responded to their requests and bestowed their kings the gold seal and purple ribbon (Fan 1965, 188). For the countries beyond the Pamirs, only the king of Jibin, a country neighboring to China, got this kind of honor and position (Ban 1962, 3886). Therefore, Mengqi and Doule might not be in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

<sup>24</sup> See Yu 2005, 17 note 78, 113 note 276, 271 note 162, note 166 and Leslie/Gardiner 1996, xviii, 260. For the details see Leslie/Gardiner 1982.

2921). It was the first time that Buddhism was mentioned in Chinese historical books. It is said that the Emperor Mingdi (漢明帝) had a dream in which a tall golden man with light above his head appeared. Then he questioned his ministers who that man might be. One of them told him: “In the West, there is a god called Buddha. His body is sixteen *chi* (尺) high (*ca.* 3.7 meters or *ca.* 12 feet) with a golden color”. The Emperor Mingdi even sent an envoy to India “to inquire about the Buddha’s doctrine. Thereafter, the images of the Buddha began to appear in China” (Fan 1965, 2922). In Early Buddhism there had been no icon of the Buddha and his personality was expressed only by his symbols, such as stupa, white elephant, and his footprint, and so on. The Indo-Greeks were the ones to introduce their sculptural art and anthropomorphic conceptions of deities into India and to create the statues of the Buddha and other figures of Buddhism. Some Greeks even converted to Buddhism<sup>25</sup>. In fact, the essence of Gandharan art was to express the spirit of Buddhism through the Greek classical art. The spread of Buddhism into China, therefore, means the arrival of certain Hellenistic elements contained in the Buddhist art of Gandhara<sup>26</sup>.

The information on the Kushans in “*Xiyu Zhuan*” is of great value. This chapter describes the historical evolution of the Kushans from the original nomads Dayuezhi to the Kushan Empire, and provides a reliable genealogy of the Kushan royal family. The well-known Rabatak Inscription and the commemorative coins issued by Vima Taktu for his father<sup>27</sup> also provide some important clues for Kushan history. But there are still arguments concerning the identity of Soter Megas. According to the Rabatak Inscription and the coins of the early Kushan kings, I presume that “Soter Megas” denotes a general of the Kushan

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<sup>25</sup> Such as the Indo-Greek king Menander. See Davids 1894, 374 (No. 420). It is said that “taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder, he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahantship”!

<sup>26</sup> Origins, backgrounds, features, and dates of the emergence of so-called Gandharan Art have been heavily debated in academia. However, some facts seem to be undeniable: on the one hand, quite some Indo-Greeks had believed in Buddhism and accepted its ideas. The Menander mentioned above is a representative example. Moreover, it is most probable that some of them took part in the creation of Buddha statues and other figures of Buddhism with their religious ideas and their sculptural talent. On the other hand, even if, as some scholars insist, statues of Buddha appeared in the Kushan period, the descendants of Indo-Greeks and their heritage undoubtedly still played important roles in this course. The new artists who came to India by sea from the Roman East also brought in the influence of Hellenistic culture. A lot of relics of original sculptures, dispersed in modern Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India, even in the Tarim Basin of China, have verified the Hellenistic elements in the Gandharan Art, which is why some scholars call it Greco-Buddhist Art. Recently, Jessie Pons provided a case study of the trays discovered in Gandhara displaying the development from Greek motif towards Buddhist art. See Pons 2011.

<sup>27</sup> British numismatist Joe Cribb considers these commemorative coins as fakes (personal communication, 2012).

King *Yangaozhen* (閼膏珍) rather than a formal member of the Kushan royal family. After Yangaozhen had conquered Tian Zhu (天竺) again, he sent this general to rule it. His coins had the distinct features of Greek coins issued by the Greek Kings in Bactria, so he might have been a descendant of a Greek king (see Yang 1999).

In the records about Anxi a famous episode occurs about Gan Ying, a Chinese envoy, who was sent to Daqin (大秦) by the Protector General Ban Chao. When he arrived at Tiaozhi city and tried to cross the sea to Daqin, he was persuaded not to go further by the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi, warned about a horrible life on sea. The story has been discussed by many scholars in China and abroad. Tiaozhi was the farthest area Chinese envoys could reach during the Han dynasty. There are different opinions as to where it was and what it was, either a kingdom or merely one city. If it was a kingdom, undoubtedly, it should denote the Syrian Seleucid kingdom with Antioch on the Orontes as its capital, which, however, had been annexed by Romans in 64 BC; if it was a city, could it have been Syrian Antioch, or Charax (Chavannes) at the Persian Gulf?<sup>28</sup> Or does it stand for the Susiana and the areas in the province of Fars to the east of the Persian Gulf? (Hill 2010, 216). Whatever it was, a kingdom or a city (or both, with the name of capital to indicate the country), it was certainly located to the west of Anxi and near the sea. This can be confirmed by another record in this chapter: “Gan Ying (甘英) arrived at Tiaozhi through Anxi and he was so near the sea that he was hopeful to see Daqin” (Fan 1965, 2931). Gan Ying (甘英) traveled Westwards in the ninth year of the reign of Yong Yuan of Emperor Hedi (漢和帝), namely AD 97<sup>29</sup>. At that time, Antioch was no longer the capital of the kingdom of the Seleucids but the main city of the Syrian province of Rome. According to the record in this chapter the city was “on the top of a hill and more than 40 *li* (16.6 km) in circumference. It borders on the Western Sea, and the seawater winds around it on the south, east, and north. Thus, accesses are blocked on three sides. It is only to the northwest that there is communication by road on firm ground (Fan 1965, 2918). This means that the city was near the sea. But which sea was it? In my opinion, this sea should be the Mediterranean, and this “Tiaozhi” city should be Antioch on the Orontes in Syria. Gan Ying might have gone into this region and this city himself; otherwise the records about them could not have been so detailed. As we know, the report of Gan Ying is the only direct source of “Tiaozhi city”. The site of Antioch on the Orontes in Syria has been unearthed. Its topography and products, and climate there<sup>30</sup> largely concord with the Chinese records about

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<sup>28</sup> The French sinologist E. Chavannes held this view (Hill 2010, 217), which was supported by Leslie/Gardiner 1982.

<sup>29</sup> It is a traditional way of numbering the years of the reign of one emperor, originating from Han Dynasty. “Yong Yuan”, starting from 89 AD, is the title of the reign of Emperor Hanhedi.

<sup>30</sup> Downey 1961, 15-23, 77-80, Fig. 11.

“Tiaozhi” in *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Houhanshu* to different degrees of certainty<sup>31</sup>. The Greek geographer Strabo (64/63 BC-AD 25) also described Antioch in his time: there were outer walls around the whole city and inner walls around every part of this Tetrapolis (sc. city consisting of four quarters). The city was 120 *stadia* (equal to 22.2 km) away from the exit to the Mediterranean. It only took one day from the port to the inner land (Str.16.2.4-7). If Gan Ying actually had visited Antioch on the Orontes in Syria, he must have seen the city Strabo described. The Chinese scholar Yu Taishan even assumed that the harbor of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, might have been the Tiaozhi city mentioned in the *Houhanshu* (Yu 2005, 271). This should, however, be doubted: Gan Ying might have known the port of Antioch, but probably only regarded it as one part of Tiaozhi city or Tiaozhi country because he did not tell anything about this port city. Of course, the hypothesis that Tiaozhi should be located on the Persian Gulf is not unreasonable, because the Persian Gulf could be considered the western boundary of Anxi. If one set off from the Persian Gulf by ship, turn round the Arabian Peninsula, pass through the Red Sea, and land in Egypt, one could get to Daqin (Lijian, 犁鞬) (Fan 1965, 2919). According to Pliny<sup>32</sup>, Charax on the Persian Gulf at the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates was founded on an artificial platform that was two miles in width (about 3.2 kilometers or 7.7 *li*)<sup>33</sup>. That seems to be a little less than forty *li* (16.6 km.) in circumference. An English translator of Pliny’s *Natural History* suggested that the width of this city should be enlarged to three or six miles. He might think that the city referred to by Pliny was too small. The city had been rebuilt by Antiochus III (223-187 BC) and renamed Antioch after himself, from which the Chinese transliteration of Tiaozhi (條支) originates. Later the city was destroyed once again and rebuilt by its neighbour, Arab king Spasines. He constructed bulwarks for the city and raised adjacent lands. The length of the new city was with its six miles a little longer than its width. So its circumference seems to be much more than forty *li* (16.6 km). However, at that time the city had been renamed after the Arab king. Therefore, the evidence for “Charax/Tiaozhi” is insufficient. However, no matter at which city Gan Ying actually arrived, either the one on the Orontes or the one in the Persian Gulf, the information of a city founded by Greeks as a capital of the Seleucid Kingdom was spread over China. The reason why Gan Ying gave up his trip to Daqin halfway may have been that he was deterred by the warnings about the length of the voyage and the unbearable

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<sup>31</sup> See in *Shiji*: “Tiaozhi is located in the west of Anxi (Parthia) for several thousands *li*. It is near the West Sea. The climate is humid; rice is grown in its land. There are big birds with big eggs as jar in it” (Sima 1959, 3163). In *Hanshu*: “It is near the West Sea. The climate is humid; rice is grown in its land. There are big birds with big eggs as jar in it” (Ban 1962, 3888).

<sup>32</sup> For the details of Charax, see Plin. *Nat.* 6.31.138 & note a-140.

<sup>33</sup> In Han Dynasty, one *li* (里) is equivalent to 415.8 meters.

able homesickness<sup>34</sup>. One Chinese scholar made a bold speculation: the story of the Greek mythical Sirens must have been told to Guan Ying by Anxi sailors, who lured sailors at sea with their enchanting music and voices, so that he became frightened and unfortunately abandoned his plan to travel to Daqin (see Zhang 2003). If this really were the case, it would suggest that an echo of a Greek myth reached China.

As for the land of “Daqin”, it is generally assumed that Egypt is meant, having become a province of the Roman Empire more than a century earlier. It was much nearer and more convenient to go to Egypt from Antioch on the Orontes than it would have been from the Persian Gulf. If it is assumed that Daqin denotes Rome in the Italian Peninsula, or any other region of the Roman Empire in the Eastern Mediterranean, it would appear more reasonable and easier for a traveler to set off from Syrian Antioch to these areas including Egypt. Naturally, all the hypotheses are based on the premise that Gan Ying was familiar with the orientation of Daqin.

According to “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Hou Han Shu*, Daqin is also called Li Jian, or “the Country in the Western Sea (海西国)” (Fan 1965, 2919). There is one popular hypothesis for long that “Li Jian” in *Houhanshu* might be identified with “Alexandria” in Egypt<sup>35</sup>, and consequently Daqin in this period referred to Egypt under Roman rule. Nowadays, ideas about it differ. Some scholars think that Daqin should denote the Roman Orient or the Roman Empire including the former Syrian Seleucid kingdom and Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty<sup>36</sup>. As stated above, the most remote area reached by Gan Ying was either the Eastern coast of the Mediterranean or the head of the Persian Gulf. Wherever Tiaozhi was, it is certain that Gan Ying had arrived in the Western part of the former Hellenistic World, then under Parthian and Roman Empires respectively. The description of Daqin in this chapter should be based on his information which might have been gathered partly from his observations and partly from the hearsay about Daqin. Therefore it seems to be fragmentary, unreliable, and even have some idealized imaginations.

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<sup>34</sup> According to the “Biography of the Western Regions” in *Houhanshu*, the Parthian sailors at the western frontier told Gan Ying that “The sea is huge. It would take at least three months for those who want to sail over it if the winds are favorable. However, if encountered unfortunately by dead winds, they would spend two years on this trip. That is why all the men who go by sea take stores for three years. The vast sea makes men easily to think of their country, and get homesick, and some of them die” (Fan 1965, 2918). According to “The biographies of Barbarians” in *Jinshu*, the sailors at the western frontier of An-xi (Parthia) said to Gan Ying: “There is something in the sea that make men homesick and feel grieved. If the Chinese envoys would not miss their parents, wives and children, they could go forward.” Thus Ying stopped (Fang 1974, 2545).

<sup>35</sup> This was first proposed by French sinologist Paul Pelliot in 1915. See Pelliot 1962b.

<sup>36</sup> See Leslie/Gardiner 1982; Hill 2009, 255-256.

For example, the description about the political and administrative system of Daqin could just be such a patchwork. The information about Daqin concurs with the reports in “Xirong Zhuan” (“西戎傳, the treatise on the Western Barbarians”) of *Weilue* (魏略). The latter is only a little more detailed than the former. Some clues in both of them seem to reflect the actual situation of the Roman Empire more or less. They mention the great country with more than four hundred cities built with stone, the public and private palaces and houses with two floors, the capital located on a river near the sea, the post stations along the ways, the council (or senate) of thirty-six generals, and the king who was not autocratic and could be dethroned or exiled by the council (Fan 1965, 2919; Chen 1959, 860-861). These messages can hardly be brought in accordance with the political system of the Roman Empire. Maybe it includes some features of Hellenistic monarchy, and at the same time some idealized fantasies about a distant country.

Even so, the Chinese clearly knew of the existence of Daqin being as vast as China, its people looking like themselves. It “issued golden and silver coins and ten silver coins equaled one golden coin” (Fan 1965, 2919), which indicates that the Chinese knew the relative value of gold and silver Hellenistic coins: one to ten<sup>37</sup>. In the Roman Empire a golden *aureus* was valued at twenty-five silver *denarii*. Although the weight of gold and silver coins gradually diminished (the weight of a golden *aureus* fluctuated between 8 and 6.5 gr and a silver *denarius* between 3 and 3.9 gr), the relative values of gold and silver were still maintained at one to ten or a little higher<sup>38</sup>. It has been shown that in the later Roman Empire, the relative value of gold versus silver seems to have been largely the same as in Hellenistic times<sup>39</sup>.

Whether or not Daqin or the Roman Empire had direct contacts with China through the Silk Road, the answer is not beyond doubt. According to the records of *Houhanshu*, the kings of Daqin tried to establish direct relationships with China, but were stopped by Anxi, which was located on about the middle of Silk Road, struggling to monopolize the trade of silk. Daqin had to trade with Anxi and Tianzhu (天竺, India) on the sea. But finally the envoys of Daqin arrived at the most Southern prefecture (Rinan Jun, 日南郡) of China and contributed their gift to the Chinese emperor in the ninth year of the reign of Yanxi (延熹) of Emperor Huandi (桓帝), i.e. AD 166 (Fan 1965, 2919-2920). Actually these assumed envoys were Roman merchants from India because the gifts such as elephants’ tusks, rhinoceros horns, and tortoise shell seem to have been brought from India. These records verify the emergence of the Maritime Silk Road from Rome to China at least in the second half of the second century AD.

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<sup>37</sup> <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stater>> (accessed on Feb. 17, 2015).

<sup>38</sup> <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aureus>>; <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denarius>> (accessed on Feb. 17, 2015)

<sup>39</sup> We could place a note here; e.g. Oxford Handbook of Numismatics.

### **Alexandria in Egypt and Centaurs in China in “Xirong Zhuan” in *Weilue* included in *Sanguozhi***

The introduction of the Western Regions in “Xirong Zhuan” in *Weilue*, is similar to those in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Houhanshu*. The author, Yu Huan, lived in the period from the last years of the Wei Dynasty (AD 220-265) to the Jin Dynasty (AD 266-316), i.e. the second half of the third century AD. As a book *Weilue* has been lost, but fortunately the scholiast Pei Songzhi (裴松之, 372-451) included the “Xirong Zhuan” in *Sanguozhi* as an appendix. It contains very important material for research on the historical relations between China and the Western Regions. However, as far as our topic is concerned, there is no much new information in it. But the book refers to a particular city in Daqin with various names: “Chisan” (遲散城), “Wudan” (烏丹城), “Wuchisan” (烏遲散城). According to Yu Taishan, all names are derived from the transliteration of the name of one and the same city: “Wuchisandan” (烏遲散丹), namely Alexandria in Egypt (Yu 2005, 344 note 106). Moreover, it is said that Daqin “issues gold and silver coins, and ten silver coins are valued at one gold coin”. Obviously, Yu Huan and Fan Ye used almost the same sources. However, the description of Daqin by Yuhuan is more detailed and informative than the one by Fan Ye. It is possible that the former might have got new material from other sources.

An unknown country was referred to by Yuhuan in this chapter: “The elder of Wusun says that there is a country named Ma Jing (馬經國) in the Northern Dingling (北丁零); the voice of the people there sounds like that of a Banwu (which is a kind of bird similar to a goose). The upper parts of their body from the knees upwards are human, but they have shins and hoofs of a horse with fur below their legs. So they run as quickly as a horse. They are valiant soldiers (Chen 1959, 863)”. The image of half-human and half-horse people are more or less like the Centaurs in Greek myth<sup>40</sup>. It is very well possible that the mythical figure was introduced in central China through Parthia, because in the site of Nisa, one of the capitals of the Parthian Kingdom (and extremely famous for its horses), about forty rhytons have been discovered, on some of which figures of centaurs were decorated<sup>41</sup>. Unexpectedly, in 1984, Chinese archaeologists discovered a fragment of woolen trousers in a tomb in the Tarim Basin, to be dated to between the third and first century BC, on which a galloping centaur blowing a horn or a trumpet resembling a Greek and Roman *salpinx* was depicted (Wagner *et alii* 2009). Of course, this indirect and scattered evidence is not enough to establish that there should be a link between them and the legend of the horse-like people. However, given the close relation between Parthia and

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<sup>40</sup> There was a similar description of this monster in *Shanhaijing* 山海经 but here it is only mentioned that the people had hairy legs under the knees and could walk or run fast. Therefore it is doubtful that this might be related to Greek legend. For the original text see Yu 2005, 361 note 252.

<sup>41</sup> See Masson 2008; Abdullaev 2008; Pappalardo 2008.

China, it is well-nigh possible that the story of Greek Centaurs was spread into China orally. The figure of Centaurs discovered in the Tarim Basin in fact heralds Hellenistic influence in China.

### **Conclusion**

From the analysis above, we may safely conclude that some information about the Hellenistic world and the Roman East was spread into China, despite the difficulty to reconstruct the exact course in the present state of research. Zhang Qian displayed a new world to Chinese people. He followed, as it were, the traces of Greeks in Sogdiana and Bactria into Central Asia. Consequently, his description became a basic source for later historians. With the changes of rulers of those areas, some Greek cities developed, some ceased to exist, and new cities appeared. Greek-styled coins with Greek mythical stories, gods, language, sculpture, and architecture continued to be adopted or adapted in various degrees by new peoples and kingdoms. Despite the fact that the Hellenistic kingdoms disappeared in Eurasia, the influences of Hellenistic culture still played important roles in the interactions between Chinese and Western civilizations through the Silk Road. This is why we could gather some related clues in *Hanshu*, *houahnshu*, and *Sanguozhi* after *Shiji*. Of course, the people, who traveled through the Silk Road, hurried and threatened by perils of every sort, with various goals, aims and missions, should not be overlooked. As spokesmen, they had provided either directly or indirectly the material to the authors of Chinese Historical books. Envoys like Zhang Qian, Wen Zhong, and Gan Ying went into far and unknown lands and brought back more detailed and reliable material. Meanwhile, those foreigners who came to China as ambassadors or traders also brought in not only the tributes and goods but also exotic cultures. The generals in charge of the Western Regions, such as Ban Chao and Ban Yong, kept direct contacts with these countries West of the Pamirs as far as the Mediterranean so that they could update the knowledge about these areas in due time. Without them, we would not have known so much about the Kushan, Parthian, and Roman Empires. Moreover, the function of the officials who went to India and the foreign Buddhists who came to China were very important for the the spread of Buddhism as well as Greco-Buddhist Gandharan art into Chian. However, it is worth noticing that all the interactions between China and the Western countries entirely relied on the establishment of the Silk Road, which is both the result and the bridge of these exchanges.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that, despite persistent efforts for several generations of scholars both in China and abroad, there are many unsolved problems in the field of research about the Western Regions. My discussion is no more than a report of my own understanding of the topics addressed and the explanations I prefer. They are in fact not so much conclusions as they are hypotheses and introductions for further research.

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## HERODOTUS' FIRST LANGUAGE: THE STATE OF LANGUAGE IN HALICARNASSUS

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*This paper will basically examine the validity of a widely accepted assumption that Herodotus was by nature a speaker of Ionic, not having learned it in Samos. In the discussion we will have to take into consideration both written and oral communication. As a result, the scope of this paper encompasses not only research on Herodotus himself but aims to shed light on the state of language in Persian Anatolia as it was during his time, by focusing on the most celebrated Asian Greek.*

### **Introduction**

Herodotus is probably one of the most well known writers on the subject of foreign languages among classical Greeks, who were by and large indifferent about them<sup>1</sup>. His notorious observation that Persian names have a rule of ending with the same letter of the Doric *san* or the Ionic *sigma* (Hdt. 1.139), although incorrect, is indicative of his interest in other languages. He refers several times to interpreters working at the Persian court: a Persian-Lydia interpreter in Cyrus' interview with Croesus (Hdt. 1.86), a Persian-Greek interpreter in the Samian Syloson's meeting with Darius (Hdt. 3.140), a Greek-Indian interpreter's role in facilitating an exchange between Greeks and the Callatian Indians in presence of Darius (Hdt. 3.38), and moreover, Ichthyophagian spies who knew the Ethiopian language and were employed by Cambyses (Hdt. 3.19)<sup>2</sup>. What is more, he made an effort to translate non-Greek words into corresponding Greek ones. For instance, "the land of 'the Deserters' [in Ethiopia] is called *Asmach* (Ἀσμάχ), which means, in the Greek language, 'those who stand on the left hand of the king'" (Hdt. 2.30) and "the name of the spring and the place from which it flows is *Exampaios* (Ἐξαμπαῖος) in Scythian, and *Hirai hodoi* (Ἱραὶ ὁδοί, the 'Sacred Roads') in Greek" (Hdt. 4.52).

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<sup>1</sup> For Herodotus' attitude towards languages, see Harrison 1998; Munson 2005. As for his foreign language proficiency, most scholars are sceptical about it, but Mandell 1990 argues that he knew Aramaic. For the Greek attitude towards foreign languages, see e.g. Rotolo 1972.

<sup>2</sup> For Herodotus' interpreters, see Mosley 1971, 5; Harrison 1998.

It might be reasonable to assume that Herodotus' linguistic curiosity, although perhaps not deeply insightful<sup>3</sup>, can be traced to the fact that his birthplace was near the border of the Greek speaking and the non-Greek speaking (or *barbaros* in the Greek terminology) worlds. Herodotus himself acknowledges the influence that environment can have on linguistic ability; when he makes mention of a linguistic experiment undertaken by Psammetichus, he adds that the babysitting shepherd was banned from speaking to the infant subjects so as not to interfere with their linguistic development (Hdt. 2.2)<sup>4</sup>. On the contrary, though, as far as we can ascertain from his texts, his writing style is not 'broken' by a mixture of Greek and non-Greek, as we might suppose from his background. For instance, Photius, one of the greatest scholars of the Byzantine Empire, praises Herodotus, saying that his language is "the canon of the Ionic dialect (Ἰωνικῆς δὲ διαλέκτου κανὼν)" just as Thucydides is the model of Attic (Phot. *Bibl.* [60] 19b16-18)<sup>5</sup>. We can clearly see this without consulting Photius, as Herodotus' books are routinely held up in contemporary university courses as excellent examples of the Ionic dialect.

When and where then did he acquire such a 'perfect' Ionic dialect? According to the lexicon of *Suda* (s.v. Herodotus, *eta*, 536 [ed. Adler]), Herodotus was originally from Halicarnassus, a Dorian city (at present, the date of his birth is calculated at the 480s)<sup>6</sup>, but was trained in the Ionic dialect in Samos after being expelled by Lygdamis, the tyrant of Halicarnassus. This is not entirely implausible, because Greek writers did not always prefer their native tongue to another more suitable dialect for their literary work; for instance, lyric poetry was traditionally written in Doric, and writers of melic poetry preferred Aeolic<sup>7</sup>. Additionally, doctors from Dorian cities, such as Hippocrates of Cos (and his pupils) and Ctesias of Cnidus, employed the Ionic dialect instead of their supposed native language, although their Ionic style is less accomplished than that of Herodotus (Bigwood 1986, 400-406; Tuplin 2004, 311). The Ionic dialect was

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<sup>3</sup> Harrison 1998 does not value Herodotus' curiosity about foreign languages highly, and maintains that he (Herodotus) also had little systematic knowledge of them, not unlike many Greek writers.

<sup>4</sup> The details of this experiment are quite intricate and some of them are actually abhorrent to modern sensibilities. Psammetichus desired to prove who the oldest people in the world were and ordered his men to investigate what language infants isolated from all cultural contact would first utter. This chapter reveals Herodotus' two presuppositions that the first language must have been spoken by the first men (Herodotus neglects the possibility of the existence of an older people who did not have language yet) and that a language can emerge naturally and spontaneously in human beings. For the story of Psammetichus, see Vannicelli 1997; Harrison 1998; Gera 2003; Munson 2005, 19-23.

<sup>5</sup> See also Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 45a15-19, in which Photius compares Ctesias' writing style and that of Herodotus and praises Herodotus' language as "the canon of the Ionic dialect".

<sup>6</sup> For his early biography, see e.g. Brown 1998.

<sup>7</sup> Mickey 1981, 36: "In the case of any particular genre, the dialect considered 'appropriate' was the dialect of the region in which it was first cultivated". See also Hainsworth 1967, 73-74; Hall 1995, 88; Morpurgo Davies 2002, 157-158.

considered to be appropriate for serious work in fields such as natural philosophy and medicine. The fact that Herodotus' *Histories*, which Rosalind Thomas has argued was a product of Ionian scientific and sophistic atmosphere, was written in the Ionic dialect, therefore, does not necessarily denote that it was his first language (Thomas 2000, 13-14). In addition, Herodotus' long sojourn to Samos is beyond doubt. He gives long accounts of Samian internal politics in the third book (Hdt. 3.39-49, 54-60, 120-125, 139-149), and his descriptions of the island in various books may reflect his sympathetic feelings towards Samos, especially the aristocratic group who are assumed to have received him as guest-friend<sup>8</sup>. During this period that he stayed at Samos as a young exile, he may have had opportunities to acquire various kinds of knowledge, including a language. However, a mid-fifth-century inscription discovered in Bodrum (the modern name of Halicarnassus), telling of a property dispute, was inscribed not only in the Ionic scripts but also in the Ionic dialect (*ML* 32: the 'Lygdamis inscription', named after the tyrant mentioned in)<sup>9</sup>. To resolve this contradiction, most scholars, by rejecting the tenth-century lexicon and trusting the contemporary inscription, suppose that Herodotus was a native Ionic speaker. John Marincola, for instance, has written, "the assertion that he [Herodotus] learned Ionic Greek there [in Samos] is patently absurd, since his own Dorian community of Halicarnassus used the Ionic dialect for its public inscriptions"<sup>10</sup>.

This paper will examine the validity of this contention, and will offer alternative interpretations where it is called into question. In the discussion we will have to take into consideration both written and oral communication. Given that we do not have any voice recordings from the time of Herodotus, such an examination might sound almost impossible, but we will pursue the most plausible conclusions based on the circumstantial evidence. As a result, the scope of this paper encompasses not only research on Herodotus himself but aims to shed light on the state of language in Persian Anatolia as it was during his time, by focusing on the most celebrated Asian Greek.

### **Ionic in Halicarnassus**

We must start our examination with a discussion of how a Dorian citizen could have been a native Ionic speaker. Herodotus states three times in his books that Halicarnassus is a Dorian city (Hdt. 1.144, 2.178 7.99), founded by colonists from Troezen (Hdt. 7.99). This genealogy was not Herodotus' idea alone, but

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<sup>8</sup> Mitchell 1975. See also Brown 1998, 12-14; Irwin 2009. Irwin stresses Herodotus' unstated intention to compare Polycratean Samos with Periclean Athens, rather than his simple biographical connection to the island.

<sup>9</sup> There are some other inscriptions found in Halicarnassus in addition to the 'Lygdamis inscription' but all of them were written in the Ionic dialect: see Jeffery 1990, 353. For the historical background of the 'Lygdamis inscription', see Virgilio 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Marincola 2003, ix-x. Cf. Legrand 1932, 11. Many scholars do not contest the information of the *Suda* directly but claim that the Halicarnassian language was 'pure' Ionic; see Mitchell 1975, 89 note 65; Meiggs/Lewis 1989, 72; Gould 1989, 8.

was shared by the Halicarnassians in the Hellenistic period<sup>11</sup>. At the same time, Herodotus explains the exclusiveness of Asian Greek cities. According to him (Hdt. 1.143-144), twelve Ionic cities and six Dorian cities in Asia Minor founded their own sanctuaries and did not allow any other cities to enter them. The six Dorian cities enjoyed a common athletic and religious festival in honour of Triopean Apollo (the sanctuary of Triopion was situated on the Cnidian peninsula: Th. 8.35). Winners of the games at the festival were awarded bronze tripods, which they were prohibited from taking out of the sanctuary. A Halicarnassian named Agasicles, however, violated the regulation and brought his trophy home with him and mounted it on his wall. The other five cities, due to his sacrilegious act, decided to expel him and his countrymen from their league. This incident possibly took place at some time after the second quarter of the sixth century<sup>12</sup>.

As mentioned above, the inscriptions found in Halicarnassus were written in the Ionic script and dialect. The habit of writing in the Ionic script was employed also by the Dorian neighbours of Halicarnassus, but Halicarnassus was unique in using the Ionic dialect as well as the script. From the anecdote above, we can surmise that Halicarnassus, open to her neighbours after the expulsion, saw her Dorian character diminish as the Ionic dialect was allowed to flow in. Lilian Jeffery suspects otherwise, though, and posits that the ejection from the league was not the cause but the result of Halicarnassus' acceptance of Ionic cultures; she goes on to say that a demographic shift caused this radical change of dialect<sup>13</sup>. Contrary to Jeffery's opinion, Jonathan Hall contends that the change of dialect was not necessarily connected with mass immigration. By examining the relation between Greek ethnicities (Dorians, Ionians, Aeolians etc.) and dialects, which are generally assumed to be the most important factor in defining ethnicities, he concludes that a language was but one among various obvious ways to identify ethnicities, and stresses the discursiveness and selectiveness of Greek ethnicities. "It is surely preferable", Hall insists, "to accept that Halicar-

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<sup>11</sup> This is attested to by a recently discovered inscription named the 'pride of Halicarnassus' (*SGO* 1.12.2), which must refer to the colonisation by Anthes or his descendants. Anthes was originally king of Troezen, but later he set sail for Asia Minor and founded Halicarnassus. The 'pride of Halicarnassus' was found in Salmacis, the western district of Bodrum in 1995, and is dated to around the mid or late second century BC: see Isager 1998, 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Halicarnassus joined the construction of the Hellenion in Naucratis (Egypt) with the Rhodian cities and Cnidus in the reign of Amasis (reg. 570-526) (Hdt. 2.178): cf. Büchner 1912, 2256; Hiller von Gaertringen 1931, 757; Bresson 2000, 43. Bresson, insisting that her entry as a Dorian city is no more than Herodotus' claim, is slightly sceptical about this dating, but the fact that she participated jointly not with her Ionian neighbours but with the cities of the Dorian league could be evidence that Halicarnassus was still a member of the league at that time.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffery 1990, 353. How/Wells 1912, 121 also ascribed the cause of exclusion to the Carian and Ionian admixture at Halicarnassus. Asheri/Lloyd/Corcella 2007, 175 is, however, more prudent, saying "in the 5th cent. it had a mixed Greek and Carian population, and the Ionian dialect and calendar were dominant. It is generally assumed that the city was excluded from the league for this reason, but actually the date of its expulsion is unknown".

nassus gradually came to adopt the dialect of her Ionian neighbours to the north without this having the slightest effect on her consciousness of remaining Dorian” (Hall 1995, 88. See also Hall 1997, 170). What can be safely said, at any rate, is that the Halicarnassians believed themselves to be Dorian in spite of not using a language common to other Dorian cities.

Now I would like to consider briefly the substance of ‘dialects’ or regional languages and the standard Greek ‘language’ which subsumed various dialects<sup>14</sup>. Greeks certainly had a vague concept of ‘dialect’ and the Greek ‘language’, as shown by Herodotus’ famous passage about the reason why the Athenians would never betray Greece (Hdt. 8.144), in which he implies the notion of a common language shared by all Greek speakers, and by Thucydides’ description of the Messenians as “speaking the Doric dialect (Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν ἰέντας)” (Th. 3.112)<sup>15</sup>. But on the other hand, “the classification of the Greek dialects into Ionic, Attic, Doric and Aeolic ... may be”, Anna Morpurgo Davies argues, “first attested in the third century text”<sup>16</sup> and, in reality, it would be dangerous to assume the existence of a homogeneous sphere of each dialect in the fifth and fourth centuries<sup>17</sup>. Herodotus also remarks that several local languages were spoken among the Ionian cities on the Asian coast (Hdt. 1.142). “They do not speak a single language (γλῶσσα), but four. Miletus is the southernmost among them, and then Myus and Priene follow her. They live in Caria and communicate with each other in the same language. Next are those in Lydia: Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea. Among these cities, a common language is spoken, but it is different from the language used in the cities mentioned before. There are three other cities, two of which are situated on islands, namely Samos and Chios, and one which is built on the main land, Erythrae. The Chians and Erythraeans communicate in the same language, but the Samians employ a unique language”.

These divisions, unfortunately, cannot be substantiated by inscriptions (Stüber 1996). But at the same time, it should be remembered that a piece of writing, especially an official document, is not direct evidence of the way people speak; it cannot perfectly represent stress, pronunciation, and aspiration. A linguist, Kees Versteegh, examined various examples from western and Arabic, ancient and modern sources, and pointed out the danger of overrating the value of written texts as evidence; he goes on to assert “The written record reflects the histo-

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<sup>14</sup> For the unclear distinction between ‘dialect’ and ‘language’, see Morpurgo Davies 2002, 154-155; she emphasises that “the labels ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ are applied on the strength of factors that need not be exclusively or even primarily linguistic”.

<sup>15</sup> For instance, Thucydides equates Doric not with Ionic but with Chalcidian (Th. 6.5). This reveals the vagueness of his classification.

<sup>16</sup> Morpurgo Davies 2002, 162. The supposedly most ancient source is a fragment of Ps.-Dicaearchus (fr. 61), now attributed to Heraclides Creticus (ca. 250 BC) (*FHG* 2.263). Cf. Hainsworth 1967, 65.

<sup>17</sup> The number of dialects the Greek language should be classified into varies among scholars, who recognise as many as nineteen sub-dialects: see Hainsworth 1967, 62.

ry of the metalinguistic attitude (the development of the standard norm) rather than an actual linguistic change” (Versteegh 2002, 72). To reconcile both Herodotus’ observation and the epigraphic data, we must in fact acknowledge the divergence between spoken/everyday and written/official forms (and it would seem quite a natural distinction to make, as we ourselves consciously or unconsciously differentiate the two forms in daily life). The ‘Lygdamis inscription’ therefore reveals Halicarnassus’ attitude towards her official language, or ‘the language of socio-cultural prestige’ in Versteegh’s wording (Versteegh 2002, 74), but on the other hand does not necessarily represent Herodotus’ first language accurately, although it is still a very strong testimony in showing his acquisition of a certain form of Ionic before leaving for Samos.

Returning to the discussion of Herodotus’ description, what can be deduced from it? Herodotus alludes clearly to the boundary between Caria and Lydia as lying between the cities of the first category (Miletus, Myus, Priene) and those of the second category (Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea). Lydians and Carians kept using their own languages until the Hellenistic period. As shall be mentioned later, the Lydian language was a descendant of the Hittite language, and the Carian language was a member of the ‘Luwian’ language group, although both of them are the Indo-European Asian languages<sup>18</sup>. There is a possibility that variations in the Ionic dialect were influenced and formed by the difference between the Lydian and the Carian language spheres; a Carian inscription was, in fact, found in Didyma, a sanctuary in the territory of Miletus; on the other hand, most Lydian inscriptions were from the capital city of Sardis and from the valley of the Hermus river flowing close to Sardis, but a few have been discovered in Ephesus, the Cayster valley south to Smyrna, and Pergamum<sup>19</sup>.

### **Carian in Halicarnassus**

How often, then, were Herodotus and his contemporary Halicarnassians in contact with the epichoric language? There is no direct indication that Herodotus was familiar with the Carian language, although he referred to it three times in his *Histories*. Firstly, as he examines where the Carians came from, Herodotus calls attention to the exclusive cult of Carian Zeus; the Carians do not allow any non-Carian peoples other than Mysians and Lydians to join the cult, even those who speak the same language as they do (Hdt. 1.171). Although not a direct mention of the Carian language, this sentence suggests that it was used among those who were thought to be non-Carians.

The next reference appears in the very next chapter (Hdt. 1.172). In the context of a series of the Achaemenid general Harpagus’ conquests, Herodotus tells of the cultural habits of the people in Caunus, a city situated on the border between

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<sup>18</sup> Bryce 1986, 2-3; Keen 1998, 7-8; Dussinberre 2003, 113-114; Adiego 2007, 345-347.

<sup>19</sup> For the Carian inscription from Didyma, see Adiego 2007, 145; for Lydian inscriptions, see Dussinberre 2003, 114.

Caria and Lycia<sup>20</sup>. According to him, the Caunians have a lifestyle very different from any other tribes, especially the Carians, but have a language that has become similar to that of the Carians (or perhaps *vice versa*). Caunus was actually a city of Lycian culture in terms of burial customs; in Caunus and other Lycian locations, the same type of rock-cut ‘temple’ tombs (the term ‘temple’ tomb does not imply any specific kind of worship practice that took place there but merely the architectural style) are to be found today. Although these tombs have been dated to the fourth century by research done on pottery fragments, i.e. a century after Herodotus’ era (Bean 1971, 175; Keen 1998, 184-185), they could lend support to his statement that the Caunians were culturally distant from the Carians. From the linguistic viewpoint, on the contrary, Caunus was a city in the Carian language sphere and the fact that as many as nine Carian inscriptions have been found there accords with his opinion<sup>21</sup>. The subtle observation of the use of not the ‘same’ but a ‘similar’ language was possibly an implicit reference to linguistic elements not easily detectable in written form such as pronunciation or accent. The Caunians could be one of those peoples who spoke Carian but were not admitted to the cult of Carian Zeus. In any event, it would seem to be ill-advised to conclude that Herodotus did not have any special knowledge of Carian.

The other description of the Carian language is as follows. A certain Mys of Europus, probably the Carian city known as Euromus<sup>22</sup>, was sent by the Persian general Mardonius to consult various Greek oracles in the winter of 480/479. As soon as this Mys arrived at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos in Thebes, the prophet started to speak in a non-Greek language. While the three Theban companions charged with writing down the oracles’ statement were at a loss upon hearing a barbarian language instead of Greek, Mys snatched the writing tablet away from them and started to transcribe what he heard, insisting that the oracle was speaking in Carian (Hdt. 8.133-135). Herodotus however did not research the instructions of Mardonius nor referred to the substance of the oracle’ utterings, and we cannot guess how much knowledge he had of the Carian language from this episode. Louis Robert has postulated that the oracle did not actually speak in Carian, but Mys simply read what he was looking for into what was to him incomprehensible babbling, obstinately asserting that the oracle’s language was Carian<sup>23</sup>. More remarkable, as Robert has pointed out, is that Mys was at least bilingual (Carian and Greek) and, bearing his position as Mardonius’ envoy in mind, most plausibly trilingual (Carian, Greek, and Persian) (Robert 1950, 38). Thucydides also reports that the Persian satrap Thissaphernes sent Gaulites, a

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<sup>20</sup> For the border between Caria and Lycia, see Keen 1998, 17-18.

<sup>21</sup> For the Carian inscription excavated in Caunus, see Adiego 2007, 151-158.

<sup>22</sup> Robert 1950, 31-37 suggests that Europus is another spelling of Euromus, a city situated inland between Halicarnassus and Miletus.

<sup>23</sup> Robert 1950, 29-30. Daux 1957 disputes to Robert’s suggestion, insisting that Herodotus’ story has no contradiction or ambiguity.

bilingual Carian to Sparta as ambassador (Th. 8.85). Should we suppose that the Greek language skills of Mys and Gaulites were so exceptionally high that they were employed by the empire? Robert however emphasises the importance of Persian language skills rather than the bilingual ability of Greek and a local language for the interpreters working for the Persian Empire (Robert 1950, 38). In fact, Diodorus (or more precisely his original source, Ephorus' *Histories*) informs us that at the moment of Cimon's enterprise to Caria in the late 470s or early 460s (that is, exactly the age of Herodotus), some Carian inland cities were bilingual (διγλωττοι), most likely in Greek and Carian (11.60.4; cf. *FGrH* 70 F191).

Carian had been an undeciphered and enigmatic language until recently, and one which stimulates the interest of linguists to this day. It was in 2007 when a Spanish linguist, Ignacio Adiego, published his work *The Carian Language*. What language is Carian? According to Adiego, Carian belongs to the Indo-European family of Anatolian languages, which includes Hittite, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, Palaic, Lycian, Lydian, and so on, and more specifically, it is a branch of the so-called 'Luwian' group. This means that Carian has more in common with Lycian than with Lydian in terms of phonological and morphological features (Adiego 2007, 345). Among approximately 200 Carian documents which have so far been published, surprisingly, only 15 percent were discovered in the Carian homeland. The other 170 are from Egypt (fifty new and still unedited inscriptions will be added to them in the future), and two are from the Greek mainland, namely from Athens and Thessaloniki (Adiego 2007, 17, 30). The reason that such an abundant number of inscriptions have been found in Egypt is that a huge Carian community existed there, Herodotus relates (Hdt. 2.152-154). Psammetichus I (reg. 664-610), in a bid to usurp power from the other eleven co-regent kings and establish his own reign, employed Ionian and Carian pirates who had been forced to put in on the Egyptian coast and, after seizing the throne, he gave them land in the Delta area. Afterwards King Amasis (reg. 570-526), who respected and employed them as personal bodyguards, moved the Ionian and Carian settlements from the Delta to the city of Memphis (Hdt. 2.154), where there were a Carian quarter and a Greek quarter (Steph.Byz. s.v. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Καρικόν). These Carian immigrants, perhaps influenced by their Ionian colleagues<sup>24</sup>, left a great number of inscriptions. For this reason, while the Carian graffiti is found in various places throughout Egypt, probably as a result of military expeditions, no votive or funeral inscriptions come from sites other than Sais and Memphis (Adiego 2007, 30). The Carian inscriptions from Asia Minor, on the contrary, are more evenly distributed but much less numerous (Adiego 2007, 2). The definitive solution for the decipherment of Carian was in fact achieved by studying Carian-hieroglyphic bilingual inscriptions<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Boardman 1990, 134-137: some monuments to the Carian dead were probably "the work of a local, Greek-trained artist who had already been much affected by Egyptian forms and techniques".

<sup>25</sup> For more details on the history of the decipherment, see Adiego 2007, 166-204.

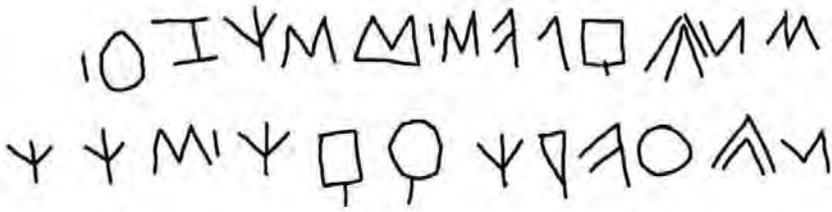


Fig. 1. *CL C.Ha 1*. The inscription runs from right to left and reads as follows:  
 smδýbrs | psnλο |  
 ml orkn tyn | snn  
 “Smδýbrs gave this bowl to Psnλο” (after Adiego 2007, 144).

A single Carian inscription is reported to be from Halicarnassus; it is a series of letters engraved on a bronze *phiale* dated to ca. 500<sup>26</sup>. The sentence is probably to be translated as “Smδýbrs gave this bowl to Psnλο” (*CL C.Ha 1*) (Fig. 1)<sup>27</sup>. What is inscribed is quite simple, but this is an important piece of evidence that shows that the Carian language was not yet extinct in fifth- and fourth-century Halicarnassus. Given the easy portability of a *phiale*, it is true that we cannot exclude the possibility that this *phiale* was made somewhere else and brought to Halicarnassus. What is more, this *phiale* has no archaeological context except for the dealer’s claim that it was from Bodrum. A most tempting interpretation is, of course, to assume the common use of Carian in Halicarnassus, but we would need more supportive evidence in order to make a stronger case for that. There are two more inscriptions indicating that the Halicarnassians used Carian. One is an epitaph written on a ‘false-door’ stela in Memphis (*CL E.Me 45*) (Fig. 2). This inscription most likely dates to some time after King Amasis moved the Carian settlement from the Delta to Memphis, supposedly in a later period of his reign when the fear of Persia intensified<sup>28</sup>. It reads, “[Q]lalis, son of [?]iams, *alos karnos*”<sup>29</sup>. The last two words, ‘*alos karnos*’, seem likely to represent the origin of the deceased such as his hometown or clan. Adiego identified ‘*alos karnos*’ with Halicarnassus on the basis of their phonic similarity (Adiego 2007, 351). The activities of Halicarnassians in Egypt are attested to in Herodotus’ narrative as well. When the Persian king Cambyses was preparing to attack Egypt but had

<sup>26</sup> For the dating and the circumstances of discovery, see Jucker/Meier 1978.

<sup>27</sup> There are various possible interpretations of ‘psnλο’: see Adiego 2007, 283-284.

<sup>28</sup> According to Cook 1937, 236, Amasis shifted his policy from an anti-Greek sentiment to philhellenism as the fear of the Persian invasion intensified, and the recall of the mercenaries as his bodyguards likely belongs to the latter stage of this policy.

<sup>29</sup> The left edge of the stela is broken away and the first letters of two personal names are missing. Qlalis’ first ‘q’ is supplied on conjecture based on its inclusion in the name as it appears in *CL E.Me 37*: see Adiego 2007, 68.

not yet instigated the assault, a man called Phanes came to Persia via Asia Minor. Phanes was a highly regarded soldier among the Egyptian mercenary troops, but was feeling himself ill treated for some reason by Amasis. He then fled from Egypt to Lycia to give what proved to be useful advice to Cambyses, who successfully conquered Egypt thanks to it (Hdt. 3.4). What should be noted here is Herodotus' statement that Phanes was "a Halicarnassian by birth (γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς)". This passage hints that the mercenary community in Egypt kept accepting newcomers after it was settled in the middle of the seventh century, or at least that even children or grandchildren of immigrants were still identified by the birthplace of their forebears. Not only foreigners who were military minded, but merchants also came to settle in Egypt in the reign of Amasis. This 'philhellene' King concentrated Greeks in Naucratis and granted them land to build altars and sanctuaries to their gods<sup>30</sup>. According to Herodotus, the Halicarnassians also involved themselves in this venture and joined in the erection of the most important sanctuary, called the Hellenion (Hdt. 2.178)<sup>31</sup>. Is it possible to suppose any connection between the mercenary colony in Memphis and the prosperous trading station in Naucratis? At any rate, we should not consider the Carian homeland and the Egyptian colonies to be entirely separated, but can assume a connection. Herodotus indeed reveals that Greeks obtained reliable information about contemporary Egypt from the mercenaries (Hdt. 2.154)<sup>32</sup>. The other artefact that we will consider is a bronze *dinos*, on the rim of which characters from the Carian alphabet were engraved. Unfortunately its exact provenance is unknown, although it is assumed to be from Caria (Adiego 2007, 159). The precise dating is also not certain, but I tentatively deduce that it belongs to just a generation previous to Herodotus, given Meier-Brügger's speculation that this bronze *dinos*, the bronze *phiale* of CL C.Ha 1 (dated to ca. 500), another bronze *phiale* (of unknown provenance, dated roughly to the sixth century: CL C.xx 1), and moreover an animal-shaped cult object of bronze (of unknown provenance, dated roughly to the sixth century: CL C.xx 3) were originally an assemblage, but were stolen at the same time from a certain Carian location and were introduced into the European antiquities trade in recent years<sup>33</sup>. The inscription discussed here can be interpreted as "Ύσβικς brought it to Jzpe, *alosδ karnosδ*" (CL C.xx 2) (Fig. 3). The enigmatic phrase, '*alosδ*

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<sup>30</sup> Herodotus describes Amasis as a philhellene, but actually he was between the anti-Greek movement and philhellenism: see Cook 1937.

<sup>31</sup> Herodotus seems to ascribe the foundation of Naucratis to Amasis, but archaeological evidence goes against his statement. It should be dated to some time between the late seventh century and the early sixth century: see Boardman 1990, 121. Amasis perhaps made some reorganisation such as a distinction between residents and temporary sojourners, which Herodotus misleadingly refers to: see Cook 1937, 233; Bresson 2000, 15-23.

<sup>32</sup> For the connection between the Carian homeland and Egypt, see also Hornblower 1982, 354-357.

<sup>33</sup> Meier-Brügger 1994, 113. For the dating of C.xx 1 and C.xx 2, see Gusmani 1978; for the dating of C.xx 3, see Meier-Brügger 1994, 113.

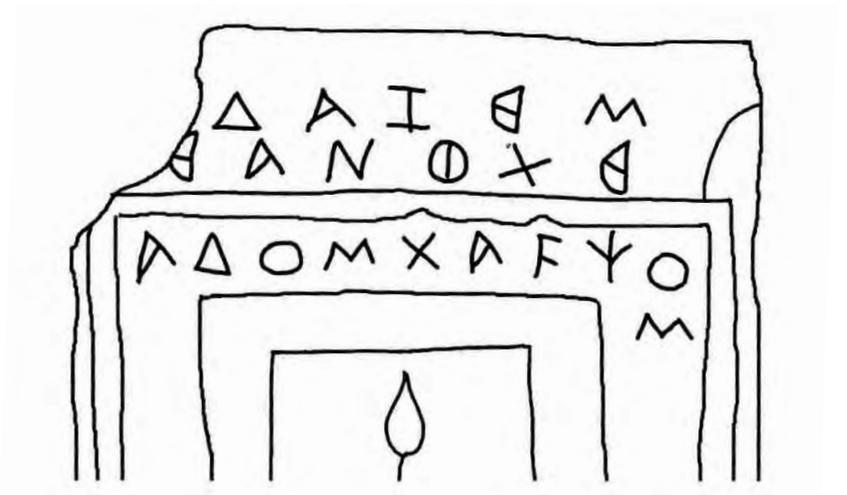


Fig. 2. *CL E.Me 45*. The inscription from Halicarnassus runs from right to left and reads as follows:

[q?]laλis

[?]iamś ki

alos karnos

“[Q]laλis, son of [?]iams, *alos karnos*” (after Adiego 2007, 68).

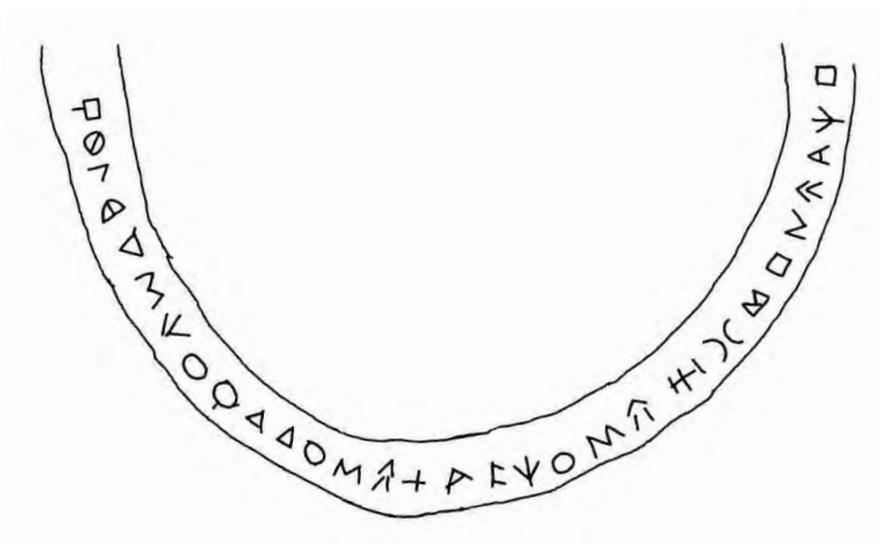


Fig. 3. *CL C.xx 2*. The Carian inscription, presumably from Halicarnassus, runs from right to left and reads as follows:

ýsbiks not | alosđ karnosđ | jzpe mđane

“Ýsbiks brought it to Jzpe, *alosđ karnosđ*” (from Adiego 2007, 161).

*karnosδ*, is obviously connected with the ‘*alos karnos*’ mentioned on E.Me 45, and Adiego tentatively interprets ‘*alosδ karnosδ*’ as the ablative singular of ‘*alos karnos*’, that is to say, ‘from Halicarnassus’ (Adiego 2007, 351). If we accept this explanation, the inscription commemorates what must have been a common occurrence, a citizen of Halicarnassus gifting something, in this case a bowl, to a friend.

### The interaction between Greek and Carian

We can now assume that the Greek speakers in Halicarnassus, including Herodotus, interacted routinely with Carian speakers. If Meier-Brügger’s aforementioned speculation is true, we will have no less than four Carian inscriptions from sixth- and fifth-century Halicarnassus, and we will permit ourselves to conclude that Carian was still widely used there, even though the presumption that they were originally an assemblage deserves consideration. What else warrants consideration? Firstly, the possibility of interference between Greek and the epichoric language needs to be examined. Strabo, in his discussion of the puzzling phrase “the Carians of barbarian speech (Καρῶν...βαρβαροφώνων)”<sup>34</sup> in Homer (Hom. *Il.* 2.867), refers to *the Carian History* of Philip, who was an early Hellenistic writer from Carian Theangera<sup>35</sup>, and argues that the Carian language was blended with many Greek loanwords. Strabo, generalising the phenomenon of interaction between Greek and non-Greek, goes so far as to say, “thick, barbarian-like accent (κακοστομία καὶ οἷον βαρβαροστομία) was the result when a person speaking Greek pronounced it incorrectly, and pronounced the words like barbarians who are only beginning to learn Greek and are unable to speak it accurately, as we do the same when we attempt to speak their languages” (Str. 14.2.28 = *FGrH* 741 F1).

Strabo talks mainly about the mutability of Greek pronunciation (στόμιον, lit. mouth), but sentence structure can be clearly seen in inscriptions, although it does not always accurately reflect casual, spoken language. In Lycia, the dominant language was Lycian until Alexander’s conquests, and there are about 175 Lycian inscriptions, of which approximately ten are Lycian-Greek bilinguals. These bilinguals are supposedly pairs of a Lycian original and a Greek translation from it, based on the fact that some clauses in the Lycian are not translated in the Greek<sup>36</sup>.

In the Greek sentences, at the same time, some awkward characteristics are pointed out. For instance, definite articles are occasionally omitted, probably

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<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of this phrase, see e.g. Hall 2002, 111-112.

<sup>35</sup> It is significant for this paper that Theangera was a neighbouring city of Halicarnassus. Although Pliny’s *Natural History* (Plin. *Nat.* 5.29.107) reports that Theangera was attributed to Halicarnassus in the fourth century, this cannot be correct (see Hornblower 1982, 81-83. Cf. Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124 F 25: Theangela was not included in the synoecism but ‘preserved’).

<sup>36</sup> Bryce 1986, 52-53 note 21; Keen 1998, 67-68; Rutherford 2002, 198-201; Brixhe 2007, 925-926.

because the Lycian language has no articles (Rutherford 2002, 208-209; Brixhe 2007, 930). Likewise the time is specified by the ‘when’-clause, and not by the genitive absolute, which is used in most Greek decrees (Rutherford 2002, 217). Ian Rutherford has suggested that these phenomena resulted from verbatim translation rather than casual interference (Rutherford 2002), but what is remarkable is that some people communicated in Greek while thinking in non-Greek. There was not a single ‘Greek’ but plural ‘Greeks’ of non-native Greek speakers as there are plural ‘Englishes’ like Spanglish and Hinglish. Some of the people of Halicarnassus would have used Greek in a Carian way, just like inhabitants of Lycia Lycian-Greek.

Greek speakers also could have been affected by non-Greek languages. First of all, Herodotus’ account of the four different forms of speech in Ionia is valuable firsthand evidence, as I have already mentioned. The Scythian Geloni, originally Greek trading colonists, planned their sanctuaries in Greek fashion but spoke a half-Scythian and half-Greek language (γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ χρέωνται) by the time of Herodotus (Hdt. 4.108). In Side, a colony of Aeolian Cyme on the coast of Pamphylia, Arrian quotes the Sidetans themselves and mentions (Arr. *An.* 1.26.4) that the immigrants forgot their native tongue soon and spoke a non-Greek language. Noteworthy here is that their new language was different from that of their ancestors and that of neighbouring foreigners as well (οὐδὲ τῶν προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὐπω πρόσθεν οὔσαν τὴν φωνήν); it could have been a hybrid language of both<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore the philosopher Pythagoras, after leaving Samos early in the tyrannical reign of Polycrates (*ca.* 530), settled in the town of Croton in Southern Italy and built the Pythagorean society there. According to the late Roman philosopher Iamblichus (Iamb. *VP* 34.241), Pythagoras told Greek newcomers to the society to use their ancestral language (φωνῆ χρῆσθαι τῆ πατρώα), because he did not respect a foreign accent (τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον). This episode hints that the original language of the colonists of Southern Italy (Doric) may have already employed epichoric idioms and pronunciation after long-term interaction with the locals (cf. Werner 1983, 584-585; Hall 2002, 115), and that Pythagoras himself believed his language to be uncontaminated by non-Greek. We should also note that Pythagoras was from the island where Herodotus spent his early adulthood.

It would not be hard to believe that close interminglement, especially intermarriage, stimulated such a linguistic change, namely the creation of a new language as a result of the blending of two or more languages. For instance, Xanthus of Lydia (a contemporary of Herodotus) states that the Mysians, who were originally Lydians, spoke a half-Lyidian and half-Phrygian language (μιζολύδιον γάρ

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<sup>37</sup> Arrian’s description might leave us with the impression that the Sidetans created their own new language *ex nihilo*, but Bosworth 1980, 167 suggests that he slightly exaggerated the uniqueness of the Sidetic language. It actually seems to bear the characteristics of other Anatolian languages and the Greek dialect of Pamphylia. See also Adiego 2007, 200.

πως εἶναι καὶ μιξοφρύγιον), as a result of the Phrygian invasion of Asia and their subsequent settling of land near the Mysians (*FGrH* 754 F15). Thucydides relates (Th. 6.5) that at Sicilian Himera, which was founded by Chalcidian Zancle and exiles from Syracuse, their language had become a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric (φωνὴ μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη), although this is a case of intra-Greeks. Herodotus also reports that the Ammonians, originally immigrants from both Egypt and Ethiopia, used a language that was a mix of Egyptian and Ethiopian (φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων) (Hdt. 2.42). These two cases of Himera and Ammon refer to a joint colonisation, and a new medium of reciprocal communication would have been needed in such a situation.

We can find an episode that illustrates how Herodotus recognised the connection between intermarriage and the development of a new language in his account of the genesis of the Scythian Sauromatae (Hdt. 4.110-117). When a group of Scythian men came into contact with a fleeing band of Amazon women, the two groups gradually moved closer to each other until they lived together; the Amazons, however, refused to join the existing Scythian tribe because they did not have a culture similar to that of the Scythian women. They then persuaded their husbands to emigrate across the Don River and to form a new tribe, the Sauromatae. Although this ancestral tradition itself is of dubious truth, the interesting thing is Herodotus' comment following it that the Sauromatae use in fact the Scythian language but deform it (σολοικίζοντες), because the Amazons learnt it imperfectly at first and their inaccuracies were then integrated into their tribal language. *Soloikizein* is a relatively uncommon verb, and as far as we know, Herodotus is the first writer who used it. Rosaria Munson points out that '*soloikizein*' is applied in other texts to bad Greek as 'a virtual synonym of *barbarizein*'<sup>38</sup>. In the case of Herodotus' usage, however, this term seems more unprejudiced, and John Gould explains it as 'a form of Scythian pidgin' (Gould 1989, 132). Does this acute linguistic awareness reflect the state of language in his native city?

Halicarnassus presents some evidence of intermarriage and interminglement. Vitruvius reports a Halicarnassian tradition that the first Greek colonists threw the indigenous people from their land. The Carians who were driven into the mountains occasionally went down to and plundered the Greek city, but after a certain Greek opened a new taverna, the Carians were attracted to it. Coming down one by one, they abandoned their barbarian behaviour and picked up Greek customs and manners (Hdt. 2.8.12). More reliable information about the early contact, though not specifically about Halicarnassus, makes mention of the Greek colonists in Miletus, who are said to have married the indigenous women after slaughtering their men (Hdt. 1.146). Much later, in 405, Lysander con-

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<sup>38</sup> Munson 2005, 73. Cf. Arist. *SE* 165b20; Plu. *Mor.* 59F. This term is alleged to originate from the incorrect Attic spoken by the Athenian colonists of Soli in Cilicia: Str. 14.2.28; D.L. 1.51.

quered Cedreiae, a small island in the Ceramic gulf (the gulf between the Halicarnassian peninsula and the Cnidian peninsula), whose inhabitants were, according to Xenophon, half-barbarians (μιξοβάρβαροι) (X. *HG* 2.1.15); this term probably indicates intermarriage between Greeks and the native islanders<sup>39</sup>. Intermarriage may be further substantiated by the jumbled appearance of onomastics. In the ‘Lygdamis inscription’ mentioned at the beginning of this paper appear six personal names of officials with patronymics, three of which have unambiguously Greek names but Carian patronymics (such as Leon son of Oasassis, Phormio son of Lygdamis, and Apollonides son of Panyassis). Another inscription dated to the same period as the ‘Lygdamis inscription’, a list of purchases of sacred land (Dittenberger *Syll<sup>3</sup>* 46), is more laconic in what is said but much more informative about personal names: it provides us with a record of more or less 100 Halicarnassian names with patronymics. Among them, the proportion of mixed examples (Greek names with Carian patronymics and Carian names with Greek patronymics) slightly overwhelms those of simple ‘Greek-Greek’ and ‘Carian-Carian’ examples<sup>40</sup>. Herodotus also, in fact, came from such a family in which Greek names and Carian names appear one after another. According to the two biographies in the *Suda* (*s.v.* Herodotus, *eta*, 536, and Panyassis, *pi*, 248), Herodotus, his brother Theodorus, and his uncle Polyarchus have Greek names, in contrast to his father Lyxes and his cousin (or his uncle in another tradition) Panyassis, who have Carian names<sup>41</sup>. All these testimonies strongly suggest the existence of mixed marriage, or at least close cohabitation between the Greeks and the locals<sup>42</sup>. The ‘Lygdamis inscription’ indeed tells of a joint council (σύλλογος) of the Halicarnassians and the men of Salmacis, a district to the west of Halicarnassus, which Stephanus of Byzantium says was a Carian community (*s.v.* *Salmakis/Σαλμακίς*)<sup>43</sup>. Among the supportive evidence is a Carian inscription showing the admixture of names, though it is not from Halicarnassus proper but from an inland area

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<sup>39</sup> Asheri 1983, 23 interprets μιξοβάρβαροι as a pejorative synonym for δῖγλωττοι, but I am not certain if the term specifically refers to their language. It could be more plausible to assume that the term primarily indicates an admixture of blood.

<sup>40</sup> For the classification of names, see Haussoullier 1880; Newton 1880, 427-451; Masson 1959; Adiego 2007, 459-462.

<sup>41</sup> The name of Herodotus’ mother is Dryo in the entry on ‘Herodotus’, but Rhoeo in that on ‘Panyassis’. This could be a textual corruption, but in any case, both Dryo and Rhoeo are Greek names.

<sup>42</sup> Habicht 2000 suggests four patterns of foreign names in Athenian nomenclature: ritualised friendship (*xenia*), intermarriage, named after a king or another foreign celebrity, and naturalisation of foreigners into the citizenry. In the case of Halicarnassus, the abundance of Carian examples strongly implies intermarriage and the enlargement of the citizen body through it.

<sup>43</sup> Hornblower 1982, 85-86 envisages σύλλογος as “a kind of ‘power-sharing executive’ for two communities”. The existence of this council implies that Salmacis enjoyed some autonomy without being fully incorporated into Halicarnassus: see Virgilio 1988, 67-68.

between Halicarnassus and Miletus; it is an epitaph excavated from Euromus. It reads “This is the tomb of Ktais, son of Idyrikš” (*CL C.Eu 1*) (Adiego 2007, 132-133). The two names, Ktais and Idyrikš, seem to be Carian names at first glance, but should be considered in association with a Greek-Carian bilingual inscription from the sanctuary of Sinuri near Mylasa. The Carian portion of this inscription is well-preserved but has a great number of incomprehensible words, while the Greek part is too heavily damaged to make sense of what is said or to be used as a help in understanding the Carian one. From the few intact Greek words and from their correspondent Carian words, the first sentence can be translated as “Idrieus, son of Ῥτμῆος (Ἐκατόμνωος in Greek), and Ada, daughter of Ktmnos, grant tax exemption to the priest Πῆμνσῆ (Πονμοοννοος in Greek)” (*CL C.Si 2*)<sup>44</sup>. The Hecatomnus mentioned here was a member of the indigenous dynasty and was employed as Persian satrap in the early fourth century. His son and daughter, Idrieus and Ada, jointly succeeded his satrapy after their elder brother and sister, Mausolus and Artemisia, died. This inscription therefore, exceptionally among Carian inscriptions, can be given the precise date between 351/350 and 344/343 reasonably from the historical context<sup>45</sup>. This bilingual decree provides us with the information about a transliteration rule between Greek and Carian that Ἐκατόμνωος was equivalent to Ῥτμῆος. In accordance with this rule, ‘Ktais’ in *CL C.Eu 1* should have been the transliterated name of the Greek Ἐκαταῖος (Adiego 2007, 288-289). On the other hand, it is suggested that the stem of Idyrikš (yrikš-) is correspondent to the Greek -υριγος, and therefore the Carian name Idyrikš is to be transliterated as Ἰδυριγος in Greek (Adiego 2007, 262-263). Taking everything into consideration, the epitaph of Ktais son of Idyrikš, or Hecataeus son of Idyrigus in Greek, indicates an admixture of Greek and Carian names which could also mean that there was a linguistic interaction between the Greek and Carian speakers; the Persian envoy Mys, who was most probably from the town where this inscription was found, Euromus was actually Greek-Carian bilingual as I have already mentioned.

## Conclusion

We started our discussion with the problem of how to explain the gulf between the *Suda* reporting of Herodotus’ acquisition of Ionic in Samos and the ‘Lygdamis inscription’ written in Ionic. When we look at sources without presuming that official written documents directly reflect the casual language of the people and that there was a homogenous sphere of the Ionic dialect, we reach the simple conclusion that Herodotus used the Halicarnassian Ionic when he was young, but later acquired the ‘authentic’ Ionic (‘authentic’ at least from the view-

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<sup>44</sup> The corresponding Carian word for the Greek Ἰδρεύς is missing. Ada appears as ‘Ada’ both in the Greek and Carian versions.

<sup>45</sup> For the period of the joint reign, see Hornblower 1982, 41-45.

point of Photius) in Samos, which was a more appropriate place to study it; we are no longer bound to rule out one of the two testimonies, but can accept both of them with slight modification.

How did the languages in Halicarnassus evolve over the passage of time? The Greek colonists spoke Doric there as well as in other neighbouring Dorian cities several generations before Herodotus, but gradually adopted the Ionic dialect from their Ionian neighbours after or before Halicarnassus was expelled from the Dorian league. At the same time their language could have been altered by the indigenous Carian language through casual interaction. The admixture of names and the tradition of colonisation imply intermarriage or close friendship between Greeks and Carians from early on, perhaps from the foundation of the city, and the joint council mentioned in the 'Lygdamis inscription' supports their cohabitation in the fifth century, while on the other hand the Carian language was not extinct yet and was still used in and around Halicarnassus of Herodotus' time. We of course cannot ignore the possibility that the Ionic dialect that flowed in Halicarnassus was already separated by the Carian influence from that of the northern Ionian cities, which were situated in the Lydian language sphere, and that of the islanders, of which Pythagoras might have believed was the language's pure form. In such a situation, a new language would have been demanded and created for daily communication, like the examples I have discussed. If we are allowed to define it more precisely, we could name it 'pidgin' or 'creole' Ionic, or if we hesitate to apply these modern terms to classical studies, we could regard it more simply as a language which was quite different from what we imagine from the text of Herodotus today.

I do not claim here that Herodotus had no opportunity to learn the 'authentic' Ionic in Halicarnassus since at least the author of the 'Lygdamis inscription' used it. Especially for Herodotus, who, according to the *Suda*, came from a distinguished family (τῶν ἐπιφανῶν), such an opportunity would have been more available than for others. Yet, as we have accepted the information of the *Suda* as reliable, it should be assumed that opportunities to acquire the 'authentic' Ionic dialect were limited, even for a son of the élite in Halicarnassus.

In the end, we are left to wonder to what extent Herodotus understood the Carian language. Did he know next to nothing, was he as proficient as a native speaker, or did his ability lie somewhere in between? While we unfortunately have insufficient evidence to definitively answer this question, we can say with certainty that the Carian language was much more familiar to him than previous scholars have supposed. This supposition will paradoxically explain why Herodotus was so indifferent to the Carian language: he refers to it only three times in his books (Hdt. 1.171, 172, 8.135), as already mentioned. He generally recorded what looked curious and novel to his eyes (we should remember that he did not record the contemporary history of Halicarnassus either, even the political strife which he was involved in and was expelled as a result of), and the Carian language was so un compelling a topic for him that he did not think of it as worth relating in depth.

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THERMOPYLAE 480 BC: ANCIENT ACCOUNTS OF A BATTLE\*

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Fig. 1. The current site of Thermopylae, more or less looking in a west-north-westerly direction. The road to the right approximately follows the ancient coast line. The picture was taken from the so-called Colonus [i.e. hill], according to Herodotus the place of the last stand of the Spartans (cf., though, Schliemann 1883, 149). In the middle, remnants of the so-called Phocian wall are still discernable. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

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*Few battles in the history of warfare have aroused so much emotion and spurred so much imagination, lasting to the present day, as the Battle of Thermopylae in, probably, August or September of 480 BC (the date still is a matter of contention, not to be discussed in this paper). 'Thermopylae', thereby, has become one of the defining images of ancient Greek history, carefully modelled by generations of classical authors, the most notable among them being Herodotus, to serve the purpose of their work. There are, however, more accounts of the battle than Herodotus' and, moreover, the versions do not match with each other. It seems, therefore, useful to discuss this battle once again and look how and, perhaps even more important, why authors described the events at Thermopylae as they did. Doing so, we shall take into account the geographical situation, Achaemenid sources, and, naturally, the sources of the authors we discuss.*

For the visitor with an untrained eye, not used to interpret a site as it has been in the past, the current view of the plain of Thermopylae may well come as a surprise. Almost nothing there resembles the description of the location as (s)he may have understood it from reading Herodotus or any other classical author dedicating some space to this battle in his work – or even the graphic (and improbable and largely incorrect) images in modern movies. The site as it is today is the result of twenty-five hundred odd years of geological activity. This has led, *inter alia*, to an increase of alluvial lands, at places up to 20 metres deep, bordering the site of the battle, stretching at least several kilometres far into the former sea<sup>1</sup>. Heinrich Schliemann, on his way from Athens to Çanakkale in 1883, also visited this site and describes it, amongst others observing that “(...) der Reisende Zeit braucht, um sich zu orientiren und auszufinden, wo denn eigentlich der berühmte Engpass gewesen ist, der nach Herodot nur eine Wagenbreite hatte. (...) Durch die Alluvia aber ist im Laufe von 2363 Jahren das Meer um mehr als 10 km zurückgedrängt” (Schliemann 1883, 148)<sup>2</sup>.

### **Geography**

The geography of the pass of Thermopylae in the times of the battle is expounded by Herodotus (Hdt. 7.176.2-5; another description is in Str. 9.4.13-14/C 428). Reading Herodotus' report we should take into account that (as Godley phrased it) “Herodotus' points of the compass are wrong throughout in his description of Thermopylae; the road runs east and west, not north and south as he supposes; so 'west' here should be 'south' and 'east' 'north'. 'In front' and 'behind' are equivalent to 'west' and 'east' respectively” (Godley 1971, 492-493, note 2). Herodotus' account runs as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> For a geological assessment of the site, see Kraft *et alii* 1987 and Rapp 2013. In 2010, Vouva-lidis *et alii* (2010) concluded that their research largely confirms Herodotus' description as correct.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the distance the sea has been pushed back, Schliemann overestimates: in fact the sea is at present between about one and eight kilometres (the alluvial soil has not spread evenly) further out than in the times of the battle in 480 BC.

Herodotus 7.176.2-5<sup>3</sup>:

[176.2] ἡ δὲ αὖθις διὰ Τρηχῖνος ἔσσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ τῆς στενωπέστερης ἡμίπλευρον. οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦτό γε ἐστὶ τὸ στενωπέστατον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν τε Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ ὀπίσθην, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοῦς ὀπίσθην ἐόντας εὐρεῖα ἀμαξίτων μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν κατὰ Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθήλης πόλιος ἄλλη ἀμαξίτων μούνη. [3] τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλῶν τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης ὄρος ἀβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλόν, ἀνατεινόν ἐς τὴν Οἶτην· τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρος καλεῖται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἱδρύεται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολάς, καὶ τότε γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. [4] ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκίαι τὸ τείχος δεῖσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν ἐκτέεται. ... [5] τὸ μὲν νῦν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιῶν τε ἐδέδμητο καὶ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἔκειτο· τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀρθώσασιν ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύναι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἐστὶ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς ὁδοῦ Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπιτιτεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνας.

[176.2] The pass through Trachis into Hellas is half a *plethron* [sc. ca. 15 m] wide at its narrowest point. It is not here, however, but elsewhere that the way is narrowest, both in front of Thermopylae and behind it; at Alpeni, which lies behind, it is only the breadth of a cart-way, and it in front at the Phoenix stream, near the town of Anthele, as well only one cart-way wide. [3] To the west of Thermopylae rises a high mountain, inaccessible and precipitous, extending to the Oeta; to the east of the road there is nothing but marshes and sea. In this pass are warm springs for bathing, called "The Tubs" by the people of the country, and an altar of Heracles stands nearby. Across this entry a wall had been built, and formerly there was a gate in it. [4] The Phocians built the wall out of fear, when the Thessalians came from Thesprotia to dwell in the Aeolian land, the region which they now possess. ... [5] The ancient wall had been built long ago and most of it lay in ruins; those who built it up again thought that they would in this way bar the Persian from Hellas. Very near the road is a village called Alpeni; from here the Greeks expected to obtain provisions.

and Herodotus 7.199-201:

[199] τοῦ δὲ ὄρους τὸ περικληθεῖ τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινὴν ἐστὶ διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχῖνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάξος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥεεῖ παρὰ τὴν ὑπὸ ἰσθμὸν τοῦ ὄρους. [200.1] ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τούτων ῥεεῖ ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοί. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενωπέστατον ἐστὶ ἀμαξίτων γὰρ μούνη δεδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. [2] ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν κώμη τε ἐστὶ τῆς οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κείται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρεῖν ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς, ...

[199] In the mountain that encloses the Trachinian land is a ravine to the south of Trachis, through which the river Asopus flows past the lower slopes of the mountain. [200.1] There is another small river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, that flowing from those mountains empties into the Asopus. Near this stream is the narrowest place; there is only space for a single cart-way. From the River Phoenix it is fifteen stadia [sc. ca. 2.750 m] to Thermopylae. [2] Between the River Phoenix and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space around it... .

<sup>3</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, the translations are by the author.

[201] βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νῦν ἐκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι χωρίοισι, ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορρῆν ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου.

[201] King Xerxes had pitched camp in Trachis in Malis and the Hellenes in the pass. This place is called Thermopylae by most of the Hellenes, but by the natives and their neighbours Pylae. Each lay encamped in these positions. Xerxes was master of everything north of Trachis, and the Hellenes of all that lay toward the south on the mainland.

To obtain a better impression of the situation, Godley provides his readers with the following map, in which a *stadion* roughly represents 185 m):

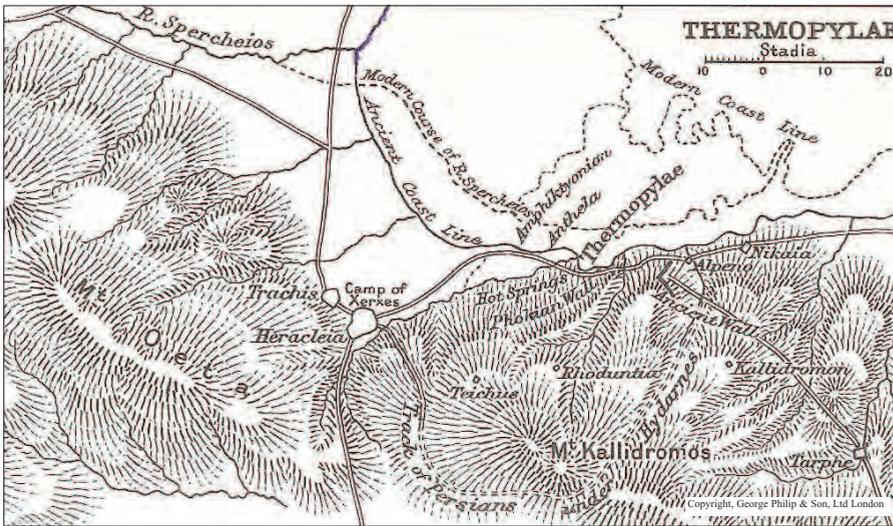


Fig. 2. Map of Thermopylae and surroundings, from Godley 1971, opposite 493.

From Herodotus' geographical descriptions regarding Thermopylae and surroundings it seems that he – or his source – was intimately familiar with the site. His knowledge, however, was not perfect, as already Schliemann (Schliemann 1883, 149) and more recently, e.g., Burn (Burn 1962, 414), Wallace (Wallace 1980, 21), and Pritchett (Pritchett 1982, 176-210) noticed. Nevertheless, as Pritchett observes: “On the basis of the Herodotean record, most of the features [sc. at Thermopylae] have been securely identified” (Pritchett 1982, 177). Some features, though, are as yet not identified with sufficient certainty. This is especially true for the so-called ἀτραπός (“short cut”, “path”) over the Anopaea (cf.

Hdt. 7.216-8; see also below). The path started in close proximity of the Persian campsite (near the village of Heracleia?), directly after crossing the Asopus River, and ended (cf. Hdt. 7.216) at the village of Alpeni (see Godley's map, Fig. 2). Though Wallace's attempt to identify the path, certainly at first sight, seems convincing, I feel inclined to support the objections by Pritchett (Pritchett 1982, *passim*), especially because 1) Wallace has paid insufficient attention to classical references regarding the people inhabiting the village of Oete and 2) the time it took him to complete the route, in spite of him hiking unimpeded.

Up to now no reconstruction seems to be completely beyond suspicion, if only because it appears that there may well have been more than a single byway, though I believe Pritchett's suggestion (1982, 176-210) comes close. Green (1996, 114-116), on the other hand, believes that Pritchett's reconstruction of the course of the track is the right one. As it is, I think that any credible reconstruction will have to deal satisfactory with the words of Pausanias (Paus. 10.22.8): *περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις συνέβαινεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Οἴτης, μία μὲν ἢ ὑπὲρ Τραχίνος ἀπότομος τε τὰ πλείω καὶ ὄρθιος δεινῶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ διὰ τῆς Αἰνιάνων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῶ ῥάων, δι' ἧς καὶ Ὑδάρνης ποτὲ Μῆδος κατὰ νότου τοῖς περὶ Λεωνίδην ἐπέθετο Ἕλλησι* ("Meantime the Greeks at Thermopylae were faring as follows. There are two paths across Mount Oeta: the one above Trachis is very steep, and for the most part precipitous; the other, through the territory of the Aenianians, is easier for an army to cross. It was through this that on a former occasion Hydarnes the Persian passed to attack in the rear the Greeks under Leonidas"<sup>4</sup>: translation Jones, Loeb Classical Library). In spite of Pritchett's critical remarks on Pausanias' assertions (Pritchett 1982, 202-205), who, indeed unfortunately, appears to overlook some problems connected with this issue (like, e.g., the fact that the Persian troops were experienced in mountain warfare, see below), it is a source that is, as we write, not yet disproven beyond doubt.

In 1985, Pritchett underlined the (strategic) importance of the Thermopylae pass against attempts to minimise it (Pritchett 1985a, 190-216). As evidence he adduces, *inter alia*, the major battles fought there, not only that of 480 BC, but also those of 279 BC (against the Gauls) and of 191 BC (against the Romans): "In each case the Greeks assembled large armies of defense against forces invading Greece" (Pritchett 1985a, 191). Apart from these major events, there was a variety of other incidents at Thermopylae as well (Pritchett 1985a, 191-193; cf. also Stählin 1934, 2418-2423). How and Wells, in their by now obsolete commentary on Herodotus, phrase the importance of Thermopylae during the

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<sup>4</sup> This observation might well be in contradiction with the remarks by Diodorus of Sicily (11.8.4), see below, that the Persian army followed a "narrow and precipitous path". It all depends on the definition of "easier", but underlines the problems facing those trying to reconstruct the path.

Persian advance of 480 BC as follows: “Herodotus clearly means to insist on three points of advantage at Thermopylae: 1) there was only one pass and that was both 2) narrower than Tempe [sc. the Vale of Tempe, in northern Thessaly, first intended as a suitable place to fight the Persians], and 3) nearer home [sc. nearer the Peloponnese, home of most of the Greek forces at Thermopylae]” (How/Wells 1964, vol. 2, 206; cf. also Green 1996, 113-117).

In line with the observation made by How and Wells, Pritchett clearly points out that Thermopylae was technically the most suited place to try and stop the Persian advance (Pritchett 1985a, 197-199). The passageway there was at the entrance and exit only a cart-way wide (i.e. probably no more than two to three metres), in the middle at its narrowest half a *plethron* [sc. ca. 15 m], at its widest *sexaginta passus* [sc. ca. 90 m] (as Livy remarks describing the battle of 191 BC: Liv. 36.15.10). This combination of features made Thermopylae an ideal place for a relatively small force to confront an opponent many times more numerous<sup>5</sup>, especially because the strongest part of the Persian army, its cavalry, could not be used there to decide the battle. Though Pritchett admits there were routes in the region that evaded the Thermopylae pass, he adds that the odds for an invading army there were/would be even worse than at Thermopylae and therefore, probably, in advance unattractive for the Persian king (cf. Pritchett 1985a, 212-216; Green 1996, 114-115). The latter, as it appears, opted for the obvious route.

Even 750-odd years after the battle discussed on these pages, the route through the Thermopylae pass was, indeed, a difficult one for an army to enter that part of Greece to the south-west of it. It is indicated in a recently published palimpsest of the “*Dexippus Vindobinensis*” an eye-witness account by one Dexippus (not the historian Publius Dexippus) of the battle that took place in 267/268 AD<sup>6</sup>. In the text the situation at Thermopylae is described as follows: [Folio 192<sup>v</sup> (Untere Schrift), lines 21-30]:

...ἐδόκει δὲ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἄλλως | ἀσφαλῆστατον εἶναι· οἷα δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ  
δυεχωρί-|αν στενῆς οὐχὲς καὶ ἀπόρου· ἢ φέρει ἐπὶ τὴν | εἰς πολῶν ἐλλάδα·  
παρατείνουσα γὰρ ἐπὶ μὴ-|κίετον ἢ ἐπὶ εὐβοίᾳς θάλασσα τὰ τε ἀγχοῦ των | ὀρῶν  
δ\*\*\*\*δ\*\*\*\*δυεμβρολόφαταδια πηλων | ἐργάζεται· καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνουσα τοῦτοις ἢ  
οἷτη | τὸ ὄρο· \*\*\*\*\*α· πεζῆ τὲ καὶ ἵπικῆ· | διὰ τῆς ἐγγυτητοῦ

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<sup>5</sup> An advantage also acknowledged by Frontinus: *Lacedaemonii CCC contra innumerabilem multitudinem Persarum Thermopylas occupaverunt, quarum angustiae non amplius quam parem numerum comminus pugnaturum poterantmittere. Eaque ratione, quantum ad congressus facultatem, aequati numero barbarorum, virtute autem praestantes, magnam eorum partem ceciderunt* (“Against a countless horde of Persians, three hundred Spartans occupied the pass of Thermopylae that was so narrow that it only admitted a like number of hand-to-hand opponents. Therefore, [the Spartans] became numerically equal to the barbarians, so far as opportunity for fighting was concerned, but being superior to them in valour, they killed large numbers of them”: Fron. *Str.* 2.13).

<sup>6</sup> Martin/Grusková 2014.



on the Persian Wars (as we have come used to call the struggle between the Persian Empire and the Greek *poleis*), *at least in their entirety* (my italics). M.A. Flower observes: “In any case, it is doubtful whether any fifth-century historical writer either published before Herodotus or gave a detailed narrative of the Persian Wars: *contra* R.L. Fowler, ‘Herodotus and His Contemporaries’, *JHS* [viz. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*] 116 (1996), 62-87, who maintains, against Jacoby, that some of the so-called ‘local’ historians were known to Herodotus, among whom he includes Charon (but not Damastes). For the standard view that all such historians were later than Herodotus, see F. Jacoby, *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung*, H. Bloch (ed.), (Leiden, 1956), pp. 16-64; and note S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (Baltimore, 1987), p. 19, n. 14” (cf. Flower 1998, 368 note 23). As it is, I rather go with the view of Robert Fowler here, especially because of the statement by Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>9</sup>, and suggest that Herodotus based the *Histories* not merely upon ὄψις, “observation” (Hdt. 2.99, 147), and ἀκοή, “hearsay” (Hdt. 2.123.1, 7.152.3), but also upon written sources, either in prose or in poetry (cf. also Macan 1908, vol. 2, 4). Whether or not those written sources also have paid attention to the wars between Greeks and Persians, either in their entirety or on specific events, is another matter: evidence therefore largely lacks but is not altogether absent.

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<sup>9</sup> The remarks by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in my view, support the views of Fowler: ἀρχαῖοι μὲν οὖν συγγραφεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς ἔστιν Εὐγέων τε ὁ Σάμιος καὶ Δηΐοχος ὁ Προκοννήσιος καὶ Εὐδήμος ὁ Πάριος καὶ Δημοκλῆς ὁ Φυγελεὺς καὶ Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃ τε Ἀργεῖος Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος Ἀμελησαγόρας, ὀλίγω δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Θεουκυδίδου παρεκτείναντες ἡλικίας Ἑλλάδικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Δαμάστις ὁ Σιγαιεὺς καὶ Ξενομήδης ὁ Χίος καὶ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς καὶ ἄλλοι συγχοί (“There were, then, many ancient historians and from many places before the Peloponnesian War: among them we find Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phyege, Hecataeus of Miletus, the Argive Acusilaus, the Lampsacene Charon, the Chalcedonian Amelesagoras; born a little before the Peloponnesian War and living down to the time of Thucydides were Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeion, Xenomedes of Ceos, Xanthus the Lydian and many others”: D.H. *Th.* 5). Admittedly their works (“some on Greek history, others on foreign”: *ibidem*) not all predated Herodotus’ work (Hellanicus, e.g., was a contemporary), but certainly that of Hecataeus of Miletus did. His *Periegesis* or *Periodos* and *Genealogies* are generally regarded as one of Herodotus’ chief literary sources (in spite of the fact that the latter frequently tries to discredit Hecataeus): cf. also, e.g., Usher 1985<sup>2</sup>, 2-3, 25; Zahrt 2011, 768. Cf. also *FGrH/BNJ* 1 T1 = *Suda* s.v. Ἐκαταῖος Ἡγησάνδρου Μιλήσιος (ed. Adler, vol. 2: 213 s.v. epsilon,360: Ἐκαταῖος Ἡγησάνδρου Μιλήσιος· γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς Δαρείου χρόνους τοῦ μετὰ Καμβύσην βασιλεύσαντος, ὅτε καὶ Διονύσιος ἦν ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑξ᾽ ὀλυμπιάδος· ἱστοριογράφος. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασεὺς ὠφέληται τούτου, νεώτερος ὢν· καὶ ἦν ἀκουστής Πυθαγόρου[?] ὁ Ἐκαταῖος, πρῶτος δὲ ἱστορίαν πεζῶς ἐξήνεγκε, συγγραφὴν δὲ Φερεκύδης. τὰ γὰρ Ἀκουσιλάου νοθεύεται (“Hecataeus, son of Hegesander, from Miletus. He lived at the time of Darius, who ruled after Cambyses, as did also Dionysius of Miletus, in the sixty-fifth Olympiad [sc. 520-516 BC]. He was a historian. Herodotus of Halicarnassus was influenced by him, inasmuch as he is younger. Hecataeus was a student of Pythagoras [?]. *He was the first to compose history in prose* [my italics], while Pherecydes was the first to write in prose; the works of Acusilaus are spurious”).



Fig. 4. Comprehensive view of Thermopylae today, looking in a west-north-westerly direction. The road, more or less, follows the ancient coastline. Photo: Jona Lendering, <<http://www.livius.org/pictures/greece/thermopylae/thermopylae-view-from-electricity-mast/>>.

In spite of the fact that he is our oldest surviving comprehensive source, Herodotus is by no means our *only* transmitted source for the Battle of Thermopylae. The battle also featured in, amongst others, the works of Diodorus of Sicily (11.4.1-10.4; below, pp. 186-187), of Ctesias of Cnidus (F. 13 §§ 27-28; below, pp. 218-219), of Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 90-92, *Archidamus* 99-100; below, pp. 208-211), of Justin (*Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* 2.11.2-18; below, pp. 200-201), and of Plutarch of Chaeronea (*De Herodoti Malignitate* 864E-867B; below, pp. 195-197). Next to these, some accounts of the battle are (almost) completely lost or merely survive indirectly, like (probably this list is not at all exhaustive) those of Ephorus of Cyme (below, pp. 203-205) and, probably, Simonides of Ceos (who dedicated (part of) a lyric poem to the battle: cf., e.g., Flower 1998, 370; also below, pp. 212-216). I am not sure whether also the logographer Hellanicus of Lesbos, ca. 490-ca. 405 BC, in one of his about

thirty works has written anything regarding the Battle of Thermopylae: if so, it, too, has been lost<sup>10</sup>. The same is also valid, e.g., for the part of the *Universal History* by Nicolaus of Damascus dealing with the battle<sup>11</sup>.

Of the accounts that have been transmitted, completely or not, the work of Herodotus appears to represent a, more or less, autonomous version: to the best of my knowledge no identifiable sources have, as yet, been assigned in his story on ‘Thermopylae’, apart from references to an (apocryphal) oracle from Delphi (Hdt. 7.220.4) and epigrams by Simonides (Hdt. 7. 228). Diodorus, Justin, and Plutarch appear to have based their stories, entirely or at least partially, either on the work of Ephorus (cf., e.g., Hammond 1996, 2-4; Flower 1998, 365-366; Haillet 2002, xv; lately M. Trundle, Thermopylae, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 27-38 at 29) or the common source(s) of Isocrates and Ephorus, perhaps authors like Charon of Lampsacus or Damastes of Sigeum (cf. Barber 1935, 121-122; Hammond 1996, 10) or the poet Simonides (Flower 1998, 369-372). As regards Ctesias, finally, it seems that his work must be discussed separately. First, however, we shall discuss some incompatibilities between the works of Herodotus and Diodorus, the author who devoted (after Herodotus) the most (preserved) attention to the battle of Thermopylae.

#### HERODOTUS AND DIODORUS COMPARED

##### *The composition of the Greek forces*<sup>12</sup>

One of the first peculiarities that strikes the eye of the reader are the differences

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<sup>10</sup> It appears that Hellanicus wrote at least an *Atthis* and a *Persica* (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 4 FF 59-63; also *BNJ* 323a F 28 – a commentary on Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 869A). A remark on the Battle of Thermopylae could fit in either account. As to the scope of Hellanicus’ work, e.g. Thucydides is rather vague. Discussing the development of the Delian League, Thucydides (1.97.2) states: ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην διὰ τὸδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπέε τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἑλληνικὰ ζυνετίθεσαν ἢ αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ: τοῦτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἦψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ζυγγραφῇ Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη (“I have made a digression to write of these matters for the reason that this period has been omitted by *all my predecessors, who have confined their narratives either to Hellenic affairs before the Persian Wars or to the Persian Wars themselves* [my italics: the context makes in my view clear that τὰ Μηδικὰ can only be translated here as “Persian Wars” and not as “Persian history”]; and Hellanicus, the only one of these predecessors who has ever touched upon this period, has in his *Attic History* treated of it briefly, and with inaccuracy as regards his chronology”). What this passage at least does appear to confirm is that Herodotus was not the only author living in the 5th century BC to discuss the so-called Persian Wars.

<sup>11</sup> Nicolaus of Damascus wrote a so-called *Universal History* in 144 books, of which books 19-95 – that may have included an account of the Greco-Persian Wars, perhaps including information on the Battle of Thermopylae – are completely lost: cf. Parmentier-Morin 1998, 168. For the term ‘Universal History’, see below p. 203.

<sup>12</sup> I have made no effort here to estimate the number of Persian troops present at Thermopylae. Normally, the figures presented for Persian armies in Greek literature are hugely exaggerated. The cause for this is a basic misconception of, e.g., the structure of Persian armies: see, e.g., Barkworth 1993; Keaveney 2011, 38-39.

between both authors as regards the strength and composition of the Greek troops. For clarity's sake, I have tried to fit the numbers both authors present in a table, stating the number of each of the Greek states contributing soldiers to the force commanded by the Spartan King Leonidas. Regrettably, not all numbers are beyond discussion, largely due to the numbers as presented by the authors themselves. Herodotus 7.202, e.g., mentions that there were 3,100 Peloponnesians, but in Herodotus 7.228 that number is given as 4,000. The difference is not explained in Herodotus' text (see also below).

Group	Numbers – Herodotus (7.202-203.1)	Numbers – Diodorus (11.4.2-7) (11.4.6) combined
Lacedaemonians/ <i>Perioeci</i>	900?	1,000
Spartan hoplites	300	300
Mantineans	500	--
Tegeans	500	--
Arcadian Orchomenos	120	--
Other Arcadians	1,000	--
Corinthians	400 <sup>13</sup>	--
Phlians	200	--
Mycenaeans	80	--
Peloponnesians (not specified)		3,000
<b>Total Peloponnesians</b>	<b>3,000 or 4,000</b>	<b>1,000 or 1,300      4,000 or 4,300</b>
Thespians	700	In 11.8.5 Diodorus mentions the presence of Thespians, originally probably over 200 men
Malians	--	1,000
Thebans	400	400
Phocians	1,000	1,000
Opuntian Locrians	“All they had”	1,000
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>5,200 (or 6,100) plus the Opuntian Locrians</b>	<b>7,400 (or 7,700) plus Thespians</b>

Table I. Composition of the Greek troops at the Battle of Thermopylae.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also D. Chr. 37.17: μισοβάρβαροι μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὥστε εἰς Θερμοπύλας τετρακοσίους σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτεπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τριακοσίους (“They were such haters of Persians that they sent to Thermopylae four hundred of their own troops, on the same occasion on which the Spartans sent three hundred”).

Elsewhere in literature (see below, *passim*), the most frequently mentioned number of Peloponnesians is 4,000, of the Spartans 1,000. Therefore, I think we should accept these as the more or less ‘established’ data<sup>14</sup>. As a matter of fact, as regards the strength of the Opuntian Locrians, Pausanias remarks that they were no more than 6,000 in number (Paus. 10.20.2); as regards the other troops collected at Thermopylae, Pausanias presents the same numbers as Herodotus.

### *The Spartan mission*

All authors agree that the command of the force to defend Greece at Thermopylae was given to the Spartan King Leonidas and that he had 300 Spartiates with him. Herodotus refers to them as ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς καταστεῶτας τριηκοσίους καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγγανον παῖδες ἐόντες (Hdt. 7.205.2). Godley translates this, in the Loeb Classical Library, as: “with a picked force of the customary three hundred, and those that had sons”, explaining in a note (Godley 1971, 520-521 note 1) that 300 was the regular number of the Spartan’s king bodyguard<sup>15</sup> (as well as the received tradition of only 300 Spartans at Thermopylae). He adds that the sentence cannot be explained, unless “ἐπιλεξάμενος could mean ‘selecting from’ ...; but I do not think it can”. Under the circumstances and based upon *LSJ* s.v. ἐπιλέγω *ad* II, I believe we have as yet to consider such a translation of the word as a definite possibility here<sup>15a</sup>. Whether there were – in Herodotus’ perception – also some 900 other Lacedaemonians (*perioeci* or *neodamodeis*) is a matter of contention, based both upon the total number of soldiers mentioned in Hdt. 7.228 and also adducing the reference of Diodorus 11.4.5 (cf. for this passage also the remarks of Macan 1908, vol. 1.1, 307 numbers 8 and 9).

A problem in the latter paragraph is the phrase καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς [sc. the Lacedaemonians] Σπαρτιᾶται τριακόσιοι<sup>16</sup>, where σὺν is generally understood as

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<sup>14</sup> Demosthenes still mentions another force: πάλιν δὲ Ξέρξου ἰόντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Θηβαίων μηδισάντων, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποστῆναι τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας, ἀλλὰ μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Λεωνίδου ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐπιόντι συναπώλοντο (“When Xerxes marched against Greece and the Thebans medised, the Plataeans refused to withdraw from their alliance with us [sc. Athens], but, unsupported by any others of the Boeotians, half of them positioned themselves in Thermopylae against the advancing Persian together with the Lacedaemonians and Leonidas, and perished with them”: D. 59.95). Demosthenes seems to overlook the Thespians (as well as the 400 Thebans).

<sup>15</sup> Elsewhere in Herodotus, viz. Hdt. 6.56, is mentioned that Spartan kings had a body of 100 selected men as bodyguards with them in war. Ruffing stipulates that 300 was, in classical literature, a highly symbolic number, not necessarily very precise: Ruffing, K. 2013: 300, in: Dunsch/Ruffing 2013, 201-221 at 211 and note 41. Also see Dillery 1996, 235 note 55.

<sup>15a</sup> In his new edition of Herodotus (Oxford 2015a) N.G. Wilson suggests to delete τοὺς: Leonidas now has a picked force of 300 men who already fathered children. Also see Wilson 2015b: 150 ad 7.205.2.

<sup>16</sup> “And together with them three hundred Spartiates” or “And among them three hundred Spartiates”.

“together with”, but might as well be meant here – in view of the context of D.S. 11.4.2 – as “including” or “among them”. Both the Greek itself and the context are not helping here to determine the meaning. Therefore, the interpretation of σὺν marks the difference expressed in the table as regards the total number of Peloponnesians present at Thermopylae, sc. 4,000 or 4,300: in the light of what I referred to above as so-called established data, though, I think we preferably should go here for the meaning of σὺν as “including”.

Another feature in Diodorus, absent in Herodotus’ account, is the reason adduced by Leonidas to take only a limited number of Lacedaemonians with him. In spite of the urge of the *ephors*, Leonidas believed – according to Diodorus (11.4.2-4) – that the number was amply sufficient, indicating that the expedition was, in fact, a mere ‘suicide mission’<sup>17</sup>: ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν ἄγει τῶν παρόδων, τῷ δ’ ἔργῳ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποθανομένων (“he replied that in name he led them to guard the passes, but in fact to be killed for the common freedom”). Whether Diodorus’ representation reflects actual considerations or is merely an *interpretatio post eventum* can, regrettably, not be determined any more. We can, though, conclude that Diodorus’ representation of the facts contradicts Herodotus’ statements. Herodotus’ remarks in 7.206 suggest that Leonidas’ force only was meant to be a vanguard, sent out to prevent more defection to the Persians among Sparta’s Greek allies, and that the main force of the Spartans was due to arrive later, after the festival of the *Carnea*<sup>18</sup>. The Persians, however, apparently advanced quicker than anticipated. It may have been a scenario, but we lack evidence to prove or disprove either account. As it is, the versions of the two authors are incompatible.

#### *The position of the Thebans, part 1*

One of the most noteworthy contingents in the army of Leonidas was that of the Thebans. Both Diodorus and Herodotus acknowledge in their accounts that Thebes was a city divided in itself, some citizens medising (i.e. favouring

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<sup>17</sup> For this term cf., e.g., Matthew 2013, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 60-99, e.g., at 60. As a matter of fact, Matthew does not believe it was one: cf. 67 and the conclusion, 99.

<sup>18</sup> One of the great national festivals of Sparta, held in honour of Apollo *Carneus*. The *Carnea* took place every year from the 7th to the 15th of the month *Carneus* (i.e. *Metageitnion*, August). During this period all military operations were suspended. Cf., e.g., Farnell 1907, 131-135. Moreover, 480 BC also was an Olympic year, celebrating the 75th games, with Astyalus of Croton winning the *stadion*-run for the 3rd time in succession: cf. Eus. *Chron. ad loc.* Apart from Herodotus 7.206.2, no other source mentions any effect of the Olympics on the preparations for the defense of Greece against the Persians; Lazenby 1964, 270 follows Herodotus. Must we, though, assume there has been such an effect, or did it serve only as a pretext? Matthew 2013, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 60-99 at 68 calculates that the Olympic festival of 480 BC concluded around July 21: the Battle of Thermopylae took place at least a month later, in itself providing for many *poleis* (admittedly not for all) sufficient time for more than even a basic preparation, even more so because the Persian advance was known well beforehand. See also Keaveney 2011, 56 (with note 4 on 119), 90.

Persia), others supporting the Greek cause. Both Diodorus and Herodotus state that there were (some) four hundred Thebans in the army led by Leonidas. Diodorus reports it as a matter of fact: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας μερίδος ὡς τετρακόσιοι· διεφέροντο γὰρ οἱ τὰς Θήβας κατοικοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας συμμαχίας (“Likewise about four hundred Thebans of the other party [sc. the anti-Persians]; the inhabitants of Thebes were divided amongst themselves as regards the alliance with the Persians”: D.S. 11.4.7). Also Herodotus at first sight seems to report factually, but he ends with a Parthian shot: [7.205.2] ... παραλαβὼν δὲ ἀπῆκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεωντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. [3] τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποίησατο Λεωνίδης μούνοὺς Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορητο μηδίζειν· παρεκάλεε ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, θέλων εἰδέναι εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην. οἱ δὲ ἀλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον (“[7.205.2] ... He [sc. Leonidas] arrived [sc. at Thermopylae] and brought with him as well those Thebans that I reported in the counting, led by Leontiades the son of Eurymachus. [3] Leonidas made more effort to bring these with him than any other of the Greeks, because they were heavily charged to favour the Persians; therefore he summoned them to the war, wishing to see whether either they would send a force with him or clearly defy the Greek alliance. *They sent the men, though they had other sympathies* [my italics, here and in the Greek]”). Such, after all depreciating, remarks as regards the Thebans earned Herodotus the anger of Plutarch, as we shall discuss later.

Herodotus’ negative view regarding Thebes emerges once again in 7.222: ... Θεσπιάες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούνοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμεινον καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι· κατεῖχε γὰρ σφέας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ποιούμενος (“The Thespians and Thebans alone remained by the Lacedaemonians. *Of these, the Thebans stayed involuntary and unwilling; in fact, Leonidas detained them, treating them as hostages* [my italics, here and in the Greek]”). Herodotus adds that the Thespians stayed willingly and died fighting, like the Lacedaemonians. Though Herodotus’ remarks of 7.222 imply that also the Thebans had to stay and fight, he later remarks: οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεωντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ’ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέος στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ, τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων χειράς τε πρότεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσπον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. [2] ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο: εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων μάρτυρας (“As for the Thebans, commanded by Leontiades, while being with the Greeks they were forced by necessity to fight against the king’s army. However, when they saw that the Persians’ affairs fared better, at the very moment, when the Greeks with Leonidas were retreating to-

wards the Colonus [i.e. the hill], separating themselves from them [sc. the Greeks] they both held out their hands and went nearer to the Persians, saying the truest of words, that they not only medised but also among the first had given earth and water to the king, but had come to Thermopylae forced by necessity and were not guilty of the harm done to the king. [2] As a result, they saved their lives by this plea; in fact, they had the Thessalians as well as witnesses of their words”: Hdt. 7.233.1-2). As it happened, Herodotus continues (apparently with some delight), they did not escape completely unscathed: most of them, from Leontiades downward, were, on Xerxes’ command, branded with the king’s marks.

The negative tenor regarding the Thebans we find in Herodotus’ account (whether it is his own attitude or inspired by a source as Macan believes: Macan 1908, 328 *ad* 7.222 nr. 3: “the Greek critic [i.e. Plutarch] is too hasty in ascribing to Hdt. himself the *κακοήθεια* which undoubtedly belongs to Hdt.’s sources”) is completely absent in Diodorus’ version of the events<sup>19</sup>. In 11.8.5 Diodorus tells us that a deserter from Xerxes’ camp, one Tyrrhastias of Cyme, φιλόκαλος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὄν ἀγαθός (“honourable and upright in attitude”), warned Leonidas that the Persian king had found himself a man who had been ready to guide a Persian force to behind Leonidas’ army. Leonidas ordered the other contingents of the Greeks to leave and fight the Persians another day, but he himself with the rest of the Lacedaemonians as well as the men from Thespieae (like Thebes a city in Boeotia) remained at Thermopylae to defend the pass, altogether no more than five hundred men. As regards this passage, Michael Flower (rather defiantly) wrote: “This account, nearly all would agree, derives from Ephorus (himself a Cymaeon)<sup>20</sup>, but where did he find it? The *communis opinio* is that Ephorus simply made up the night attack<sup>21</sup> whole cloth. Only one scholar, Peter Green, has conceded that it may contain ‘a substratum of truth’<sup>22</sup>, and suggests that Leonidas

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<sup>19</sup> This needs not surprise us. As we shall discuss below (under Ephorus, pp. 203-205), Ephorus – one of Diodorus’ sources – was impartial towards Thebes; moreover Diodorus mentions both the *Greek Histories* of Dionysodorus and Anaxis the Boeotians among his sources (D.S. 15.95.4): it appears to me not at all impossible that they may have had some (further) mitigating influence on Diodorus’ view on Thebes and/or Thebans. Regrettably, the works of Dionysodorus and Anaxis the Boeotians are completely lost.

<sup>20</sup> To the best of my knowledge, however, there is no single conclusive evidence, like a reference that the account really did derive from Ephorus but only circumstantial evidence that might support such an assumption.

<sup>21</sup> See for the night attack below, *sub* The final encounter, part 1, pp. 182-190. Trundle, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 176 note 27 lists a variety of modern authors stating Ephorus made the night attack up. Flower (1998, 369-371) suggests that the poetry of Simonides may have been the original source for the story of the night attack, but as his work is largely lost (apart from some epigrams and a fragment preserved by Diodorus) this can be adduced as suggestion at best but certainly not as evidence.

<sup>22</sup> Green (2006, 61, note 43) writes that it is “not necessarily to be dismissed as a fabrication” simply because it is absent in Herodotus: see further below under The final encounter, part 1, pp. 182-190. It is noteworthy that Green in his 1996 book pays no attention to a night attack.

might have sent a determined group of men to attempt the assassination of the Great King. It is easy enough to imagine why Ephorus would have wanted to give a different account than did Herodotus; in order to make his own account authoritative he needed to say something that was new, and not just stylistically more modern” (Flower 1998, 366). As mentioned above (note 19), Flower suggests Simonides might well be the source for this tradition and he does not appear to assume from the start, like, e.g., Hignett before (cf. Hignett 1963, 15), that only Herodotus’ version is of any value and that Ephorus (almost consequently) must be demonstrably wrong<sup>23</sup>. On the danger to be accused of a biased view against one or in favour of another source, I find the *a priori* position as held by (*inter alios*) Hignett, irrespective of all of this author’s qualities, untenable.

### *The atrapos*

As early in his story as Hdt. 7.175.2, Herodotus mentions the existence of a byway to avoid the pass of Thermopylae: τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι’ ἣλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ἤδεσαν εὐδοῦσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηγινίων (“As regards the path that caused the fall of the fallen of the Greeks at Thermopylae, they [sc. the Spartans] did not know its existence before they heard of it from the Trachinians upon arrival at Thermopylae”). The byway itself was, as it appears, an ancient one: τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεῦρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας, τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες φράζαντες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἤσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου (“This path, then, had been discovered by the native Malians, who, finding it, acted as guides for the Thessalians against Phocis, at the time when the Phocians, fortifying the pass with a wall, were in shelter from the war [sc. with the Thessalians]”: Hdt. 7.215). However, as it was, the path must have offered quite some problems to follow, as the vicissitudes of Cato there in 191 BC demonstrate (see Plu. *Cat.Ma.* 13). For a more detailed review of the *atrapos* see above, pp. 168-169, for the pass of Thermopylae above pp. 169-171 and below, p. 183, Fig. 5, pp.193-194.

In Herodotus’ version, Xerxes was approached, during the stalemate that ensued after the Greeks in the pass had repelled the Persians during two days, by either Epialtes<sup>24</sup>, son of Eurydemus, a Malian (Hdt. 7.213), Herodotus’ favourite trai-

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. the remarks of Fornara 1983, note 63: “No ancient writer could withstand the combined assaults of Wilamowitz, Schwartz, and Jacoby, who made Ephorus the incarnation of all that was objectionable in Greek historiography”. Also elsewhere we have seen that notably the views of Jacoby and Schwartz have (had) a tremendous impact on later generations of historians: cf., e.g., Jacoby 1922, 2047 for the view as regards Ctesias (see also Stronk 2010, 51-54); Schwartz 1905, 663-664 for that on Diodorus (see also Green 2006, 33-34). Also see Luraghi 2014, 147-148.

<sup>24</sup> The (form of the) name as rendered by Herodotus: cf., e.g., Hude (ed.) 1958 and Wilson 2015a at 7.213.3 and Macan. Strabo, on the other hand, like many modern authors, uses the name Ἐφιάλης “Ephialtes”: cf., e.g., Str. 1.1.17/C 10.

tor, or Onetes, son of Phanagoras, of Carystus and Corydallus of Anticyra. He (or they, of course) disclosed the existence of the path to the Persian king. As it seems (cf. Hdt. 7.215), Epialtes (we shall follow Herodotus' main version) promised to guide a Persian force over the path. The king charged Hydarnes<sup>25</sup>, the commander of the so-called Immortals<sup>26</sup> – the elite unit of the Persian army –, and his men with the task at hand<sup>27</sup>. As Herodotus states: ὁρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφ᾽ ἑκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου (“He [sc. Hydarnes] set forth from the camp about the time the lamps are lit”). They marched all night, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ τὰ Τρηγινίων (“keeping the mountains of the Oetaeans to their right, those of the Trachinians to their left”). At dawn they reached the summit of the pass. As regards the Greek force and the *atrapos*, Hdt. 7.212.2 remarks that the Phocians “had been sent to the mountain to guard the path”. Hdt. 7.218 tells the sequel: the Phocians were surprised by Hydarnes and his men, were attacked, fled to the top of the mountain, and left the path open for the Persian elite force to descend and position themselves behind the force of Leonidas that had, up to then, allegedly fought in relays in their national contingents (see Hdt. 7.220.2), if only to avoid to become too fatigued too soon.

As might be expected under the circumstances, Diodorus' story, much more condensed than Herodotus', deviates from the latter's. Diodorus informs his audience that: [4] ἀπορουμένον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ νομίζοντος μηδένα τολμήσειν ἔτι μάχεσθαι, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Τραχινίος τις τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἔμπειρος ὢν τῆς ὄρεινῆς χώρας. οὗτος τῷ Ξέρξῃ προσελθὼν ἐπηγγείλατο διὰ τινος ἀτραποῦ στενῆς καὶ παρακρήμνου τοὺς Πέρσας ὀδηγήσειν, ὥστε γενέσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας αὐτῷ κατόπιν τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ περιληφθέντας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ μέσον ῥαδίως ἀναيرهθήσεσθαι. [5] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς περιχαρῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ τιμήσας δωρεαῖς τὸν Τραχινίον συνεξέπεμψεν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας δισμυρίους νυκτός (“[4] While the king was dismayed and believed that no man would dare to go into battle again, there came to him a Trachinian, someone of the natives, who was familiar with the mountainous area. This man, approaching Xerxes, promised to lead the Persians by way of a narrow and pre-

<sup>25</sup> Hydarnes (Pers.: *Vidarna*: Kent 1953, 208 s.v.) was the \**hazāra-patiš* (“master of a thousand”) or *chiliarch*. He commanded the royal bodyguard and all court security and enjoyed the complete confidence of the ruler, controlling access to his personage through the protocol of the royal audience. See: Keaveney 2010, 499-508; see also Llewellyn-Jones (forthcoming).

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Hdt. 7.211.1. The name ‘Immortals’ for the elite unit in the Persian army (probably a standing force, serving simultaneously as the king’s guard), we notably find in Herodotus, just like their number (10,000 men), but in few other classical authors. Perhaps Herodotus has misunderstood his source (or the source himself/herself was mistaken) and understood *anauša* (from *a[n]*, negating prefix, and *auša*, “death”, hence →) “immortal” instead of *amušiya* “companion”, a much more common denomination for such units in literature. See: Dandamaev 1989, 227-228. Cf. also Kent 1953, 168 s.v. *Anušiya*.

<sup>27</sup> As Keaveney 2011, 29 stresses, “the Persians were skilled in mountain warfare”. This may have greatly facilitated their commission.

cipitous path, in order to get those who accompanied him behind the forces of Leonidas and, having surrounded them in this manner, these would be easily annihilated. [5] The king was delighted and, after honouring the Trachinian with presents, he sent with him twenty thousand soldiers under cover of night”: D.S. 11.8.4).

As I have referred to above, Diodorus tells us in 11.8.5 that a deserter from Xerxes’ camp, one Tyrhastiadidas of Cyme, warned Leonidas of the danger that threatened him and his men. It is noteworthy that also Herodotus (Hdt. 7.219.1) refers to deserters, apparently from the Persians, warning Leonidas ἔτι νυκτὸς (“while it was still night”) of the circuit made by Hydarnes and his men. There is, though, no reference whatsoever to a guard of the Greeks on the byway in Diodorus’ account. In fact, Diodorus’ version might be read, on this point, as criticism, though it is not worded in any way, on Leonidas’ qualities as a strategist. Leonidas had, as it seems, not assured himself of the safety of his position through either a physical reconnaissance of the surroundings and/or the gathering of local knowledge, nor did he send, once informed about the intentions of the Persians, a force to the path, if only to slow down the Persians’ advance. Naturally, the way it is described here, Leonidas’ attitude does add to the heroic image painted of both him and his men in the sequel, but that is hardly the point (though it may well have been an important point for Diodorus’ goal of the *Bibliotheca*: see below, pp. 192-193)<sup>28</sup>.

#### *The final encounter, part 1*

Herodotus recounts, in 7.219.2, that, after their situation had become clear, among the Greeks οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλις ἕκαστοι ἐτρέποντο (“some took their leave and dispersing, each parted to his own *polis*”). In 7.220-222, however, Herodotus informs us that “rumour goes that” (λέγεται) Leonidas sent the other Greeks away (obviously apart from the Thebans and those who wanted to stay, notably the Thespians,) and remained on his post with the Spartiates – both for the sake of honour and (at least as important, seemingly) to fulfil an (apocryphal) prophecy uttered by the Pythia at Delphi that either Sparta or its king must fall (Hdt. 7.220.3-4: Herodotus does not present this as a fact but as a γνώμη (“opinion”). In Herodotus’ version the Persian attack of the forces with Xerxes himself started somewhere between nine and ten A.M. (χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς “about the market hour”: Hdt. 7.223; see also Green 2006, 61 note 43), to allow Hydarnes and his men sufficient time to descend from the mountain and position themselves behind the Greek forces. What follows is a memorable battle.

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<sup>28</sup> One might argue that the absence of such information may be caused by the fact that Diodorus is likely to have abridged his source. It is, however, critical information that Diodorus, if it was present in his source, ought to have retained in his version to inform his audience adequately: I strongly doubt, however, whether the providing of such information really would have served Diodorus’ purpose.

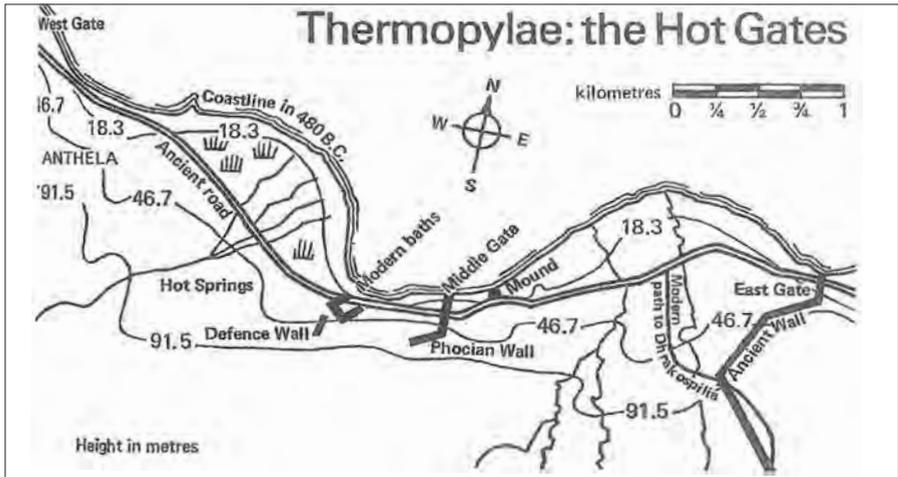


Fig. 5. Thermopylae, from Green 1996, 113 (who refers to the Colonus as the ‘Mound’). Cf. also: [www.cambridge.org/9781108009706](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108009706) > resources > Thermopylae for the map in Macan, 1908, vol. 2, facing p. 261, based upon the observations by G.B. Grundy.

### Herodotus 7.223.2-225.3

[7.223.2] οἱ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρ-  
ξην προσήσαν, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην  
Ἕλληνας, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον ποι-  
εῦμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ’ ἀρχὰς  
ἐπεξήσαν ἐς τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ ἀνέχοντος. τὸ  
μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ  
δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς  
τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. [3] τότε δὲ συμ-  
μίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στεινῶν ἔπιπτον πλήθει  
πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὀπισθε γὰρ οἱ ἡγε-  
μόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μαστιγὰς  
ἐρράπιζον πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω  
ἐποτρύνοντες. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον  
αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,  
πολλῶ δ’ ἔτι πλεῦνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ  
ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων· ἦν δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ  
ἀπολλυμένου. [4] ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν  
μέλλοντα σφίσι ἔσσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν  
περιόντων τῷ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυτο ῥώμης  
ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους,  
παραχρῶμενοὶ τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. [224.1]  
δώρατα μὲν νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τμη-  
καῦτα ἤδη ἐτύγχανε κατεγρότα, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι  
ζίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ Λεω-

[7.223.2] Xerxes’ Persians attacked, but  
the Greeks around Leonidas, knowing they  
were going to their deaths, now advanced  
much farther than before into the wider  
part of the pass. In fact, they had been used  
to guard the breast-work of the wall [sc.  
the so-called Phocian wall], all the previ-  
ous days sallying out into the narrow way  
and fighting there. [3] Now, however, join-  
ing battle outside the narrows, many of  
the Persians fell; in fact, the leaders of the  
companies with their whips struck every-  
one from behind, urging them ever forward.  
Many of them were pushed into the sea and  
drowned, far more were trampled alive by  
each other; no one had any regard for who  
perished<sup>29</sup>. [4] Since they [sc. the Greeks]  
knew that they were to die at the hands of  
those who had come around the mountain,  
they displayed the greatest strength they  
had against the Persians, fighting reckles-  
sly and desperately. [224.1] By this time  
most of them happened to have their spears  
broken and were killing the Persians with

<sup>29</sup> Herodotus (Hdt. 8.24.1) mentions that in total 20,000 Persians died at Thermopylae.

νίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει ἀνήρ  
 γενόμενος ἄριστος καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 ὀνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν ἐγὼ ὡς  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ  
 οὐνόματα, ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν  
 τρηκοσίων. [2] καὶ δὴ Περσέων πίπτουσι  
 ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὀνομαστοί, ἐν  
 δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες Ἀβροκόμης  
 τε καὶ Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνευ θυγα-  
 τρὸς Φραταγονύης γεγονότες Δαρείῳ. ... .  
 [225.1] Ξέρξῳ τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ  
 ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδου Περσέων τε καὶ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὤθισμος ἐγένετο πολλός,  
 ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνας ὑπεξεί-  
 ρυσαν καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους  
 τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ  
 σὺν Ἐπιάτῃ παρεγένοντο. [2] ὡς δὲ τού-  
 τος ἦκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνας, ἐνθεῦτεν  
 ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος· ἐς τε γὰρ τὸ  
 στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρουν ὀπίσω, καὶ  
 παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο  
 ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι  
 πλὴν Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ  
 ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἕστηκε ἐπὶ  
 Λεωνίδῃ. [3] ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ  
 ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγ-  
 χανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμα-  
 σι κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ  
 μὲν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρμα  
 τοῦ τεύχεος συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόν-  
 τες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

swords. Leonidas, proving himself extre-  
 mely valiant, fell in that struggle and with  
 him other famous Spartiates, whose names  
 I have learned by asking because they were  
 worthy men: indeed, I have learned [the  
 names] of all three hundred. [2] Many  
 other famous Persians also fell there, inclu-  
 ding two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and  
 Hyperanthes, born to Darius by Phratagune  
 daughter of Artanes. ... .

[225.1] Thus, two brothers of Xerxes fell  
 there fighting and there was a great strug-  
 gle over Leonidas' body between the  
 Persians and Lacedaemonians, until the  
 Greeks by their aretê<sup>30</sup> dragged it away and  
 repelled their enemies four times. The bat-  
 tle went on until the men with Epialtes had  
 arrived. [2] When the Greeks learned that  
 they had come, from then the battle turned,  
 for they retired backwards to the narrow  
 part of the way, passed behind the wall,  
 and took their position crowded together  
 on the Colonus [i.e. the hill], all except the  
 Thebans. The hill is at the mouth of the  
 pass, where the stone lion in honour of  
 Leonidas now stands. [3] In that place they  
 defended themselves with swords, if they  
 still happened to have them, and with  
 hands and teeth. The Persians poured mis-  
 siles down on them, some attacking from  
 the front and throwing down the defensive  
 wall, others surrounding them on all sides.

Thus, according to Herodotus, the Lacedaemonians and Thespians died<sup>31</sup>. There is one element in Herodotus' statement that I cannot comprehend, i.e. his remark that ὁ δὲ κολωνὸς ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ("the hill is at the mouth of the pass"). As the photographs and the drawing by Green make unmistakably clear, the hill was situated more or less at the centre of the configuration that made up the whole of Thermopylae. Also How and Wells (vol. 2, 230 *ad* 7.225) do not explain it, though they mention that the hill was well designed for a last stand, its rear being

<sup>30</sup> I have left the word *aretê* untranslated, as the traditional translation "virtue" does not suffice in my view. *Aretê* not merely implies the moral component that is usually stressed in translations, but has, apart from a certain attitude also a wider, including a materialistic, connotation: cf., e.g., Stronk 1995, 83 on X. *An.* 6.4.8 and note 21.

<sup>31</sup> Apparently Hdt. 7.225.3 inspired Philostratus to write, regarding the use of *Pancretion*: δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι κλασθέντων αὐτοῖς ξιφῶν τε καὶ δοράτων πολλὰ ταῖς χερσὶ γυμναῖς ἔπραξαν ("Secondly from the events at Thermopylae, where the Spartans, when their swords and spears were broken, accomplished much with their bare hands": Philostr. *Gym.* 11).

protected by a small but deep valley. The comments by R.W. Macan (1908, vol. 1.1, 333 *ad* 7.225 nr. [10]) offer no help either on this point. Noteworthy is the fight over Leonidas' body, of which How and Wells surmise, rightly I think, that it was intended by Herodotus to remind his audience of the battle over the body of Patroclus as described by Homer (Hom. *Il.* 17.233-761). Leonidas' body was initially buried at Thermopylae, though his head was cut off and impaled on Xerxes' orders. Ultimately, Leonidas' remains were buried at Sparta in 440 BC and a stele was erected on his grave, bearing the names of the three hundred. It is feasible that Herodotus indirectly refers to this stele when he mentions (7.224.1 above) that he knew the name of all 300 Spartans killed at Thermopylae.

Pausanias tells it as follows: τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Πausανίου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγησαμένου μνημῆμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λεωνίδου. καὶ λόγους κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ τιθέασιν ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλὴν Σπαρτιατῶν ἄλλω γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι. τὰ δὲ ὀστέα τοῦ Λεωνίδου τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀνελομένου ἐκ Θερμοπυλῶν τοῦ Πausανίου. κεῖται δὲ καὶ στήλη πατρόθεν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχουσα οἱ πρὸς Μήδους τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀγῶνα ὑπέμειναν ("Opposite the theatre [sc. in Sparta] are two tombs; the first is that of Pausanias, the general at Plataea, the second is that of Leonidas. Every year they deliver speeches over them, and hold a contest in which none may compete except Spartans. The bones of Leonidas were taken by [King] Pausanias from Thermopylae forty years after the battle. There is set up a slab with the names, and their fathers' names, of those who endured the fight at Thermopylae against the Persians": Paus. 3.14.1; translation Jones/Ormerod, Loeb Classical Library; also see *Inscriptiones Graecae* V.1.660)<sup>32</sup>.

Previously, Pausanias already had recounted the story of Leonidas in general terms, as it seems at least partially following Diodorus' version of it (he refers to "the man of Trachis" as the one who helped Xerxes): Ξέρξης γὰρ βασιλέων, ὅποσοι Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις ἐγένοντο ὕστερον, παρασχομένῳ μέγιστον φρόνημα καὶ ἀποδειξαμένῳ λαμπρὰ οὕτω, κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Λεωνίδας σὺν ὀλίγοις, οὓς ἠγάγετο ἐς Θερμοπύλας, ἐγένετο ἂν ἐμποδῶν μηδὲ ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναίων ποτὲ ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς Οἴτης τείνουσαν περιαγαγὼν τὴν μετὰ Ὑδάρνου στρατιὰν ὁ Τραχίνιος κυκλώσασθαι σφισι τοὺς Ἑλληνας παρέσχε καὶ οὕτω κατεργασθέντος Λεωνίδου παρήλθον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα οἱ βάρβαροι ("Xerxes, the proudest of all who have reigned over the Medes, or over the Persians who suc-

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<sup>32</sup> Jung argues that this reinterment occurred on the eve of the Peloponnesian War and explains the act in the context of Athenian and Spartan competition over the memories of their participation in the Persian Wars. Spartan claims to sacrifice at Thermopylae responded to Athenian claims to leadership at Marathon. The burial of Leonidas next to Pausanias transformed the sanctuary into an *Erinnerungsort* for the Persian Wars centred on Spartan sacrifice at Thermopylae and Spartan vengeance and victory at Plataea: Jung 2011, xx.

ceeded them, the achiever of such brilliant exploits, was met on his march by Leonidas and the handful of men he led to Thermopylae, and they would have prevented him from even seeing Greece at all, and from ever burning Athens, if the man of Trachis had not guided the army with Hydarnes by the path that stretches across Oeta, and enabled the enemy to surround the Greeks; so Leonidas was overwhelmed and the foreigners passed along into Greece”: Paus. 3.4.8; translation Jones/Ormerod, Loeb Classical Library).

As might be expected, the version of the final encounter as presented by Diodorus seriously differs from Herodotus’. It reads as follows:

Diodorus 11.9.1-10.4:

[11.9.1] ἀκούσαντες δ’ οἱ Ἕλληνες συνήδρευσαν περὶ μέσας νύκτας καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν δεῖν παραχρῆμα καταλιπόντας τὰς παρόδους διασώζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς μείνασι τυχεῖν σωτηρίας· Λεωνίδης δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φιλοτιμούμενος αὐτῶ τε δόξαν περιθεῖναι μεγάλην καὶ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, προσέταξε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἀπιέναι καὶ σώζειν ἑαυτούς, ἵνα κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας μάχας συναγωνίζωνται τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφησε δεῖν μένειν καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν παρόδων μὴ λιπεῖν· πρέπειν γὰρ τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὲρ τῶν πρωτείων ἀγωνιζομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἐτοιμῶς. [2] εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὁ δὲ Λεωνίδης μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἡρωικὰς πράξεις καὶ παραδόξους ἐπετελέσατο. ὀλίγων δ’ ὄντων Λακεδαιμονίων, Θεσπιεὶς γὰρ μόνους παρακατέσχε, καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἔχων οὐ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἔτοιμος ἦν ὑποδέξασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος θάνατον. [3] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Τραχινίου Πέρσαι περιελθόντες τὰς δυσχωρίας ἄφνω τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην ἀπέλαβον εἰς τὸ μέσον, οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες τὴν μὲν σωτηρίαν ἀπογόντες, τὴν δ’ εὐδοξίαν ἐλόμενοι, μᾶ φωνῇ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἤξιον ἀγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τοὺς Πέρσας τὴν τῶν ἰδίων περιόδον.

[11.9.1] Having heard this [sc. the warning of Tyrrhastidas of Cyme], the Greeks gathered together about the middle of the night and conferred about the perils which were bearing down on them. Some said that they must abandon the pass immediately and come safely through to the allies. They argued that it would be impossible for those who stayed to come off unscathed. Leonidas, the king of the Lacedaemonians, who was very ambitious to confer honour both upon himself and the Spartiates, ordered that all the other Greeks should depart and save themselves, in order to fight together with the Greeks in the battles which still remained. The Lacedaemonians themselves, he said, had to stay and not abandon the guard of the pass, for it was fitting that those who were the leaders of Hellas should gladly die, striving for the first price. [2] Immediately, then, all the rest departed, but Leonidas together with his fellow citizens performed heroic and astounding deeds. Though the Lacedaemonians were but few (he detained only the Thespians) and he had all told not more than five hundred men, he was ready to meet death on behalf of Hellas. [3] After this, the Persians who were led by the Trachinian, after making their way around the difficult terrain, suddenly shut up Leonidas in the middle. The Greeks, giving up any thought of their own safety and choosing renown instead, with one voice asked their commander to lead them against the enemy before the Persians learned of the <successful> detour of their own men.

[4] Λεωνίδης δὲ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδεξάμενος, τούτοις παρήγγειλε ταχέως ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐν ᾧδου δειπνησομένους· αὐτὸς δ' ἀκολούθως τῇ παραγγελίᾳ τροφήν προσηνέγκατο, νομίζων οὕτω δυνήσεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχύειν καὶ φέρειν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὑπομονήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συντόμως ἀναλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἔτοιμοι πάντες ὑπῆρξαν, παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσπεσόντας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν φονεῦειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὀρμήσαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνήν. [11.10.1] Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀκολούθως ταῖς παραγγελίαις συμφράξαντες νυκτὸς εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὴν τῶν Περσῶν στρατοπεδείαν, προκαθηγούμενου τοῦ Λεωνίδου· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διὰ τε τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀτάκτως, καὶ νομίσαντες τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Τραχινίου πορευομένους ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἄπασαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρεῖναι, κατεπλάγησαν. [2] διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λεωνίδην ἀνηροῦντο, πλείους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ὑπὸ πολεμίων διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀπώλοντο. ἢ τε γὰρ νῦξ ἀφηρεῖτο τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἢ τε ταραχὴ καθ' ὅλην οὕσα τὴν στρατοπεδείαν εὐλόγως πολλὴν ἐποίει φόνον· ἔκτεινον γὰρ ἀλλήλους, οὐ διδούσης τῆς περιστάσεως τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ἀκριβῆ διὰ τὸ μῆτε ἡγεμόνος παραγγελίαν μῆτε συνθήματος ἐρώτησιν μῆτε ὅλως διανοίας κατάστασιν ὑπάρχειν. [3] ... [4] ... ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῆς ὅλης περιστάσεως δηλωθείσης, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι θεωροῦντες ὀλίγους ὄντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, κατεφρόνησαν<sup>33</sup>, καὶ κατὰ στόμα μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, φοβούμενοι τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων καὶ ἐξόπισθεν περιεστώμενοι καὶ πανταχόθεν τοξεύοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν.

[4] And Leonidas, welcoming the eagerness of the soldiers, ordered them to prepare their breakfast quickly, since they would dine in Hades. He himself, in accordance with the order he had given, took food, believing that this way he could keep his strength for a long time and retain his endurance in the combat. When they had hastily refreshed themselves and all were ready, he ordered the soldiers to attack the encampment, killing anyone they came across, and to strike for the very tent of the king. [11.10.1] The soldiers, then, in accordance with the orders, having formed in a compact body, fell by night upon the encampment of the Persians, Leonidas leading the attack. Because of the unexpectedness of the attack and their ignorance of the reason for it, the Persians ran together from their tents with great tumult and in disorder, and thinking that the soldiers who had set out with the Trachinian had perished and that the entire force of the Greeks was present, they were struck with terror. [2] Therefore many were killed by the troops of Leonidas, but even more died by the hands of their comrades as if by enemies, due to their ignorance. For both the night prevented any understanding of the real situation, and the confusion, which extended throughout the entire encampment, probably caused great slaughter. For they kept killing one another, because the conditions did not allow a meticulous assessment because there was no order from a commander nor any demanding of a password nor, in general, any recovery of reason. [3] ... [4] ... However, when morning had broken and the entire state of affairs had become clear, the Persians, observing that the Greeks were few in number, came to their senses. They did not, however, join battle face to face, fearing their [sc. the Greeks'] *aretê*, but deployed on their flanks and rear, shooting arrows and hurling javelins at them from every direction, they killed all of them.

<sup>33</sup> *Codd.*: κατεφρόνησαν αὐτῶν; αὐτῶν *delevi*. In context, contempt (*καταφρονέω* + gen., i.e. αὐτῶν) makes no immediate sense, but after the previous panic to come to one's senses does (cf. for this meaning *LSJ* s.v. III). Also the sequel does not appear to be in contradiction with my intervention. On the contrary: you are not afraid of the *aretê* of people you despise or contempt. Cf. also D.S. 11.16.1.

There are some elements in this account that strike me as particular. The first is the phrase in 11.9.2, *Θεσπιεῖς γὰρ μόνους παρακατέσχε* (“he [sc. Leonidas] only detained the Thespians”), as *παρακατέχω* means “keep back”, “detain”, inferring an active measure by Leonidas, not a voluntary offer by the Thespians (mentioned here for the first time by Diodorus), moreover totally overlooking the position of the Thebans. The easiest solution for this issue is to assume a mistake by either Diodorus, or his direct source, or even a copyist, writing here “Thespians” where “Thebans” was meant (a mistake by Herodotus seems unlikely as his story is, more or less, corroborated by Plutarch, see below note 34, and, in a way, also by Diodorus himself). A more complex assumption would be to presume that somewhere in the process of copying (either by Diodorus or later, early in the copying process, i.e. before the completion of the *archetype* of the existing manuscripts) a mistake was made, resulting in the omission of at least some words (up to possibly one or more sentences), outlining the actual attitude of the Thespians and the Thebans. In itself, I find this a more appealing solution though, I must admit, there is no shred of evidence to back it<sup>34</sup>. As it is now, the Thebans play no role at all, positive or negative, in Diodorus’ account of the final encounter, though he had previously mentioned them as present at the site.

The most striking aspect of the “alternative version” of Diodorus is, however, of course the nightly attack by the Greek forces on the Persian camp and the ensuing panic among the Persian forces<sup>35</sup>. Green (2010, 19, note 20) discusses it only briefly, but in his 2006 work, 61 and note 43, he assesses the attack slightly more

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<sup>34</sup> A possibility might be, though, to refer to Plutarch, who basically used the same source as Diodorus (i.e. Ephorus?) and clearly refers to both Thespians and Thebans assisting the Spartans at Thermopylae *τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων* (“when the others had left”: Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 864E). The confusion regarding this paragraph is also clearly present with Jean Haillet: Haillet 2002, 16 note 2, who offers, though no explanation.

<sup>35</sup> As it appears, the same version also inspired one Aristides in a work *Persian History* (or: *Persian Wars?*). The work itself is lost, but Plutarch preserved the following: *Περσῶν μετὰ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐρχομένων, Λεωνίδας ἅμα τριακοσίοις ἐπέμφθη εἰς Θερμοπύλας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. εὐαχουμένοις δ’ ἐκεῖ ἐπέκειτο τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος· καὶ ὁ Λεωνίδας εἶπεν ἰδὼν τοὺς βαρβάρους, “οὕτως ἀριστᾶτε ὡς ἐν Ἄιδου δειπνήσοντες.” καὶ ὀρμήσας κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολλοῖς περιπαρεῖς δόρασιν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Ξέρξην καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφείλετο. οὐ ἀποθανόντος ὁ βάρβαρος τέμνει τὴν καρδίαν καὶ εὔρε δασεῖαν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἐν πρώτῃ Περσικῶν* (“When the Persians were marching with five million men against Greece, Leonidas was sent by the Spartans to Thermopylae with three hundred men. While they were eating and drinking there, the Persian host attacked them; and when Leonidas saw the Persians, he said, “Eat your lunch now as if you were to dine in Hades”. And when he rushed against the Persians, and was pierced by many a spear, he made his way up to Xerxes and snatched off his crown. When he was dead, the Persian king cut out his heart and found it covered with hair. So Aristides [i.e. Aristides of Miletus: cf. *BNJ* 286 F 20a-c] in the first book of his *Persian History* (or: *Persian Wars?*): Plu. *Mor.* 306CD). As a matter of fact, Hammond 1996 as much as rejects any suggestion of a nightly attack by the Spartans.

(as indicated above, note 20, the night attack does not feature in his 1996 work). As referred to before (p. 179, note 22), Green states that it is “not entirely to be dismissed as a fabrication” purely because it is absent in Herodotus’ account (unless, of course, someone would be prepared to read Hdt. 7.223.3: τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στείνων ἔπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων (“Now, however, joining battle outside the narrows, many of the Persians fell”) as a rendering of an attack against the Persian camp, a suggestion not proposed, so far, to the best of my knowledge, and not one I would be prepared to support, in fact)<sup>36</sup>. Green asserts that Diodorus’ version is supported by Plutarch and Justin: he fails, though, to indicate that Diodorus, Plutarch, and Justin (or the latter’s source, Gn. Pompeius Trogus (in the introduction to Yardley 1994, 5-6, Develin argues that Justin did more than merely excerpt Pompeius Trogus’ work)) probably all used the same source, as one suspects Ephorus, and *therefore* presented a similar story.

I find it, however, strange that so far, to the best of my knowledge, no one pointed out that, under the circumstances, being about to be surrounded, a nightly attack was not the worst option for a group of proud warriors, adamant not to flee. To remain waiting, like sitting ducks, until the enemy sounds the attack, knowing you are about to be killed anyway, might well be regarded as a much more unattractive choice. If you would be able to surprise the guards of the Persian camp (the informers may have been of use on this issue as well; Diodorus is altogether silent on this point), breaking away under cover of the night to maximise the effect of the operation (and to avert the deployment of the Persian cavalry), you might create yourself at least a fighting chance. Moreover, as the elite forces of the Persians were on their tour over the byway and therefore away from the camp – likely a piece of information disclosed to the Greeks by the deserters from the Persian camp as well – the odds for the Greek army against the remaining Persians, mostly conscripts from various regions, numerous as they were, were less unevenly balanced, certainly if the Greeks could use the element of surprise. An element to consider in this context is that, as it appears, Spartan troops were not unfamiliar with nightly action (cf. X. *Lac.* 5.7; Plu. *Lyc.* 12.14). Last but not least, an offensive action from the Spartans – and their allies – might give the troops Leonidas had sent home (or that had more or less deserted: the evidence from the sources remains sadly inconclusive) suffi-

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<sup>36</sup> Matthew is rightly cautious on this point, though perhaps less than I am: cf. Matthew, 2013a, 1-26 at 24-25. I believe that the time Herodotus gives for the start of the fighting, viz. between nine and ten in the morning, precludes a nightly attack. This, in its turn, makes it hard to conceive that the Spartiates, in spite of Herodotus’ remark τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν στείνων (“now, however, joining battle outside the narrows”: Hdt. 7.223.3), completely left the cover that the geography of Thermopylae offered, let alone that they would have been able to approach the Persian camp in daylight, due to the fact that the Persian cavalry would have easily prevented such an action under those conditions.

cient time to leave the area safely and reach their own respective territories. Though not adopting the option of a night attack, Daskalakis also stresses the importance of getting the other troops safely home<sup>37</sup>.

#### *Objectives of Herodotus and Diodorus*

In his proem, Herodotus states that: Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι (“This is the presentation of the enquiry of Herodotus the Halicarnassian, to avoid that the memory of the past is blotted out from among men by time and that great and marvellous deeds, both by Greeks and Persians, become obliterated, and the rest and why they made war against each other”: Hdt. 1.0). Next, he indicates a few of the reasons why Greeks and Persians became each other’s opponents, finally resulting in what has become known as the Persian Wars (which take a large part of his account, more or less starting in 6.95 – leaving aside the Ionian Revolt of which the story starts at the beginning of book five – and continuing until the end of the work). What is suggested in the proem becomes more and more obvious in the rest of the *Histories*, sc. that Herodotus views controversies – of various kinds but notably the duel – as an important narrative pattern: Greeks vs. Persians, Argos vs. Sparta, Xerxes vs. Demaratus, Xerxes vs. Sparta, to name but a few (see also Dillery 1996, *passim*). Bridges, finally, underlines that another of the constants in Herodotus’ account is an underlying ethical premise, viz. “that human fortune does not reside for long in one place”: Bridges 2015, 4). It is part of the didactic purpose that the *Histories* have as well, as Herodotus himself underlines in the proem: ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ... ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, ..., ἀκλεᾶ γένηται (“to avoid that the memory of the past is blotted out ... and that great and marvellous deeds, ..., become obliterated”). The didactic purpose is, moreover, accentuated in the first five books of the *Histories* by Herodotus’ interest, comparisons, and descriptions in the fields of sex, food, and dealing with the dead.

Dillery notes that Herodotus’ treatment of the controversy around Thyrea (Hdt. 1.82) serves as a kind of model for the outcome of the Battle of Thermopylae. “The “Thyrea” pattern, when applied to the battle of Thermopylae, reveals the more famous conflict to be one that Herodotus reconfigured from a defeat into a victory. Thermopylae, after the fashion of Thyrea, was a contest that tested the national character of both Sparta and Persia; it was a battle that Herodotus tried to show the Spartans actually won; and as proof of the Spartans’ victory, the true outcome of the battle was in a sense ratified by the refighting of the contest at

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<sup>37</sup> Daskalakis 1962, 76-78. Green 1996, 140 stresses that “[i]f Thermopylae was abandoned, Xerxes’ cavalry would cut the retreating Greek army to ribbons”.

the battle of Plataea” (Dillery 1996, 218). As such, duels – also failed duels – were a phenomenon not at all unusual for the Archaic Period (and before: cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.84-380, 7.67-312; also Hdt. 5.1). Typically, in these examples, the side that wins the duel loses the larger conflict (cf. Dillery 1996, 224, 238, 245). What we see above all in Herodotus, however, is an attempt to reconfigure the past in line with the ultimate outcome of events, here the Persian wars. Nevertheless, Thermopylae actually was a terrible defeat. Borrowing an explanation from modern psychological studies, we could see in Herodotus a type of reassessment that involves “cognitive dissonance”<sup>38</sup>. All the famous events leading up to Greek victory are made to explain this outcome (see Dillery 1996, 241).

There is, moreover, still another element present in Herodotus’ account, i.e. Greekness. “Greekness” is defined by Herodotus in a noteworthy passage: αὐτίς δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὁμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡθεῖά τε ὁμότροπα (“There is our common Greekness: we are all one in blood and one in language, the shrines of the gods belong to us all in common as well as the sacrifices and our habits, result of a common upbringing”: Hdt. 8.144.2). Herodotus not only confronts Greekness against the habits of several other foreign peoples, as indicated above. Time and again Greek attitudes are especially opposed to Persian ones, certainly in the description of events during the war (cf., e.g., Hdt. 7.103.5, 209.4; 9.48.1-2, 48.4, 82). A familiar *topos* is that Persian kings in Herodotus (but also in Diodorus) do not understand Greek freedom and its consequences: in this vein Xerxes dismisses the warning of Demaratus for the Spartans more than once as ridiculous (e.g. Hdt. 7.103.1, 105.1; Diodorus is even clearer on this incident, using the word καταγελάσας (“having laughed [it] away”: D.S. 11.6.2); see also, e.g., Evans 1991, 26.

In a manner, Diodorus’ starting point does not differ very much from Herodotus’ (see also below, under *Justin, Diodorus and their sources*). Diodorus’ important contribution to our knowledge is that he preserved several historical traditions, collected from a variety of literary sources (cf. also Bridges 2015, 135), to enable his audience to get to know (or even understand) historical occurrences. His basic attitude, he states, was a search for the truth (perhaps in line with his Stoic beliefs): ..., τὸ δ’ ἀναγραφῆς ἀξιῶσαι τὰ διαφωνούμενα παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπως ἀκέραιος ἢ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσις ἀπολείπηται τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσιν (“..., and yet, the differences among writers must be recorded, in order to make the judgement on the truth with an open mind possible for the readers”: D.S. 1.56.6). The practice of enabling the search for *ta genomena* (≈ “what really happened”) proved to be more difficult for Diodorus than he claimed, especially because he often relied (or had to rely) on biased sources (like the Athenophile Ephorus: cf. Hornblower 1994, 36-37; see also below). A

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<sup>38</sup> For an application of the theory of “cognitive dissonance” to ancient texts, see Carroll 1979, 86-110.

strong personal bias in Diodorus becomes evident when he discusses matters more or less related with Sicily: there he shows himself a staunch nationalist and/or chauvinist (cf. also Bridges 2015, 139-140). Apart from such biases, Diodorus also appears to freely invent asides on politics, philosophy, and historiography (cf. Sacks 1990, 6; contra: Oldfather 1968, xxiii).

According to Diodorus, history: *πολλὰ συμβάλλεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην* (“contributes greatly to piety and justice among men”: 1.2.2). Diodorus’ attention – much like Herodotus’ – is focused on the *μνήμης ἄξια*, the deeds worthy to remember, like wars and monuments and paradigms. Unlike Herodotus, though, Diodorus has constructed the *Bibliotheca* around a program for moral living, more or less like Ephorus and the latter’s teacher Isocrates (if Isocrates indeed was Ephorus’ teacher: cf. below, p. 203). He awards special praise to benefactors, mythological and historical, who contributed civilising gifts in the arts and sciences and in politics (cf. Sacks 1990, 205; also: Oldfather 1968, xx-xxi). As such it is obviously a didactic work presenting historic *exempla*. Diodorus’ aim is most clearly expressed in the opening chapter of Book 15: *παρ’ ὅλην τὴν πραγματείαν εἰωθότες χρῆσθαι τῇ συνήθει τῆς ἱστορίας παρρησία, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὸν δίκαιον ἐπιλέγειν ἔπαινον, τοὺς δὲ φαύλους, ὅταν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἀξιοῦν δικαίας ἐπιτιμήσεως, διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου νομίζομεν τοὺς μὲν εὖ πεφυκότας πρὸς ἀρετὴν τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῷ προτρέψεσθαι ταῖς καλλίσταις ἐγχειρεῖν πράξεις, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχοντας διάθεσιν ταῖς ἀρμοττούσαις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέψειν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὀρμῆς* (“Throughout our entire treatise, our practice has been to employ the customary freedom of speech enjoyed by history, and we have added just praise of good men for their fair deeds and meted out just censure upon bad men whenever they did wrong. By this means, as we believe, we shall lead men whose nature fortunately inclines them to *areté* to undertake, because of the immortality fame accords them, the fairest deeds, whereas by appropriate obloquies we shall turn men of the opposite character from their impulse to evil”: D.S. 15.1.1).

Apart from that, Diodorus claims, like Herodotus, that: *ὄρωντες ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν χρησιμωτάτην μὲν οὔσαν, πολλοῦ δὲ πόνου καὶ χρόνου προσδεομένην, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπραγματεύθημεν, μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ κινδύνων ἐπὶλήθομεν πολλὴν τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ πλείστων μερῶν αὐτόπται γενηθῶμεν· πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς ἀγνοίας τῶν τόπων διήμαρτον οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ τινες καὶ τῶν τῇ δόξῃ πεπρωτευκότων* (“seeing that such an enterprise [i.e. the writing of the *Bibliotheca*], though useful, would claim much effort and time, we have been busy with it for thirty years. With much hardship and dangers we have travelled a large part of both Asia [Minor] and Europe, in order to obtain autopsy of the most relevant and majority of regions. In fact, many errors have occurred through ignorance of the locations, not merely by those who wrote history per-

chance, but also by some prominent in reputation”: D.S. 1.4.1). This claim of autoptic knowledge may well, incidentally, complicate the search for Diodorus’ sources. Sometimes, too, it also may be empty boasting in an attempt to claim authority, probably, though, not more and not less than in Herodotus’ case. For the description of the Battle of Thermopylae, however, I do not believe there has been any significant contamination, apart from its being probably to a large extent dependent of Ephorus (even though Haillet 2002, xi believes Herodotus was Diodorus’ main source for ‘Thermopylae’: in view of the notable differences regarding pivotal occurrences in their reports I disagree on this point with Haillet. His statement, some pages further, that Diodorus’ account of ‘Thermopylae’ was the result of “l’élaboration de plusieurs sources, Hérodote, Éphore, peut-être Ctésias et d’autres encore” (Haillet 2002, xviii) seems to me much more supported by the text as it is.

Each author, Herodotus and Diodorus, wrote, based upon his own concept of contingency (*quod nec est impossibile nec necessarium* (“that what is neither impossible nor necessary”))<sup>39</sup>, his version of the events unfolding: one more or less accentuating identity (next to controversy and Fate), the other above all stressing morality. In his description of ‘Thermopylae’ Herodotus focused on the physical duel between Spartiates and Persians or even between Europe and Asia (against the background of a duel of mindset between Demaratus and Xerxes), Diodorus especially stressed the ἀνδραγαθία (“bravery”, “manly virtue”) and ἀρετή (“*areté*”) of the Spartiates.

#### *Literary and material evidence*

As it happened, the final result of the battle in both versions is identical. The Spartiates (and their allies) were pushed back inside the “Gates”, surrounded, and struck down by missiles (arrows, lances), according to Herodotus on the hill (κολωνός) there, while Diodorus is not specific as regards the place of the final stand. In 1939 Marinatos excavated at Thermopylae. He surmised that the final stage of the battle took place on one of the hills on the site (there are three or four hills, this is the highest of them: cf. Macan 1908, vol. 1.1, 333 *ad* 7.225 nr. [10]), which he took to be the κολωνός described by Herodotus. There, a large number of bronze and iron missiles was found “all or almost all of fifth-century types” and similar to those found at Marathon and there called Assyrian or Egyptian<sup>40</sup>. As it would seem, literary material is here, at least to some extent, corroborated by archaeological evidence – a suggestion that emanates from both Marinatos’s and Pritchett’s accounts. However, also in this case literary and material evidence should not be linked immediately (though the similarity of the arrowheads at Marathon and Thermopylae would seem to make it extra tempting to do so).

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<sup>39</sup> Cf., e.g., Grethlein 2010, 6-10 for an elaboration of the concept of contingency.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Robertson 1939, 200; Marinatos, 1951, 61-65, who suggests the arrows confirm the Colonus was the place of the last stand; Pritchett 1985b, 172; see also Flower 1998, 377 and note 55.



Fig. 6. Arrowheads from Thermopylae. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photo: Marco Prins, <<http://www.livius.org/pictures/greece/thermo-pylae/thermopylae-arrowheads/>>.

Such a “positivist fallacy” tends to overlook that, though both kinds of evidence *might* appear to support each other, we should constantly bear in mind that other explanations remain possible or feasible and that the available evidence may well be asymmetrical. One of the causes to entertain such prudence is the fact that our evidence, of both kinds, ultimately is extremely fragmentary. In this respect it is essential to first try and define a “broader literary or material context and only then to consider whether there might be a relationship between the two”<sup>41</sup>. As it seems, such a broader context is, in spite of several efforts, still lacking for the arrowheads from Thermopylae and it is outside the scope of this paper to try and provide one.

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Hall 2014, 208.

While Diodorus refrains from any polemic towards Herodotus in the *Bibliotheca* (at least as regards ‘Thermopylae’), such restraint is completely absent in Plutarch. In his treatise *On the Malice of Herodotus* (*De Herodoti Malignitate*), 854E-874C, Plutarch of Chaeronea (in Boeotia) takes a very firm stand against Herodotus, whom he accuses, amongst other things, of a biased view against, notably, Thebans and Corinthians (Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 854F). One of the events Plutarch uses in his polemic to accuse Herodotus of malice is the latter’s description of the occurrences surrounding the Battle of Thermopylae.

*The position of the Thebans, part 2*

In 864EF, Plutarch states (regarding Herodotus’ remark that Leonidas forced Thebans to come to Thermopylae): [864E]... καίτοι ... ἐπεμψαν εἰς δὲ Θερμοπύλας ὄσους ἤτησε Λεωνίδα· οἱ καὶ μόνοι σὺν Θεσπιεῦσι παρέμειναν αὐτῷ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολιπόντων μετὰ τὴν κύκλωσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν παρόδων κρατήσας ὁ βάρβαρος ἐν τοῖς ὄροις [F] ἦν καὶ Δημάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης διὰ ξενίας εὖνους ὦν Ἀτταγίνῳ τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας, διεπράξατο φίλον βασιλέως γενέσθαι καὶ ξένον, οἱ δ’ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἦσαν, περὶ δ’ οὐδεὶς προσήλαυνεν, οὕτω προσεδέξαντο τὰς διαλύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἐγκαταληφθέντες. οὕτε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ νῆες αὐτοῖς παρήσαν ὡς Ἀθηναίοις, οὐτ’ ἀπωτάτω κατῳκούν ὡς Σπαρτιάται τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν μυχῶ, μιᾶς δ’ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν καὶ ἡμισείας ἀπέχοντι τῷ Μήδῳ συστάντες ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν καὶ διαγωνισάμενοι μετὰ μόνων Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν (“... and yet ... they [sc. the Thebans] sent all the men that Leonidas asked for to Thermopylae; and they alone, together with the Thespians, stayed with him when the others left after they had been surrounded after the Persian had mastered the pass in the mountains. [F] There also was Demaratus the Spartiate, who was benevolent towards Attaginus, the leader of the oligarchy<sup>42</sup>, because of guest-friendship. He arranged for him to become the <Persian> king’s friend and guest, while the <other> Greeks [i.e. notably the Athenians] were in their ships and no [Peloponnesian/Spartan] infantry on its way, and in this way they [sc. the Thebans] did accept the king’s terms, forced by dire necessity. Indeed, they had neither sea and ships to take refuge to, like the Athenians, nor did they live far away in the back of beyond of Greece, like the Spartiates, [but they were] holding out in the passes and fighting to the end together with only the Spartiates and Thespians against the Persian who was only one and a half day away [sc. from Thebes]”). In itself, the latter remark is not altogether unjust, as Fig. 7 shows. Moreover, contrary to Herodotus’ suggestions, Plutarch’s remarks implicate that the rapprochement between the Theban oligarchs and the Persian king occurred

<sup>42</sup> Hdt. 9.15.4-16.5 describes that Attaginus received Mardonius and 50 prominent Persians to dinner with 50 Thebans in 479 BC.



Fig. 7. Map of Boeotia, showing the respective positions of, amongst others, Chaeronea, Thespieae, and Thebes as regards Thermopylae, situated in the top left corner. From: <<http://www.stilus.nl/oudheid/wdo/GEO/A/AULIS.html>>.

some time before the Battle of Thermopylae, but not by a very long margin: “while the <other> Greeks were in their ships and no infantry on its way”<sup>43</sup>.

Though Plutarch admits in the end that there was a friendly relation between the Theban leader Attaginus and the Persian king, he also both downplays its importance (and makes it something personal rather than official or state policy) and explains it as caused by dire and unsought after circumstances. There is no mention whatsoever of offering earth and water to the Persian king in advance: the Thebans, in short, acted as Greeks basically loyal to the Greek cause but were, in fact, deserted by the other Greek *poleis*. Plutarch obviously implies that Herodotus willingly misrepresented the Theban position, misrepresentation being one of the ways to show ‘malice’, in fact a moral defect. Herodotus, moreover, shows his malice especially (according to Plutarch) by stating that the Thebans were forced to stay as *hostages* [my italics] with Leonidas. Plutarch fur-

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<sup>43</sup> Regrettably, Gillis (1979, 34) nearly exclusively relying on Herodotus as a source, offers no new views.

ther illustrates his view by paraphrasing and commenting upon Herodotus' words of 7.205.3 and 7.222 (Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 865A-D), concluding ὅτι τοῖνον οὐ διεβέβλητο τοῖς Θηβαίοις ὁ Λεωνίδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλους ἐνόμιζε βεβαίους, ἐκ τῶν παπραγμένων δῆλόν ἐστι (“that Leonidas was not at variance with the Thebans but considered them as firm friends is clear from the occurrences”): Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 865F).

*The final encounter, part 2*

Also as regards this point Plutarch discredits Herodotus' account. Plutarch's version reads as follows:

Plu. *De Herod. Malign.* 866AB:

[866A] ὁ δ' Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ Λεωνίδου τὴν μεγίστην ἡμαύρωκε πρᾶξιν, αὐτοῦ πεσεῖν πάντας εἰπὼν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς περὶ τὸν Κολωνόν· ἐπράχθη δ' ἄλλως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπύθοντο νύκτωρ τὴν περίοδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἀναστάντες ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ὀλίγου δεῖν βασιλέως, ὡς ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ἀποκτενοῦντες καὶ περὶ ἐκείνῳ τεθνηζόμενοι· μέχρι μὲν οὖν τῆς σκηνῆς αἰεὶ τὸν ἐμποδὸν φονεύοντες, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεπόμενοι προῆλθον· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ εὗρίσκετο Ξέρξης, [B] ζητοῦντες ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀχανεῖ στρατεύματι καὶ πλανώμενοι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πανταχόθεν περιχυθέντων διεφθάρησαν. ὅσα δ' ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ τολμήματα καὶ ῥήματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν παραλέλοιπεν, ἐν τῷ Λεωνίδου βίῳ γραφήσεται·

[866A] In the description of the battle Herodotus has also obscured the greatest achievement of Leonidas, stating that all fell in the pass around the Colonus<sup>44</sup>. This is not what happened. When they learned during the night about the detour of their enemies, setting out, they proceeded to the [enemy] camp, almost as far as the king's tent, intending to kill him and die in return for his death. They came up to the tent, killing all who came in their way and chasing forth the others. When they did not find Xerxes, [B] searching in the great and vast army and wandering, they were, with toil and pain, killed by the Persians who were from all sides amassing around them. All the other brave actions and sayings of the Spartiates that he [sc. Herodotus] omitted, I shall describe in the Life of Leonidas<sup>45</sup>.

Essentially, this is a version of the events that, like Diodorus', appears to be based upon, as one assumes (see above, p. 174), Ephorus. The same source also becomes visible further in 866B: αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Λεωνίδας πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα παντελῶς ὀλίγους ἐξάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην πολλοὺς μὲν ἔφη τεθνηζομένους (“Leonidas answered to the person who said that he took few men out to the battle: ‘Many, though, to be killed’”). Leonidas' answer here is reflected in the description of the events we already came across in Diodorus 11.4.3-4.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hdt. 7.225.2-3.

<sup>45</sup> If it ever has been written at all, the *Life of Leonidas* has not been transmitted among the other *Lives* written by Plutarch. A collection of alleged sayings by Leonidas has survived as part of the *Apophthegmata Laconica*, Plu. *Mor.* 208A-236F at 225A-E.

We have but briefly indicated a number of specific passages in Plutarch's pamphlet against Herodotus. The list could be made longer, including Plutarch's refutation of Herodotus' statement that the Thebans fled the Battle of Thermopylae and, supported by the Thessalians, begged the Persians for their lives as well as Plutarch's assertion (as it appears adducing evidence) that the Thebans at Thermopylae were not commanded by Leontiadas but by Anaxander [of Thebes]<sup>46</sup> "as Aristophanes [i.e. Aristophanes Boeotus, a historian dating to the fourth century BC: *FGrH/BNJ* 379] and Nicander of Colophon report" (Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 866D-867B). In short: Plutarch asserts his audience that Herodotus' story – here as regards the Battle of Thermopylae – will hold no water. Of course, in the vein of this work by Plutarch, the same conclusion is applicable in the rest of his case against Herodotus, but that is irrelevant for the subject at hand. Plutarch's final remarks though, should be mentioned – even if they come from this demonstrably biased source: ... ἀμέλει ταῦτα καὶ κηλεῖ καὶ προσάγεται πάντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ῥόδοις δεῖ κανθαρίδα φυλάττεσθαι τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακολογίαν, λείοις καὶ ἀπαλοῖς [C] σχήμασιν ὑποδεδικυῖαν, ἵνα μὴ λάθωμεν ἀτόπους καὶ ψευδεῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ μεγίστων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων καὶ ἀνδρῶν δόξας λαβόντες ("These things delight, please, and affect all men, but just like we must beware of cantharides<sup>47</sup> in roses, so must we take heed of his calumnies and evil speaking, [C] hidden under smooth and gentle phrases, to avoid that we do unawares accept absurd notions and lies about the best and greatest cities and men of Greece": Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 874BC).

From the paragraphs above it may be clear that as regards the Battle of Thermopylae Plutarch considers both the Thebans and Leonidas victims of Herodotus' work. The victimisation certainly is in order, as Jona Lendering in a personal communication rightly remarked, for those of the Thebans who bravely fought and died at Thermopylae. They may well have been recruited from those Thebans dedicated to the Greek cause (both Herodotus and Diodorus acknowledge that the Thebans were divided among themselves; cf. also Keaveney 2011, 56, 59-60) and rejecting the medising policy followed – as it seems – by (some of) the leading oligarchs. It is doubly wry that on the one hand their demise facilitated a further pro-Persian policy of the oligarchs and that on the other hand they were kicked by Herodotus while they were down. However, that the Theban *polis* in general, indeed, was regarded as medising by (the) other Greek *poleis* could be construed from the, much later imposed and obviously politically motivated, punitive measures directed against Thebes and recorded by Diodorus (D.S. 17.14.2-4; cf. also Ath. 4.148D-F, referring to Clitarchus [= *FGrH* 137 F 1])<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> This is the only place where this commander has been mentioned.

<sup>47</sup> The so-called Spanish fly, in fact an emerald green beetle.

<sup>48</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the name of Thebes is not referred to as member of the anti-Persian league on the monument erected in memory of the Battle of Plataea, the so-called Serpentine Column, at present in the Hippodrome in İstanbul. Cf., e.g., Jung 2006, 241-259, 271-282.

## JUSTIN

M. Iunianus<sup>49</sup> Iustinus (Justin) is known for a single work, the *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. The so-called *Philippic History* by Gn. Pompeius Trogus is one of those frequently overlooked sources for ancient history, even more so because it predominantly has survived as an *epitome* by Justin<sup>50</sup>. Because of its relative obscurity I shall introduce author and work here shortly. Gn. Pompeius Trogus was born somewhere around the middle of the first century BC and had his *floruit* during the reign of Emperor Octavianus Augustus: it makes him a younger contemporary of Diodorus of Sicily<sup>51</sup>. Pompeius Trogus wrote, *inter alia*, a general history in 44 books, though more or less focused on both the Macedon empire founded by Philip II, the father of Alexander III the Great, (hence its accepted name) and occurrences in Greece and the Ancient Near East, starting with Ninus (the eponymous founder of Nineveh), the last event recorded being the recovery of the Roman standards, captured by Parthians, in 20 BC. Among his sources are counted the works of Timaeus, Polybius, Theopompus, and Ephorus. It is, though, unsure whether he had read the works of Theopompus<sup>52</sup> and Ephorus themselves in their entirety or only in an abridged version, produced by Timagenes of Alexandria. The *epitome* by Justin should be dated about 200 AD at the latest and might, as already indicated above, p. 189, be even (much) more than a mere *epitome*. Regrettably it is too seldomly used by ancient historians, perhaps due to the fact that an English text and translation has been absent for a long time. An edition, with notes, was published by John Selby Watson in 1853 (now also available on the internet: <<http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/>>). The currently available translation is Yardley 1994 (also the main source of my information)<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Most modern authors refer to him as M. Iunianus Iustinus, but Develin believes (in Yardley 1994, 4) that Iunianus is to be preferred as *nomen gentis*.

<sup>50</sup> Regrettably the *epitome* by Justin is somewhat unbalanced, some books being epitomised at (much) greater length than others: as it happens, book 2, which is here relevant for us, is with 22 pages of *epitome* in the Teubner edition the largest summary. The preserved “prologues” to Trogus’ work show the extent of his work. In total, the *epitome* only represents no more than one fifth to, more probably, one tenth of the original work: Develin in Yardley 1994, 6.

<sup>51</sup> Diodorus of Sicily was born *ca.* 90 BC. Together with Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus, Trogus belongs to the canon of the four great Latin historians. “We can only regret that we do not have at least as much of his text as we do of theirs”: Develin in Yardley 1994, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Theopompus (fourth century BC) had, *inter alia*, written an *epitome* of Herodotus as well as a work, in 59 books, centering on the history of Philip II of Macedon.

<sup>53</sup> This translation is based upon the third Teubner edition, of 1971, of the *Historiae philippicae*, edited by Otto Seel. Seel also took care of a German translation of this work in 1972: *Weltgeschichte von den Anfängen bis Augustus/Pompeius Trogus; im Auszug des Justin; eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von —*, Zürich/München and in that same year as well of an elaborate and fundamental study: *Eine römische Weltgeschichte: Studien zum Text der “Epitome” des Iustinus und zur Historik des Pompejus Trogus*, Nürnberg (series: Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. 39).

In book 2 of Justin's *epitome*, attention is paid to the Persian Wars and the Battle of Thermopylae naturally features therein. Though elements of the chapter touch upon several aspects of the battle discussed above separately, I think the cohesion of Justin's words is served best if we present it as completely as necessary, i.e. as:

*The final encounter, part 3*

Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* 2.11.2-18:

[2.11.2] *Namque cum Leonida, rex Spartanorum, cum IV milibus militum angustias Thermopylarum occupasset, Xerxes contemptu paucitatis eos pugnam capessere iubet, quorum cognati Marathonis pugna interfecti fuerant. [3] Qui dum ulcisci suos quaerunt, principium cladis fuere; succedente dein inutili turba maior caedes editur. [4] Triduo ibi ... dimicatum. [5] Quarta die cum nuntiatum esset Leonidae a XX milibus hostium summum cacumen teneri, tum hortatur socios, recedant et se ad meliora patriae tempora reseruent, sibi cum Spartanis fortunam experiendam; [6] ... . [7] Audito regis imperio discessere ceteri, soli Lacedaemonii remanserunt. [8] Initio huius belli sciscitantibus Delphi oracula responsum fuerat, aut regi Spartanorum aut urbi cadendum. [9] Et idcirco rex Leonidas, cum in bellum proficisceretur, ita suos firmauerat, ut ire se parato ad moriendum animo scirent. [10] angustiasque propterea occupauerat, ut cum paucis aut maiore gloria uinceret aut minore damno rei publicae caderet. [11] Dimissis igitur sociis hortatur Spartanos, meminerint qualitercumque proeliatis cadendum esse; cauerent, ne fortius mansisse quam dimicasse uideantur; [12] nec expectandum, ut ab hoste circumuenirentur, sed dum nox occasionem daret, securis et laetis superueniendum;*

[2.11.2] For when Leonidas, king of the Spartans, had occupied the pass of Thermopylae with four thousand men, Xerxes, in contempt of so small a number, ordered those who had lost relatives in the battle of Marathon, to commence the attack. [3] As these sought to avenge those close to them, they were the first to be killed; when next a useless multitude took their place, the bloodshed became still greater. [4] Three days the struggle continued, ... . [5] When on the fourth Leonidas was informed that the summit of the mountain was occupied by twenty thousand of the enemy, he exhorted the allies to retire and prepare themselves for their country for better times, but that he himself would try his luck with the Spartans; [6] ... . [7] On hearing the king's orders, the others retired, while the Lacedaemonians alone remained behind. [8] At the beginning of this war, when the Spartans consulted the oracle at Delphi, they had received the answer that either the king or their city must fall. [9] Therefore King Leonidas had, when he proceeded to war, so fixed the resolution of his men, that they felt they must go to the field with minds prepared for death. [10] He had positioned himself with this goal in a narrow pass, in order to be able to either conquer more gloriously with a few, or fall with less damage to his country. [11] The allies being therefore sent away, he exhorted his Spartans they should remember that, however they struggled, they must expect to perish; that they should take care not to show more resolution to stay than to fight; [12] they should not wait till they were surrounded by the enemy, but when night afforded them opportunity, must surprise them in security and at their ease;

[13] *nusquam uictores honestius quam in castris hostium perituros.* [14] *Nihil erat difficile persuadere persuasis mori:* [15] *statim arma capiunt et sexcenti uiri castra quingentorum milium inrumpunt statimque regis praetorium petunt, aut cum illo aut, si ipsi oppressi essent, in ipsius potissimum sede morituri.* [16] *Tumultus totis castris oritur. Spartani, postquam regem non inueniunt, per omnia castra uictores uagan- tur; caedunt sternuntque omnia, ut qui sciant se pugnare non spe uictoriae, sed in mortis ultionem.* [17] *Proelium a principio noctis in maiorem partem diei tractum.* [18] *Ad postremum non uicti, sed uincendo fatigati inter ingentes stratorum hostium cateruas occiderunt.*

[13] that conquerors could die nowhere more honourably than in the camp of the enemy. [14] There was no difficulty in stimulating men determined to die. [15] They immediately seized their arms, and six hundred men rushed into the camp of five hundred thousand, heading directly for the king's tent, either to die with him, or, if they should be overpowered, at least in his quarters. [16] An alarm spread through the whole [Persian] camp. The Spartans being unable to find the king, swarmed over the whole camp as victors; they killed and overthrew all that stood in their way, like men who knew that they fought, not with the hope of victory, but to avenge their own deaths. [17] The fight continued from the beginning of the night through the greater part of the following day. [18] At last, not conquered, but exhausted with conquering, they fell amidst vast heaps of slaughtered enemies.

It is an exposé in which we recognise several of the elements we also find in both Diodorus' (and Isocrates', see below, p. 208) version of the occurrences, some with minor variations that do not distract from the overall picture. Recurring elements are: the (apocryphal) prophecy of the oracle at Delphi; the initial force of the Greeks at Thermopylae was 4,000 men; Leonidas had intentionally taken a small force of Spartiates with him; 20,000 Persians had made the circuit to come in the back of Leonidas' force; 600 men stayed behind with Leonidas; the night attack.

#### JUSTIN, DIODORUS, AND THEIR SOURCES

As already detailed above, both Theopompus and Ephorus (as it appears, both pupils of Isocrates: see below, p. 211) are counted among the sources of Pompeius Trogus/Justin. As regards Theopompus' influence we can only guess (as it seems the focus of his historical works was the period after the Persian Wars: see above, note 50), just like of those of Polybius and Timaeus, but Ephorus' influence here looks relatively certain, at least as regards the scope of Ephorus' work (see below, pp. 203-205). As Diodorus and Pompeius Trogus were (near) contemporaries, it seems unlikely that they transmitted information to each other: to me it suggests they had – at least for this subject – a common source. It has been suggested that Diodorus was unfamiliar with Herodotus' work: however, being a Greek of good social position and therefore likely to have been well-educated, I find that hard to believe (cf., e.g., Stronk 2017, chapter 1 and also below; cf. also Haillet 2002, i-xx). Why he did prefer not to use Herodotus as his sole source for, e.g., the Battle of Thermopylae eludes me. We merely have to accept that he did not.

Whether Pompeius Trogus was familiar with Herodotus' *Histories* we do not know. Though being of Gallic origin (but third generation Roman citizen and well versed in rhetoric), the sources of his work – also due to the nature of his work – were generally of Greek origin (cf. Develin in Yardley 1994, 7). I think it is, therefore, fair to assume he may well have been at least to some extent familiar with Herodotus' work. Though Herodotus' position as 'Father of History' was coined by Cicero in the days of Diodorus and Pompeius Trogus (see Cic. *Leg.* 1.5), it seems that instead of the *Histories* both looked for an alternative version of the occurrences. As it seems, probably few alternatives were available, though the number of *Hellenica* ("Histories of Greece") current at that time is likely to have been greater than that transmitted to our days. Diodorus says that he had travelled at least to Egypt and Rome and had had access to research materials in Alexandria and Rome (1.4.2-4; 3.38.1; 17.52.6), where, if anywhere, travelogues, local histories, various *Histories of Greece*, and, no doubt, Herodotus' *Histories* were (more or less readily) available. Though the opportunities for Pompeius Trogus may have been less, he had evidently sufficient access to sources for his work as well. However, how many of these works had chapters on the Greco-Persian Wars is, once again, one of those issues that eludes us (see also below, under Plutarch, p. 208). At least Ephorus' work is credited to have filled the gap.

Whether Diodorus used Ephorus' work extensively to compile his chapters on the Greco-Persian Wars is not entirely certain. Usually, Diodorus seems to be extremely reticent in the *Bibliotheca* as regards his sources and to a large extent they can only be found through a thorough scrutiny of his text (cf. Haillet 2002, x). Pascale Giovannelli-Jouanna and Christine Maisonneuve (in: Lenfant 2011, 120, 122) argued that Diodorus relied for those parts in his work dedicated to [Greece,] Asia Minor, and Persia on the works of Herodotus (cf. 11.37.6), Thucydides, Xenophon (cf. 15.76.4 and 15.89.3), Ctesias (cf., e.g., 14.46.6), Ephorus (cf. 14.11.1 [indirect reference] and 16.76.5), Clitarchus, and Hieronymus of Cardia (book 17, *passim*). Specifically for his books 11-15 and part of book 16, he drew, according to Giovannelli-Jouanna and Maisonneuve (in: Lenfant 2011, 122), directly or indirectly, heavily upon both Ephorus and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. In its present state, we can, regrettably, not judge whether the latter might have added to our knowledge regarding the Battle of Thermopylae. To the major sources for these books we perhaps should add, I think, Ctesias' *Persica*, Isocrates, Hellanicus, and chronographic sources (cf. Haillet 2002, xi), obviously not including the sources for his chapters on Sicily and Rome. It is at least certain that Diodorus used Ctesias to compile his second book (featuring notably Semiramis) and possibly also used parts of Ctesias' books 19 to 23 (on the reign of Artaxerxes II: cf. Stronk 2010, chapter 3 *passim*; also Stronk 2017, chapter 1). Whether Diodorus also used other books of Ctesias' *Persica* can, regrettably, not be determined with certainty, though Haillet believes he did (Haillet 2002, xi). Though I was for reasons of method unable to include these passages in Stronk 2010, I concur on this point

with Haillet and will discuss them in the commentary on Ctesias' *Persica* I am preparing. As we shall discuss later, however, Ctesias' information on the Persian Wars regrettably seems to be quite imperfect.

Though Diodorus appears, as already stated, generally, quite silent as regards his sources, he does reveal, occasionally, some of his potential sources apart of those mentioned above. He mentions Hecataeus of Miletus (D.S. 10.25.4), Simonides (D.S. 11.11.6), epigraphic evidence (D.S. 11.14.4), Theopompus of Chios (D.S. 14.84.7 and 16.3.8), Callisthenes of Olynthus (D.S. 14.117.8 and 16.14.3), Duris of Samos (D.S. 15.60.4), Isocrates and pupils (D.S. 15.76.4), Anaximenes of Lampsacus (D.S. 15.76.4 and 15.89.3), Dionysodorus and Anaxis the Boeotians (D.S. 15.95.4), Demophilus, the son of Ephorus (D.S. 16.14.3), and Diyllus of Athens (D.S. 16.14.3 and 16.76.5). We may, further, add the work of some of the companions of Alexander the Great, like Ptolemy and Nearchus. Taken together, we get the picture of a much more informed author than he is sometimes credited with (see also Stronk 2017, chapter 1). Of course, not every single one of these authors has discussed the Battle of Thermopylae, let alone that all of their works have survived time to allow comparison with the *Bibliotheca*. Collecting their names in a list, though, may serve to demonstrate we should not dismiss Diodorus as easily as an insignificant author as Schwartz has done. Diodorus' views on the Battle of Thermopylae deserve, therefore, more attention than they generally receive.

#### EPHORUS OF CYME

At this stage, it seems opportune to have a closer look at Ephorus. Of the life of Ephorus very little is known: he lived in the fourth century BC, came from Cyme in Asia Minor, parentage unknown, had a son, named Demophilus, was a pupil of Isocrates of Athens (though as a historian his connection with Isocrates may well have been looser than generally taken for granted: cf. Marincola 2014, 42)<sup>54</sup>, and his reputation as historian was solid, his works being read and their value recognised at least until the second century AD (cf. Barber 1935, 1). The fruit of his labours was, *inter alia*, a set of 29 books, his *Universal History* (Tully prefers a translation like *Common Affairs*: Tully 2014, 169 and note 36), Ephorus being the first to author one (cf. Plb. 5.32.2; see also Tully 2014, *passim*). The whole work, edited by his son Demophilus – who added a 30th book – contained narratives from the days of the Heraclids down to the taking of Perinthus in 340 BC

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<sup>54</sup> Cf. V. Parker in *BNJ* 70 (Ephoros): “The tradition that Ephoros was a pupil of Isocrates is widespread ([*BNJ* 70] T 2a, T 3, T 4, T 5, T 7, T 8, T 27, T 28), yet not attested before the first century BC. Douris of Samos ([*BNJ* 70] T 22 [a fragment preserved by Photius, *Bibl.* [176] 121a.41], JPS), in a context in which one might reasonably expect him to mention it, appears not to know that Ephoros had been Isocrates' pupil; and Douris (late 4th, early 3rd century BC) still stood close in time to the two historians, Ephoros and Theopompos, whom he was discussing”: <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/ephoros-70-a70>>.

by Philip II of Macedon, covering a time span of almost seven hundred and fifty years (cf. D.S. 16.76.5; cf. for an alternative view however Luraghi 2014, *passim*). The work was probably simply named *History* (cf. Str. 13.3.6/C 622), and followed a thematic rather than a strictly chronological order in its narrative.

Because of the fact that, as it appears, Ephorus' *History* was relatively accessible and, probably more important, well regarded, it seems to be more or less obvious that it has been assumed that this *History* was a viable source for later historians. There is no direct evidence that it really did serve as such in significant measure for, e.g., Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus, and/or Plutarch, but as there is no evidence to the contrary either, I shall here further accept the current assumptions as a *datum* (though a new book on Ephorus is long overdue). The excerpts of Ephorus' *History* in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* constitute the only continuous narrative on the history of Greece between 480 and 340 BC<sup>55</sup>. It is likely that Ephorus has made critical use of the best authorities available and Strabo quotes Ephorus at length (in spite of his mocking Ephorus' love for Cyme: *ibidem*). Nevertheless, not everything Ephorus wrote was acclaimed: Polybius, e.g., makes little of Ephorus' description of the Battle of Mantinea because of his lack of knowledge regarding the nature of land operations (cf. Plb. 12.25). Ultimately, though, the "innovative nature of Ephorus' history made him and it important in the later tradition..." (Tully 2014, 155).

Ephorus strove hard to find additional sources<sup>56</sup>. This entailed an apparently thoroughgoing review of Greek poetry (in the fashion of Isocrates, see below, pp. 208-211) as well as the many historical works that had been produced since the days of Herodotus and Thucydides<sup>57</sup>. He consulted at least the works of Xenophon of Athens (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 44a and F 161b – march of the 10,000), Xanthus of Lydia (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 180 – presumably for the history of Lydia and environs), Antiochus of Syracuse (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 216 – colonisation of

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. Meister 1990, 85.

<sup>56</sup> This paragraph and the next are exclusively based upon Parker, V., *BNJ* 70 (Ephoros), Biographical Essay <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/ephoros-70-a70>>, retrieved January 2, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> Marincola 2014, 45 argues, very rightly in my opinion, that certainly in the fourth century BC, Thucydides' work (and I believe by implication also Herodotus' work) did not yet have the canonical value it has got later and, many believe, it ought to have had right from its start. Instead, it merely represented just another particular approach to the past for – at least – fourth century BC authors. As a matter of fact, it appears that many historians both before and after Thucydides directed their attention at least as much to collateral values like ethics, morals, and/or national pride as to establish *ta genomena* with precision. To condemn those authors for that attitude, as, e.g., Wilamowitz, Schwartz, and Jacoby have done, understandable as it may be, seems to me not the right way to react. Instead we should, I think, treat such sources with the utmost care, trying to dissolve what matters to us from the side issue(s) that mattered to those historians, attributing both elements their respective historical value.

the West and related events – here, surprisingly, Sparta), (an) unknown author(s) on Persia (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 FF 190-191), and likely others such as Ctesias of Cnidus (see *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 208) and Charon of Lampsacus (see *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 190). Moreover Ephorus used various specialised tracts: geographical works by Euthymenes of Massilia (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 65f) and the Ionian geographers (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 128 and F 158); a political pamphlet composed by Pausanias, the exiled King of Sparta (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 118); scientific writings on celestial phenomena (cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 212). In addition, Ephorus sought out historical inscriptions, though it is uncertain whether he collected them himself – he may have found them cited for him in the literature which he consulted (cf. Barber 1935, 113-137). With this help Ephorus was able to supplement his chief narrative sources as well as, on occasion, to ‘correct’ them.

How Ephorus used his sources, notably the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, is fair game for criticism, although, unfortunately, we have very few fragments which cover the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars and must rely for that period almost entirely on Diodorus’ itself often imperfectly preserved *epitome*. On the whole, it seems that Ephorus followed his predecessors’ works closely. Nevertheless, major revision and reinterpretation appear far more common than Jacoby admits (see *FGrH*, vol. II C (1926), 30, lines 34-38) and investigation of such fragments may well be a complicated matter (see, e.g., cf. *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 179, F 183, and F 196).

As Barber phrases it, under guidance of Isocrates “φιλοσοφία – the sublime art of statesmanship – {that} the subtler arts of effective speaking and writing were taught to all who cared to pay the fees. ... Thus literature became permeated with the glitter of rhetoric; for incapable speakers might still become competent historians” (Barber 1935, 85). However, this mixture may lead to partiality, which in its turn deepens contrasts and leads to a system of administering praise and blame (*ibidem*). Such biases are apparent throughout Ephorus’ work: Ephorus’ bias was firstly his home town of Cyme (Barber 1935, 86-88; cf. Str. 13.3.6/C 622 referred to above); next he was strongly biased in favour of Athens (as one might expect, Ephorus being a pupil of Isocrates) and, as Barber surmises, against Sparta (Barber 1935, 88), and he showed a violent dislike of Persians, whether or not collaborating with others (cf, e.g., *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 211 = *Scholia on Aristides* 294.13 Dindorf; *FGrH/BNJ* 70 F 186); lastly he indulged in ‘moralising platitudes’ on the virtues and vices of the great” (Barber 1935, 89). It is noteworthy, though, that “Ephorus appears to have adopted an impartial attitude towards Thebes” (Barber 1935, 101). Ultimately, “Ephorus ... adopted a utilitarian view of history, and his pragmatism expressed itself in the conviction that the first principle of historiography was the edification of the reader; this he intended to secure by exalting virtue, and magnifying vice” (Barber 1935, 102-103). These are the very same notions and elements we encounter frequently in Diodorus Siculus, Justin (or Pompeius Trogus), and Plutarch.

#### PLUTARCH'S SOURCE(S)

Above it has become obvious that also Plutarch (*ca.* 50-*ca.* 119 AD) was in need of an alternative for Herodotus' work, if only to refute the latter's biased views (in Plutarch's conception, at least). As goes from his pamphlet *De Herodoti malignitate* (cf. Marincola 1994, *passim*), Plutarch was (very) familiar with the *Histories*. On the other hand, Plutarch in many respects does not emerge throughout his works as an original thinker. He was primarily a moralist, firmly believing in Plato's doctrines (but much less adamant than the master: Ziegler 1964, 273; see also Russell 1973, 63). Next to Plato, Polybius was for Plutarch another significant predecessor. Polybius' views regarding biography and history appear to link up with Plutarch's: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, ὑπάρχων ἐγκωμιαστικός, ἀπῆτει τὸν κεφαλαιώδη καὶ μετ' αὐξήσεως τῶν πράξεων ἀπολογισμὸν, οὕτως ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας, κοινὸς ὢν ἐπαίνου καὶ θόγου, ζητεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὸν μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοις παρεπομένων συλλογισμῶν ("Because that work [*sc.* biography], being an encomium, demands an outlined and enlarged account of his deeds, the present history, in which praise and blame go hand in hand, likewise seeks an absolutely truthful account and one that explains the reasons for either praise or blame": Plb. 10.21.8). Plutarch uses similar arguments, both in his criticism of Herodotus and in the aims he outlines for several of the many *Lives* and comparisons of lives he wrote. Plutarch therefore needed a source that offered him information to refute Herodotus – whose work he generally appears to have appreciated not very much – and at the same time offered him sufficient space to introduce his own, predominantly moral, conceptions. After all: "a historian should present worthy characters and models fit for imitation by the young; he should offer edification and moral lessons rather than critical accuracy" (cf. Stronk 2007, 34). As it appears, Ephorus' work filled Plutarch's needs best.

Thucydides was presented by Plutarch as a class of his own among historians. He seems to show his reverence for Thucydides in the introduction to the *Life of Nicias*, but at the same time explains there his own (diverging) method and aims: "Of course, it is not possible to omit the events treated by Thucydides and Philistus [author of a *Sicelica* (*sc.* *History of Sicily*), JPS] .... But I have summarised them briefly and kept to the essentials, just to avoid the charge of total negligence. I have tried instead to collect material that is not well-known, but scattered among other authors, or found on ancient dedications and decrees. Nor is this an accumulation of useless erudition: I am conveying material that is helpful for grasping the man's nature and character" (Plu. *Nic.* 1.1-5). It seems very much the same method also Ephorus applied (see above, pp. 203-205). Scardigli states that large part of Plutarch's material comes from work of a historical

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<sup>58</sup> Hose 2006, 669-690 at 674.

nature (cf. Scardigli 1992, 109). Contrary stands the view of Hose<sup>58</sup>, who argues that much of the material of Plutarch regarding fifth century BC's characters stems from varied sources, especially Comedy. As regards solid evidence for Plutarch's sources these views help but little and provide, regrettably, no solid basis.

Wilamowitz states (Wilamowitz 1995, 48) that Plutarch, on his father's orders, had been educated at the Academy at Athens. Also after his education Plutarch regularly returned to Athens, *inter alia* to consult libraries. The first public library in Athens had been founded by Peisistratus in the sixth century BC. However, libraries like those of Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum, the earliest examples of a research library (though certainly the latter had, by the time of Plutarch, long been removed from Athens: cf. Plu. *Sulla* 29), were much more serviceable (cf. Str. 13.1.54/C 609; D.L. 8.15). Discussing Plutarch's sources, Stadter stipulates that the most recent subject in Plutarch's series of *Lives*, sc. Mark Antony, lived more than a century earlier, and Pericles and Alcibiades more than half a millennium earlier than Plutarch himself. "Plutarch had to construct his lives from written sources, usually historians" (Stadter 1992, 3).

It is, therefore, likely that Plutarch was intimately familiar with the work of most Greek historians, like Herodotus (as we already have discussed), Ephorus, who at the time Plutarch was engaged in his work still was a well-regarded author, and probably several others. Since most of the works of those authors are now lost, we, regrettably, do not have the possibility to check how precisely the construction of Plutarch's work was performed. As it is, however, we cannot begin to imagine the problems Plutarch (and for that matter also Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus, and many others) faced in collecting sources, informing us on times further (or as far) away from them as the Spanish Armada of AD 1588 from us. When we discuss classical literature, we are in fact dealing with a countable number of texts, but even the libraries of Athens only counted a chance selection of an enormous amount of texts.

The number of texts present at Chaeronea itself will, probably, have been limited to those Plutarch and his circle of friends owned themselves. Few works, though, existed in many copies and an ancient scholar/author could only hope to see a few of the works he heard of. Add to this the problem of looking-up passages in papyrus rolls and it must become obvious that any writer, but surely a writer dealing with such a variety of topics as Plutarch – or extensive histories like Ephorus, Diodorus, or Pompeius Trogus –, faced a titanic task (cf. also Reynolds/Wilson 1991, 2). This could only be facilitated by relying whenever necessary on opinions and references at second or third hand (Russell 1973, 42; also Ziegler 1964, 273, 277). To facilitate things further, there also existed prepared sets of extracts on various themes. Apart from these, Plutarch himself also is likely to have collected excerpts and commonplaces – and so are Ephorus, Diodorus, and Pompeius Trogus, to name but a few.

Looking for an alternative to counter the image Herodotus had created for the situation during the Persian Wars, the work of a quite well-read author as Ephorus appears to have been may well have been, under those circumstances, a logical option for later authors, including Plutarch, to serve as a *Fundgrube*. However, here, too, no conclusive certainty can be acquired. Hammond (1996, 10) summarised the situation as follows: “There are thus no *a priori* grounds for supposing that X’s account [= the common source of Diodorus, Justin, and Plutarch], as reflected in D[iodorus] ..., J[ustin] ..., and some passages of Plutarch is any less accurate than that of Herodotus. Each had his own favourite. X was φιλολάκων<sup>59</sup>. Herodotus was φιλαθήναιος. Both had the Panhellenic cause in mind ...” adding somewhat further: “In his eagerness to show that Athens was the saviour of Greece, Herodotus overstated his case” (Hammond 1996, 10).

#### ISOCRATES OF ATHENS

Isocrates (436-338 BC) is above all known as a rhetorician, being one of the ‘Ten Attic Orators’. Several orations have been preserved because he has written them down<sup>60</sup>. “Isocrates’ literary and rhetorical stance grows from two major roots, roots which nourish its political and ethical interests. The first is his connection with the philosophical and rhetorical world of the older sophists. ... The second seed from which Isocrates’ ideas grow is his awareness of the Greek poetic tradition as an educative and therefore ethicizing force for Greece” (Papillon 1998, 41). Isocrates makes several observations on the nature and advantages of poetry, stressing “its usefulness, its focus on praise, its ability to create a new history, its ability to immortalize, and its employment of ornament” (Papillon 1998, 43; cf. also Quint. *Inst.* 3.4.11). Reading Isocrates’ works, one cannot but agree with Anne Carson that Isocrates made use for his education of ‘paradigm-acquisition’<sup>61</sup>: “One hears the stories of great persons of old, and strives to live in accordance with the ἀρετή they exhibit”<sup>62</sup>. These are, evidently, the same features we already encountered in the works of, notably, Ephorus and Diodorus.

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<sup>59</sup>This could well be a complicating factor in the assumption that Ephorus was the common source for Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus/Justin, and Plutarch. As it seems from the remaining fragments (*FGrH/BNJ* 70), Ephorus was obviously much more φιλαθήναιος (“friendly towards Athens”) than φιλολάκων (“friendly towards Sparta”), though he was above all φιλοκυμαῖος (“friendly towards Cyme”), his home town (see also above). The antagonism might be solved (partly) by assuming that φιλολάκων means here no more than “less overtly pro-Athenian”). As it is, I do not think the works of Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus/Justin, and Plutarch – as far as preserved – show a distinct pro-Spartan attitude.

<sup>60</sup>For a review of works attributed over the centuries to Isocrates see, e.g., Too 1995, 10-19. For an appreciation of Isocrates’ discourses and teachings: D.H. *Isoc.* 4. Obviously, Isocrates’ works and ideas are much more complex than can be outlined in the framework of an, after all, limited paper like this: see for a useful introduction Marincola 2014.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. also Marincola 2014, 54-57.

<sup>62</sup>Papillon 1998, 60; also see: Carson 1992, 124.

Papillon observes, moreover, that “Isocrates recognized the power of the poetic tradition and adapted it for his own kind of prose. In response to the criticism of the sophists and the strength of the poetic tradition, Isocrates’ goal was to produce men of affairs, talented and politically astute, through a new sort of *politicos* [sic!] *logos*. This type of *logos*, broader and more inclusive, has a strong ethical content, which speeches like the *Panegyricus* and the *Panathenaicus* demonstrate” (Papillon 1998, 42; see for the *logos politikos* also Too 1995, 24-35). Though not writing poetry proper but prose, “Isocrates is presenting an argument for a kind of prose more useful to the Greeks than the prose seen in the law courts or seen in extemporaneous debate”, a kind of prose that preserves the characteristics of the poetic tradition without using the meter (Papillon 1998, 46 and note 14; also see Marincola 2014, 43-44, 46)<sup>63</sup>.

In his *Panegyricus*, the first aim of Isocrates is to extol the noble history of his home town, Athens, the second to express his love of (the concept of) Hellas (cf. also Bridges 2015, 107). As Norlin phrases it in his ‘General Introduction’ to Isocrates’ works in the Loeb Classical Library (1966, x): “A worship of Hellenism as a way of life, a saving religion of which he conceives Athens to be the central shrine and himself a prophet commissioned by the gods to reconcile the quarrels of the Greeks and unite them in a crusade against the barbarian world”. Papillon phrases it slightly differently, though I believe with a stronger political emphasis: “[He] says in the *Panegyricus* that Homer correctly set before the Greeks a glorious picture of enmity between Greece and the East ([Isoc. *Paneg.*] 159). That is, Homer picked a morally edifying topic” (Papillon 1998, 43). Next to this element of the controversy between Greece in general and “the East”, “[w]e can see a focus on the city, specifically Athens, in the public works of Isocrates such as the *Panegyricus*, the *Panathenaicus* and the *Antidosis*. The city supports the political life of the Greeks against the potential despotism from the East; as a result, the city is the central locus of praise and benefit to which devotion is due” (Papillon 1998, 52). Therefore: “[h]e [sc. Isocrates] will strive for the concept of the great city, the unity of Greece against Persia under Athens’ leadership (or anyone’s leadership later on), and a sense of ‘the glory that was Greece’ that is worth preserving. ... [T]he idea of Panhellenism, is not only a political idea, but an educational and ethical ideal” (Papillon 1998, 59; cf. also Too 1995, 147). Moreover, taking into account *Panegyricus* 50, it is ultimately an ethnically determined ideal as well, even though Isocrates makes some effort here to downplay that element (cf. Too, *ibidem*).

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<sup>63</sup> A poetic tradition, also treating the Greco-Persian wars, obviously remained in tact, as Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 331 rightly notices, *inter alia* referring to the *Persica* (also known as the *Barbarica* or the *Medica*) by Choerilus of Samos (a lyric poet flourishing at the end of the fifth century BC), a poem at present lost apart from its title tag (= *P. Oxy.* 1399). Also other poets, like e.g. Aeschylus, were inspired by the Greco-Persian Wars and their various consequences and implications (cf. also Bridges 2015, 11-43). Also in other forms of art, like pottery, we obviously find outings inspired by the wars, but they fall outside the scope of this paper.

When the *Panegyricus* was written *ca.* 380 BC, however, the power and influence of Isocrates' beloved Athens were almost non-existent. Sparta was the leading state in Greece, though *formally* still to some extent dependent of the Persian Empire (cf., e.g., Stronk 1990-91, *passim*). Urging Sparta to resume its former role as a προστάτης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ("leader of all Greece": cf. X. *HG* 3.1.3), even risking her very existence, to protect Greece alongside Athens against the menace of the Persian Empire, the Battle of Thermopylae serves as a welcome example. In Isocrates' words: πρὸς δὴ τὸν οὕτω μέγα φρονήσαντα καὶ τηλικαῦτα διαπραξάμενον καὶ τοσοῦτων δεσπότην γενόμενον ἀπήντων διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν, χιλίους αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξαντες καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγους παραλαβόντες, ὡς ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κωλύσοντες αὐτοὺς περαιτέρω προελθεῖν ("It was against such a haughtily and much accomplishing ruler of so many [i.e. Xerxes] that, dividing the danger, the Lacedaemonians went to Thermopylae against the land force, choosing one thousand of their own and taking with them a few of the allies, in order to prohibit them [sc. the Persians] in the passes to advance further": Isoc. *Paneg.* 90). The result was not what was hoped for: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέπτον - οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡττήθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν ("but they [sc. the Lacedaemonians] were utterly destroyed, though victorious in spirit, they fell short in their bodies – in fact it would be sacrilege to say they were defeated, since no one of them deigned to flee": Isoc. *Paneg.* 92).

In slightly different words, this is the very same message as expressed by Lysias (*ca.* 458-*ca.* 378 BC, only some 30 years younger than Herodotus) in Lysias' *Epitaphios* ("Funeral oration": cf., e.g., Bridges 2015, 102-107 for Lysias' objectives): [30] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῶν χωρίων τὴν πάροδον οἰοῖ τ' ἔσσεσθαι διαφυλάξαι. [31] ... Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, οὐ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεεῖς γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλήθους ψευσθέντες καὶ οὐδ' φυλάξαι ᾗοντο καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' κινδυνεύσειν ἔμελλον, διεφθάρησαν οὐχ ἡττηθέντες τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες οὐπερ ἐτάχθησαν μάχεσθαι ([30] "The Lacedaemonians and some of their allies went off to Thermopylae, believing that because of the narrowness of the place they would be able to keep the passage safe. [31] ... the Lacedaemonians, showing no failure in spirit, but deceived by the multitude, not only of those they believed to stand guard for but also of those against whom they would contend, were destroyed, undefeated by their opponents, but killed where they had been positioned to do battle": Lys. *Epit.* 30-31<sup>64</sup>). Though neither Sparta, nor Leonidas,

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<sup>64</sup> Perhaps the phrase τοῦ πλήθους ψευσθέντες καὶ οὐδ' φυλάξαι ᾗοντο ("deceived by the multitude, not only of those they believed to stand guard for ...") *might* be read as a confirmation that more soldiers were expected to arrive at Thermopylae: I am not absolutely sure it does. It also could mean that more Greek *poleis* had sided with the Persians than anticipated. Cf. also Simpson 1972, 3.

nor Thermopylae is referred to directly in their works, the same message may well also have been conveyed by Hyperides in his *Epitaphios* (25-29) and by Lycurgus in his *Against Leocrates* (47-49). Lysias' account is a sober one: no reference whatsoever is made of a byway, let alone of a nightly attack, perhaps only a mere faint hint that they expected reinforcements (see note 64). Instead, much emphasis is placed upon the self-sacrifice of the Spartans and the fact that they, allegedly, were not defeated but merely were worn down.

Also in his *Archidamus*, Isocrates returns to the Battle of Thermopylae and the attitude of the Lacedaemonians: [99] ἀναμνήσθητε ... καὶ τῶν χιλίων τῶν εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπαντησάντων, [100] οἱ πρὸς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων συμβαλόντες οὐκ ἔφυγον οὐδ' ἠττήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν οὗ περ ἐτάχθησαν, τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρασχόντες ὥστε τοὺς μετὰ τέχνης ἐγκωμιάζοντας μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐξιῶσαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀρεταῖς ([99] "Remember ... also the thousand who went out to Thermopylae, [100] who engaging seven hundred thousand Persians did not flee nor suffered defeat, but died there where they had been positioned, acquitting themselves in such a manner that those who praise them with all their skills are unable to laud them equal to their *aretē*": Isoc. *Arch.* 99-100)<sup>65</sup>. Here, too, Lysias may well have been one of Isocrates' sources, together with Simonides of Ceos.

Though Isocrates stimulated his pupils (most notably Theopompus and Ephorus<sup>66</sup>) to write history, he himself never wrote a proper history (cf. Marincola 2014, 40-41 and note 6). Instead, he used occurrences (mythical, poetical, and historical), like e.g. the Battle of Thermopylae, as *exempla* to support his assumptions and/or views (*inter alia* his enmity towards Persia and his call for Greek unity) in his various works (cf. Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 328). It is the 'paradigm-acquisition' discussed above. To achieve his goals he needed positive examples. The account by Herodotus of the Battle of Thermopylae could hardly be regarded as a totally positive example, a Greek betraying fellow-Greeks to the Persians for a rich reward. As the battle itself provided sufficient positive elements, like the courage of the Spartans against the Persians, Isocrates had to look elsewhere for his examples. As indicated above, Lysias may well have been one to turn to, Simonides of Ceos probably (or even likely) another.

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. also Isocrates' remark: καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἄγανται τὴν ἧτταν τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἢ τὰς ἄλλας νίκας ("In fact, their [sc. the Lacedaemonians'] defeat at Thermopylae is more admired than their many victories": Isoc. *Phil.* 148; translation Norlin 1966, Loeb Classical Library, slightly adapted); cf. also. Isoc. *Panath.* 187-188; X. *HG* 6.43; V. Max. 3.ext.3, who seems to have based himself on either Diodorus/Pompeius Trogus or their source, as he refers to supper in Hades waiting for the Spartiates. The same is also valid for Sen. *Ep.* 82.21. See also the observations by Trundle 2013, 27-38, *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> This connection was fiercely denied by Schwartz and Jacoby, but despite this it has been generally accepted: cf. Marincola 2014, 42 and note 11.

### *Simonides of Ceos*

Simonides lived from the 56th Olympiad (556-553 BC) to the 78th Olympiad (468-465 BC) and was acknowledged by the Greeks as one of the most important intellectual and literary innovators of the early classical period. According to the *Suda*: καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Ἄρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία δι' ἐλεγείας, ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς· θρῆνοι, ἐγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, παιᾶνες καὶ τραγωδία καὶ ἄλλα (“and the following were written by him [sc. Simonides] in the Doric dialect: the kingdom of Cambyses and Darius and (a naval battle of) Xerxes, and the naval battle at Artemisium in elegiac meter, the naval battle at Salamis in lyric meter; *threnoi* [sc. laments], *encomia* [sc. odes honouring people], epigrams, *paeans* [sc. odes of joy], tragedies, and other things”: *Suda*, ed. Adler, vol. 4, 361 s.v. sigma.439). Regrettably the text of the *Suda* is corrupt, even “deeply corrupt” according to Grethlein (Grethlein 2010, 51 and note 10), so that the enumeration of Simonides’ works here probably has no conclusive value. However, recently Parsons succeeded, by combining two very fragmented sets of papyri from Oxyrhynchus, *P.Oxy.* 3965 and *P.Oxy.* 2327, to reconstruct part of what appears to have been an elegy on the Battle of Plataea<sup>67</sup>.

Kowerski (2005, 4-19) argues, based, *inter alia*, on the entry in the *Suda* and the fragments on Plataea mentioned above, that the existent fragments do not support the assumption of *several* elegiac poems but that, instead, we might presume that Simonides has written a *single* large poem encompassing several battles, not only that of Plataea but, likely, also that of Thermopylae. It might even be argued that such a poem did not focus upon the merits of a single *polis* (though in the reconstructed fragment Sparta’s position is as dominant as in the ‘Thermopylae elegy’, see below pp. 213, 214-215), but (already) had a pan-Hellenic stance<sup>68</sup>. It seems, moreover, that “Simonides evokes the siege of Troy as a mirror for the Persian Wars” (Grethlein 2010, 54; cf. also Jung 2006, 225-241)<sup>69</sup> and casts the Battle of Plataea in a heroic, epic, register. If there is, indeed, such a continuous tradition, from the Homeric *epos* to Simonides’ elegy, this also, likely, means that like the former also the latter was multi-layered, including both ‘symptotic’ and ‘narrative/historical’ elements: within the framework of this paper, however, such a digression might lead us too far from the subject (cf., e.g., Grethlein 2010, 59-68).

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<sup>67</sup> Parsons, P.J. 1992: 3965; Simonides, Elegies, in: Parsons 1992, 4-50; see however also West 1992, vol. 2, fr. 11 sqq. and also Boedeker 1995.

<sup>68</sup> Boedeker 1995, 225; Kowerski 2005, 63-107; Grethlein 2010, 53-54; cf. also Plu. *Herod. Malign.* 872CE. Jung, however, believes that Simonides’ elegy on Plataea was a separate poem: Jung 2006, 225-241.

<sup>69</sup> Also Herodotus (Hdt. 1.3-5.1) refers to the Trojan War as the start of the enmity between Greeks and Persians, but he claims it were the Persians who mentioned it as such.

As indicated above, Simonides moved in the field of the elegy, more specific the historical narrative in elegy (cf. Grethlein 2010, 47 and notes 1 and 2). At the same time Simonides was credited by antiquity with having pioneered that very Greek genre of poetry of the *epinikion* or epinician ode, a genre culminating in the works of Pindar, though in itself praise-poetry owed its origin to a social and ethical order that pre-existed Simonides' 'invention' of the epinician by many centuries if not millennia (cf. Carson 1992, 115): in fact, as inferred above, parts of Homer can be read, I think, as epinician poetry. Ultimately, tradition holds Simonides also responsible for the professionalisation of the art of poetry in Greece, he being the first ancient poet (that we know of) to demand a fee for poetic composition and to make his living from these (Carson 1992, 113). As it appears, the famous elegy on the Spartan dead (at Thermopylae) by Simonides (*PMG* 531, see below, pp. 214-215) was commissioned by Sparta (cf. Boedeker 1995, 220), whether or not as part of an elegy on Greek or Spartan dead in the Greco-Persian War<sup>70</sup>, while also several other elegies had been made on commission. Such a development, beneficial for the author, may simultaneously have led to his losing his independence (insofar it existed at all) regarding content and/or context of a specific work. It is an element to take into account reviewing his words on the Battle of Thermopylae.

The fifth century BC was a good time to interest oneself in the art of epigraphy. Simonides' lifetime coincided with the period of highest development in ancient engraving techniques. During this period, as the various *epichoric* ( $\approx$  local, here perhaps rather regional) alphabets of the Greeks found their way to regularisation, letter shapes became more precise in their construction and engravers began to develop a feeling for the form and arrangement of an inscription, as well as its relationship to the stone on which it was inscribed (Carson 1996, 2). As it appears, Simonides benefitted optimally from this development, adapting his elegiac writings but certainly also his epigrams to the possibilities the epigraphic techniques offered, while his clients appeared to appreciate the results Simonides could produce.

Simonides has, of course, become known to later generations because of the lines of praise, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to him (see for the discussion Molyneux 1992, 175-187), most notably:

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<sup>70</sup> In my view, this does not exclude at all the *possibility* that *PMG* 531 indeed was part of a large poem that not only referred to the occurrences at Thermopylae but also included *inter alia* the lines devoted to the Battle of Plataea. As already indicated, the lines of the latter reveal strong pro-Spartan sentiments.

ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν<sup>71</sup> Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῆδε  
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι

(“O Stranger, report to the Lacedaemonians that here  
We are laid to rest, having obeyed their laws”: Simonides F. 22b, Page)<sup>72</sup>.

An epigram resounding another one, in which the number of adversaries is greatly exaggerated (cf. also note 12 above):

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῆδε τριηκοσίας ἐμάχοντο  
ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες  
(“Against three millions here once fought

Four thousand, coming from the Peloponnese”: Simonides F. 22a, Page).

And a third epigram:

μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
μάντιος, ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδῶς  
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνα προλιπεῖν

(“This is the memorial of famed Megistias, whom once the Persians  
Killed after they’d crossed the Spercheios River,  
A seer who, though well aware of impending doom,  
Did not contemplate to desert the king of Sparta”: Simonides F. 6, Page).

As regards a fourth epigram, the *Anthologia Palatina* clearly attributes it to Simonides:

εὐκλέας αἶψά κέκευθε, Λεωνίδα, οἱ μετὰ σεῖο  
τῆδ’ ἔθανον, Σπάρτης εὐρυχόρου βασιλεῦ,  
πλείστον δὴ τόξων τε καὶ ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων  
Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν δεξάμενοι πολέμῳ

(“The earth conceals the famous men, Leonidas, who with you  
Died here, king of broad Sparta,  
Having endured the might of the many bows and swift  
Horses of the Persians in war”: *A.P.* 7.301 = Simonides F. 7, Page).

A longer fragment by Simonides is quoted by Diodorus (D.S. 11.11.6 = *PMG* 531):

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<sup>71</sup> Several authors, like, e.g., Strabo read here instead of ἀγγέλλειν, ἄγγελον: cf. Str. 9.4.16/C 429; I have opted here to follow Herodotus’ version, also rendered in Page 1975, 18.

<sup>72</sup> A version in Latin of this epigram we find in Cic. *Tusc.* 1.103.

τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἅ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶτος ἔπαινος.  
 ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ' εὐρῶς  
 οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος.  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅδε σηκὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λεωνίδα  
 ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεύς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λειοιπῶς  
 κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος  
 ("Of those who perished at Thermopylae  
 All glorious is the fortune, beautiful the doom;  
 Their grave's an altar, ceaseless memory's theirs  
 Instead of lamentation, remembrance; and for pity,  
 Praise. Such an offering as this  
 Nor mould nor all-consuming time shall obscure.  
 This sepulchre of valiant men has received  
 The glory of Hellas for its eternal companion.  
 And witness to this is Leonidas, once king  
 Of Sparta, who has left behind a crown  
 Of mighty *aretê* and everlasting fame": Simonides F. 4, Bergk).

This fragment of Simonides, referred to by Diodorus, may have been part either of Simonides' *Thermopylae Elegy* or of a larger work as discussed above<sup>73</sup>. As it is, I believe (though I obviously have no evidence to back it) that the solution offered by Kowerski (Kowerski 2005, 4-19), mentioned above (p. 212), might well be a viable one.

As Molyneux indicates, the authorship of the first two of the epigrams is debated, though it is at least obvious from Herodotus' words (Hdt. 7.228.4) that Simonides was responsible for the third epigram (for his friend Megistias) and that the Amphictyons decided that the first two were to be composed and carved into stones as well as financed this honour. Of course, this does not exclude that Simonides did compose those first two epigrams as well (as has been largely accepted), but the evidence is not conclusive. Certain is, though, that all epigrams emphatically stress the valour, discipline, and self-sacrifice of the Spartan soldiers fallen at Thermopylae and, moreover, that the epigrams appear to have been created shortly after the events they referred to<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Lesky does not mention a *Thermopylae elegy* as such, cf. Lesky 1971, 220-225, Trundle appears to believe Simonides did write such a work, stating the lines quoted by Diodorus may come from it, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 27-38 at 32-33; for the problems to solve it see Dillery 1996, 247 note 82. See also above, and note 65.

<sup>74</sup> Jung dates the lines by Simonides on Plataea to 478/477 BC (Jung 2006, 225-241); probably the lines dedicated to the dead of Thermopylae were written about the same time, if not somewhat earlier.

In all epigrams the same elements appear. The Spartans' self-sacrifice under Leonidas is glorified but no suggestion – let alone mention – whatsoever is made of a detour of Persian forces or defecting/surrendering Thebans, a nightly attack, or any of those other features we encounter in later authors. In this respect, whether or not all of these epigrams have been correctly attributed to Simonides is, ultimately, not a real concern for us. What really matters is that these really are the only contemporary documents we have, conceived only a very short period after the battle. On the other hand we also have to take into account that most of the lines (with the exception of those dedicated to Megistias) were commissioned and therefore perhaps biased.

#### CTESIAS OF CNIDUS

The last author we shall discuss regarding his views on Thermopylae is (also) in that respect quite controversial, if only because the battles of Plataea and Salamis were switched in order in the transmitted version of his story of the events of the Greco-Persian Wars (cf. *Ctes. Pers.* F. 13 §§ 28 and 30). This author is Ctesias of Cnidus<sup>75</sup>. Also Ctesias made, more than likely, an opening statement to his *Persica*, a work in 23 books. Regrettably the proem is lost, but based upon Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 36a1 and 42b11 as well as the remark at D.S. 2.32.4, we can make an educated guess what he stated. Previously, I suggested the following (Stronk 2010, 2): “Among the Greeks there are many stories about the Persians, and not a few are not true. I, Ctesias, Ctesiarachus' son, of Cnidus will be the first to inform the Greeks about the complete history of the Persians and their kings, and their predecessors the Assyrians and the Medes, based both on their written evidence and their oral information as well as on my own observations during seventeen years of occupation at the court.” As such the proem would not have been very different from the remarks by Herodotus or Diodorus referred to above (p. 190 and p. 192) or, for that matter, those of Thucydides' proem (Th. 1.1-3).

In fact, not only Ctesias' proem to his work is missing. The *Persica* is a work on which many modern writers have an opinion, generally a negative one (cf., e.g., Gardiner-Garden 1987, 2 and note 7 for a review), though in fact no one has read as much as a quarter of a page in modern print written by Ctesias himself. Apart from some 29 narrow lines written on a worn papyrus from the second century AD (*P.Oxy.* 2330: cf., e.g., Stronk 2008-09), we have not much more authentic material written by Ctesias. Everything else we nowadays call 'Ctesias' is, in fact, an adaptation or a summary of his writing by a third party, be it Diodorus of Sicily, Nicolaus of Damascus, Plutarch of Chaeronea, Photius of Constantinople, or one of the minor transmitters of (parts of) Ctesias' story, each writing with his (or her) private objectives/contingencies. If we define 'fragment' as 'piece of a non-trans-

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<sup>75</sup> For an elaborate review of my views on Ctesias of Cnidus, see Stronk 2007 and Stronk 2010, 1-53.

mitted text’, we have, up to now, probably only a few proper fragments of Ctesias’ *Persica*, i.e. *P.Oxy.* 2330 as well as some sentences in Demetrius’ *De Elocutione*. Everything else that is considered to be part of Ctesias’ *Persica* is, in fact, only an interpretation and/or adaptation – or at best an unbiased and reliable quotation or *epitome* – by a third party (cf. also Lenfant 2004, cxc and note 784).

Both from his own testimonies (cf. Plu. *Art.* 11.3, 13.3, 14.1) and Xenophon’s<sup>76</sup> we know that Ctesias served among Artaxerxes II’s staff during the battle of Cunaxa. Ctesias is said to have served 17 years at the Persian court (D.S. 2.32.4) and we can deduce from Ctesias’ own writings as they are transmitted to us that he left Persia for his homeland in 398/397 BC at the latest. For the writing of the *Persica*, Ctesias is said to have claimed that he had access to the royal archives. These are called βασιλικαὶ ἀναγραφαί, *basilikai anagraphai* (D.S. 2.22.5) or βασιλικαὶ διφθεραί, *basilikai diphtherai* (D.S. 2.32.4). Reinhold Bichler (Bichler 2007, 232) however suggests that Ctesias did not (have to) use Persian archives as his source, but could rely only on Greek literature. From D.S. 2.32.5 emerges clearly that the use Ctesias (allegedly?) made of ‘royal archives’ for Assyrian history obviously rested at best upon indirect use through hearsay. Moreover, most of Ctesias’ Persian story appears to be set at the court, cradle of many intrigues linked with the interests of the persons involved (cf. also Bridges 2015, 132). It seems to be partly based upon rumours, court-gossip, and stories by hearsay, and other, more formal expressions of oral history<sup>77</sup>. Actually, Ctesias himself admits, according to the *epitome* by Photius, that he heard certain facts directly from the Persian Queen Parysatis (cf. Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 42b11-13). Though the importance of such information may, in itself, be enormous, and the power of informal forces working at courts can hardly be overestimated, there is a major problem. Such situations are historically hardly (if at all) verifiable since they are not likely to be documented. Even if Ctesias were telling the truth all the time, we would not be able to prove (or disprove) it.

An extra complication in the assessment of Ctesias’ value for Persian history is the fact that his subject, and, perhaps, his intended audience, determined his scope and indeed – as far as we can see – the nature of his work. What we can safely state with respect to Ctesias’ writings is that he does claim some authority as an expert in Persian matters (cf. esp. *FGrH* No. 688 T8). One of Ctesias’ purposes may have been a didactic – or perhaps even moralising – one, as has

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<sup>76</sup> X. *An.* 1.8.26, probably based upon Ctesias’ own story: cf., e.g., Plu. *Art.* 13.4; also: Bassett 1998, 10.

<sup>77</sup> As it appears, one of Ctesias’ objectives was to describe Persian (court) life, possibly to “cater for the tastes and expectations of his readers” (Bridges 2015, 132). Earlier I have described the *Persica* as a combination of historical fact and fictitious elements (much like Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*): cf. Stronk 2007, 45-47, 48, 50-52, 55. It indicates we should use the *Persica* as a historical source with caution.

been supposed as well for Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and may be assumed for at least the works of Herodotus, Ephorus, Diodorus, and Plutarch. Like in the *Cyropaedia*, Ctesias' didactic element is veiled in a (quasi-)historical context: as such this work, of course, has a historical dimension, too. Finally, the political issues of the day, including the increasing xenophobia which afflicted Greece from ca. 450 onwards<sup>78</sup>, may have determined to some extent scope and content of Ctesias' work as well.

In his work Ctesias may not always have come forward as an unbiased author: Plutarch, e.g., reproaches Ctesias for 'philolaconism': ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως ὁ Κτησίας, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἦττον φιλολάκων καὶ φιλοκλέαρχος ... πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ μεμνήσεται Κλεάρχου καὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ("But clearly is Ctesias very ambitious and none the less partial to Sparta and to Clearchus ... [and] he will bring forward many fine things regarding Clearchus and Sparta" (Plu. *Art.* 13.4)). Plutarch's testimony might lead us to suppose that Ctesias, whenever possible, follows a Spartiate source and tradition. In fact, in the preserved fragments Ctesias does not appear at all to be an overly devoted partisan of the Spartans (cf. Eck 1990, 416-417). He seems to have adapted himself above all cautiously to the political reality of the moment he wrote his work, reflecting the dominant ideology. The remarks of Lucian (Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 39), accusing Ctesias of a strong Persian bias, seem to be certainly wide off the mark.

Ctesias' version of the Battle of Thermopylae (slightly extended for clarity's sake) reads as follows:

Ctesias *Persica* F. 13 §§ 27-28:

[27] Ξέρξης δὲ συναγείρας στρατιὰν Περσικὴν ἄνευ τῶν ἀρμάτων ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ τριῆρεις χιλιάς, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ζευγνὸς τὴν ἄλμην περὶ

[27] Then Xerxes set out against Greece, after he had collected a Persian army of eight hundred thousand men and one thousand triremes without reckoning the chariots and after he had bridged the sea

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Hall 1989, *passim*, refined by Harrison 2000; also Isaac 2004, 257-303 and figs. 2-4; Llewellyn-Jones 2012, *passim*; even in Herodotus' *Histories* it is already visible: cf. Lenfant 2004, cxxxiii-iv. As a matter of fact, Ctesias' work would, then, not differ very much from the purpose of Herodotus'. Jonas Grethlein argues that also Herodotus' *Histories* may well have had a didactic purpose, an aim that is already suggested in the proem. First of all the Persian Council, described in the opening chapters of book 7, in combination with the outcome of Xerxes' expedition, shows that lessons should be learned from the past (Grethlein 2009, 195-205). Next: "A dense net of foreshadowing in his account of the Persian Wars evokes later intra-Hellenic fights and indicates that Athens will be next in the cycle of empires" (Grethlein 2009, 196). Especially the role of Xerxes should be taken as example: "An examination of Xerxes' gaze will reveal that he blurs the borderline between past and present and thereby disregards an insight that is at the core of the *Histories*" (Grethlein 2009, 205)

Ἄβυδον<sup>79</sup>. Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρεγένετο ἤδη πρότερον, καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπέιργε τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐφόδου. Ξέρξης δὲ προσβάλλει ἐν Θερμοπύλαις Λεωνίδα τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δι' Ἀρταπάνου, ἔχοντος μυριάδας· καὶ κατεκόπη τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο ἢ τριῶν ἀναφθέντων. εἶτα προσβαλεῖν κελεύει μετὰ δισμυρίων, καὶ ἦττα γίνεται κάκεινων. εἶτα μαστιγοῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμείν, καὶ μαστιγοῦμενοι ἐτι ἠτῶντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ κελεύει μάχεσθαι μετὰ πεντακισμυρίων· καὶ ἐπει οὐδὲν ἦνυεν, ἔλυσε τότε τὸν πόλεμον. Θώραξ δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Τραχινίων οἱ δυνατοί, Καλλιάδης καὶ Τιμαφέρνης, παρήσαν στρατιὰν ἔχοντες. καλέσας δὲ Ξέρξης τούτους τε καὶ τὸν Δημάρατον καὶ τὸν Ἡγίαν τὸν Ἐφέσιον, ἔμαθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἠττηθεῖεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ κυκλωθεῖσαν. ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν δύο Τραχινίων, διὰ δυσβάτου στρατὸς Περσικὸς διελήλυθε, μυριάδες τέσσαρες, καὶ κατὰ νότου γίνονται τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· καὶ κυκλωθέντες ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ἀνδρείως ἅπαντες. [28] Ξέρξης δὲ πάλιν στράτευμα πέμπει κατὰ Πλαταιέων, μυριάδας ἰβ', ἡγούμενον αὐτοῖς Μαρδόνιον ἐπιστήσας· Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ Πλαταιέων τὸν Ξέρξην κινουῦντες. ἀντιστρατεύει δὲ Πausanίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, τριακοσίους μὲν ἔχων Σπαρτιήτας, χιλίους δὲ τῶν περιόικων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων χιλιάδας ἕξ· ...

somewhere near Abydos. Demaratus the Spartan arrived there first and accompanied Xerxes across it, and dissuaded him from invading Sparta. At Thermopylae Xerxes ordered his general Artapanus to attack Leonidas, the Spartan general, with ten thousand men. The Persian host was cut to pieces, while only two or three of the Spartans were killed. The king then ordered an attack with twenty thousand, but these, too, were defeated. Consequently they [sc. the Persian troops] were flogged to the battle, and though flogged, were routed again. The next day he ordered an attack with fifty thousand, but without success, and consequently ceased operations. Thorax the Thessalian and Calliades and Timaphernes, the leaders of the Trachinians, who were present with their forces, were summoned by Xerxes together with Demaratus and Hegias the Ephesian. Xerxes learned that the Spartans could never be defeated unless they were surrounded. A Persian army of forty thousand men was conducted by the two leaders of the Trachinians over a barely passable mountain-path and came to the rear of the Lacedaemonians. The surrounded Spartans all died fighting bravely. [28] Xerxes sent another army of one hundred and twenty thousand men against Plataea under the command of Mardonius, at the instigation of the Thebans. He was opposed by Pausanias the Spartan, with only three hundred Spartiates, one thousand perioeci and six thousand from the other cities. ...

<sup>79</sup> The transmitted text runs as follows: ζευγνὺς τὴν Ἄβυδον. Lenfant translated this as follows “après avoir mis Abydos sous le joug” (Lenfant 2004, 124), but historically this makes no sense. In that respect Henry’s translation (“il atteint Abydos en jettant un pont”) is somewhat nearer to the point (Henry 1959, vol. i, 115), though Abydos is situated on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles and, arriving from Babylon, no bridge is needed to reach Abydos. Looking at both Herodotus 7.33-34 and the context of Ctesias’ story in historical perspective, the meaning of this passage becomes clear and my conjecture obvious: ζευγνὺς τὴν ἄλμην περὶ Ἄβυδον “having bridged the sea somewhere near Abydos”. It should be noted that the use of the verb ζευγνυμι “yoking”, “fastening together” in comparable sense (joining beasts together) has been used in Greek since Homer (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.543) but, to the best of my knowledge, for the first time in almost the same way as Ctesias does here by Aeschylus (*A. Pers.* 71).

This fragment is part of the *epitome* of Ctesias' *Persica* made by the Byzantine Patriarch Photius (before 828-after 886 AD). Elsewhere I have argued at some length, with examples, that Photius was not a very reliable epitomist (Stronk 2010, 142-144) and that the *epitome* can, therefore, not be used to decide whether Ctesias was a reliable historian or not (Stronk 2010, 145-146). The overall picture of § 27 is, however, apart from the numbers (40,000 Persians making the circuit is out of proportion), not totally unfamiliar. We encounter, at least, in this account several elements more or less familiar from other versions, such as the role of Demaratus (more or less in line with Herodotus), the numbers of the Greek force at Thermopylae (quite in line with Diodorus' account), the help for the Persian king from two Trachinian leaders (D.S. 11.9.3 mentions one Trachinian, not necessarily a leader, guiding the Persians), and the use of whips by Persian commanders to force their men to do battle (an element also mentioned by both Diodorus and Herodotus), as well as the bravery of the Spartan soldiers. The account of § 28 is rather more puzzling. It is stated to relate events at Plataea. The sequel, describing a severe Persian defeat and the wounding (and flight) of Mardonius, appears to confirm it. However, though the name of the Greek commander at Plataea is correct, the description of his force only suits that of the Spartan force at Thermopylae: there has been obviously a severe contamination of the source. Whether Ctesias himself is to blame for this mixing up of occurrences, or Photius, or some later copyist can, regrettably, not be stated with any firm degree of certainty. As it is: "[t]he practice of most modern authors is to blame Ctesias for all errors" (Stronk 2010, 36).

This account obviously is insufficient to make valid statements on the origin of Ctesias' information. Ephorus' work hardly if at all can be regarded as a source for Ctesias, Ctesias being probably nearly half a century older than Ephorus (and, as it appears, Ctesias' work rather served as one of Ephorus' sources). Theoretically, though, there might well have been sources used by both Ctesias and Ephorus, like the work(s) of Herodotus, Lysias, and/or Simonides. Whether Ctesias here freely varied upon Herodotus' work cannot be stated with certainty either, though Ctesias elsewhere does refer to the work of Herodotus, viz. in the case of Egyptian burial customs, at least if we are to trust a reference by Diodorus (D.S. 2.15.2). It may show that Ctesias was familiar with Herodotus' work (even though he apparently misread it in the passage referred to). Taken together, I think we are unable to state anything at all with any degree of certainty as regards Ctesias' sources for the Battle of Thermopylae apart from the fact that I very much doubt that Ctesias' sources here were of Persian origin<sup>80</sup>. We could, perhaps, add that, as it appears, Ctesias may have regarded the Battle of Plataea in some sense a replay of that of Thermopylae (cf. Dillery 1996, 243 note 74).

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<sup>80</sup> As he claims to have used: cf. D.S. 2.32.4; Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 36a1-6; D.S. 2.22.5; Phot. *Bibl.* [72] 42b11-13.

### **Additional remarks**

In a memorable paper in Dunsch/Ruffing 2013, Josef Wiesehöfer discussed the issue of Herodotus and a Persian Hellas. In this paper, he acknowledged that, in general, our knowledge of Persian motives for invading Greece is, as yet, far from complete. Partly this is due to a lack of knowledge of Greek (and notably Athens-oriented) authors, including Herodotus, but also partly to the (both ancient and modern) inability to discern between the nuances of Achaemenid Persian state ideology and Achaemenid Persian “Realpolitik” (Wiesehöfer 2013, 279-282). As regards the last element of Wiesehöfer’s view we can only hope that insight will proceed in time, but Wiesehöfer’s first observation doubtless is largely right.

This lack of understanding by the Greeks seems at first sight odd, looking at the, perhaps a little too one-sided, fascination for Persia in ancient Greek culture in general and Greek literature in particular. As Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones rightly remarked: “The Persians and their vast empire exerted a remarkable hold over the Greek imagination. Greek art from the late archaic period and throughout the classical age contains an abundance of images of the Otherness of the Persians, showing them as pampered despots and effeminised defeated soldiery. Greek literature too overflows with references to all kinds of diverse Persian exotica: ...”<sup>81</sup> (with – apart from chapter 8.8 – probably Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, which displays positive qualities of Persian rulers, notably Cyrus the Great, as an exception). A picture of such Greek sentiments is painted by Christopher Tuplin in his *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart, 1996, 164)<sup>82</sup>. Such literary examples may have helped to establish (or strengthen) a picture of the Greek Self. As such, this may explain on the one hand the Greek deficit to really try and understand Achaemenid politics and/or ideology, on the other hand elucidates many of the elements, most notably in the outings of Isocrates and followers, we have encountered above.

Simultaneously we should realise that for Greeks, looking from the outside in (though Ctesias claimed to look from the inside out), the situation within the Achaemenid Empire, certainly until the end of the reign of King Darius III, was

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<sup>81</sup> Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 317; also Bridges 2015, 133-135; cf. as regards literature, e.g., A. *Pers. passim*; the exposition in Pl. *Lg.* 2.639C-698A, esp. 694A-696A; Arist. *Mu.* 398A; Isoc. *Paneg.* 150-156; the O.T. book of Esther, *passim*. The practice continues at least until the third century AD, as Philostratus senior’s *Imagines* (2.31) shows. Cf. also Tuplin 2014; Lenfant 2001, 407-438; Wiesehöfer 1996, 39-78. Bridges 2015, 70 refers to “a strand of Xerxes-traditions which focused more upon the Persian court as a locus for domestic intrigue and sexual politics”, pointing at Herodotus’ so-called ‘bedroom scene’ (Hdt. 3.134), antedating Ctesias’ descriptions by far.

<sup>82</sup> For a review of Greek literature on Persia see, e.g., Stevenson 1997; Lenfant 2011; Harrison 2011; Lenfant 2014.

perhaps dark and beset with revolts. Nevertheless, it certainly was not as dark as Greeks tried to make us believe (cf. Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 318-319). “The Greeks, ..., could use the Persian past with great precision (or an attempt at precision at least): Aeschylus had already demonstrated that in his bid to chronicle Median and Persian royal genealogy in his *Persai* (lines 765–81) of 472 bce. Nevertheless, the Greeks were equally capable of overwriting Persian history and willing to do so, skewing the historical process for their rhetorical, cultural or theoretical needs, omitting and ostracising persons and events from the picture” (Llewellyn-Jones 2012, 346). Such notions we should bear in mind because they *might* add another perspective on the Greek renderings of the events at and around Thermopylae in 480 BC.

### Persian and Babylonian sources

Naturally, we want to confront the various Greek reports on the Battle of Thermopylae, wherever possible, with Persian accounts of the Greco-Persian Wars in general and the encounter at Thermopylae in particular. Necessarily, I shall have to provide some introductory remarks to the available evidence, as not all readers will be sufficiently familiar with it. The Persian state inscriptions (mostly collected in Kent 1953) are, regrettably, not very revealing as regards the particularities of specific occurrences (with the exception of the great inscription ordered by Darius I the Great at Behistun), being primarily directed to underline the Achaemenid royal vision “to emphasize the legitimacy and scope of the ruler’s imperial power” (Bridges 2015, 76; as it is, Darius’ inscription combines both elements: it is quite specific and emphasises the ruler’s legitimacy and power). Nevertheless, we might gather some *insight* as regards the position of the Persians from that direction. The first to consult, then, are the inscriptions ordered by Xerxes, such as an inscription from Persepolis, the so-called *Daiva*-inscription.

Persepolis XPh<sup>83</sup>, lines 23-25, reads as follows:

[23] ... : *Yaunā* : *tya* : *drayahiyā* : *da*  
 [24] *rayatiy* : *utā* : *tyaiy* : *paradraya* : *dārayat*  
 [25] *iy* : ...

(“[By the favour of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I was king ...], [23-25] Ionians [sc. Greeks], those who dwell by the sea [sc. the Greek *poleis* in Asia Minor] and those who dwell across the sea [sc. the *poleis* in mainland Greece], ...”: text and translation after Kent 1953, 151).

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<sup>83</sup> I follow the method of Kent 1953, in which the first letter designates the king (D for Darius, X for Xerxes, A for Artaxerxes, when necessary followed by a numeral in Arabic superscript, e.g. A<sup>2</sup> for Artaxerxes II), the second letter the provenance (e.g. P for Persepolis, S for Susa, N for Naqš-e Rostam, Z for Suez), and the last letter (in lower case) the number (a for 1, e for 5 etc.).

As Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg has explained, this inscription poses some particular problems (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 1-47), one of them being the date it was ordered. Though by the time the inscription was made, the Persian army probably had already been defeated at Plataea, the Persian king could, she states, not admit defeat and continued to strive to extend his influence to mainland Greece (and, *inter alia* thanks to his relatively extensive financial resources, frequently succeeded to do so: cf. Stronk 1990-91, *passim*). Like most other Achaemenid state inscriptions (perhaps with the exception of the Behistun inscription of Darius I the Great), Sancisi-Weerdenburg declares, this text is, in fact, a-historic (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 29): according to her, this inscription can, therefore, not be used as a source for Persian expansion.

Also an inscription by Darius the Great at Persepolis (DPe, lines 12-14) records his overlordship over the Greeks “of the mainland and who are by the sea” (Kent 1953, 136). It *might* reflect the campaign against Eretria in 490 BC, but, following the lines set out by Sancisi-Weerdenburg, it *could* be safer to consider also this inscription as ‘a-historic’. The same goes for his inscription from Susa (DSe, lines 27-29: Kent 1953, 141-142). In some other inscriptions (DNa, lines 28-29; DSm, lines 8 and 10-11) a distinction is made between ordinary Ionians/Greeks (*Yaunā*) and the Petasus – wearing [a broad-brimmed hat of Thessalian origin] Ionians/Greeks (*Yauna takabarā*)<sup>84</sup>: I presume the latter description refers to Greeks on the mainland, based on the origin of such hats, i.e. Thessaly. Also these inscriptions *could*, however, following the view of Sancisi-Weerdenburg, be considered as ‘a-historic’ and therefore non-conclusive.

Doing so, however, we might overlook the fact that the Persians did have a strong foothold in northern Greece (and southern Thrace-Macedonia, the region known in the Persian texts as *Skudra* and adjacent to Greece). Moreover, all these texts make unmistakably clear that, even if the Persians did not *physically control* mainland Greece, they at least (and with some right, if we take the offerings of water and soil to the Persian kings by various Greek states into account) did make some sort of *claim* to the region [my italics]. The texts are, as such, part of expressions of the Achaemenid Persian state ideology rather than a reflection of historical reality. In this respect, they follow a traditional pattern that already becomes clear in Assyrian texts of Assurnasirpal II and Salmanassar III<sup>85</sup>, where making the claim manifest is all-important (cf. also Wiesehöfer 2013, 280). In that respect, these texts are therefore by no means ‘a-historic’. I

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<sup>84</sup>The same distinction is, by the way, made in A?P, lines 23 and 26, a text ascribed to either Artaxerxes II or Artaxerxes III. Due to, amongst others, the expedition of the Cyreans and its aftermath and this king’s involvement in Greek affairs, finally leading to the King’s Peace of 386 BC, I feel tempted to opt for an ascription to Artaxerxes II.

<sup>85</sup> Cf., e.g., Rollinger 2013, 95-116 at 109-110 and notes 74-78.

think, therefore, that the observation by Sancisi-Weerdenburg cannot be maintained in its absoluteness.

At Persepolis we also have the reliefs on the staircase to the *apadāna*, the large audience hall, designed by Darius I the Great and completed by Xerxes, dating to the first half of the fifth century BC. These reliefs show delegations of peoples bringing tribute to the Achaemenid kings and among those delegations also a delegation of what appears to be *Yaunā*, Ionians/Greeks. Most likely, however, these are Greeks from Asia Minor; moreover, like the texts, also these reliefs are so formalised that they offer no evidence other than that they predominantly underline Achaemenid Persian ideological claims.

During the excavations of the palace of Persepolis in the 1930s two collections of tablets were found, documenting state administration. The first collection, the so-called Persepolis Fortification Tablets, refers to the period from 509 to 493 BC, from regnal year 13 to regnal year 28 of Darius I. The chronological distribution of the archive is uneven, the largest concentration of tablets dating from the 22nd and 23rd regnal years. A second group of tablets found were the so-called Persepolis Treasury Tablets. Though the Persepolis Treasury Tablets cover the period we are interested in, they run from 492-458 BC, from regnal year 24 of Darius to regnal year 8 of Artaxerxes I, they offer no clues as regards any military or political event: in Cameron's words: "the documents from the Treasury of the royal city Persepolis here published are not of a political nature. There are no treaties, chronicles, annals, letters to or from satraps, or edicts to distant outposts of the realm. Instead, they are specifically 'Treasury' documents" (Cameron 1948, 9).

Though Babylonia was part of the Achaemenid Empire and geographically closer to Greece than the Achaemenid heartland, Babylonian texts (the historically most important of these being the so-called *Astronomical Diaries* (cf. Sachs/Hunger 1988) but also the archive of the Murašū-family (a family of businessmen) from Nippur) offer no evidence whatsoever. Matthew Stolper phrases it as follows: "The available Babylonian texts are similar in kind to those from the early Achaemenid reigns, but there are fewer of them. They include few fragments of historiographic texts and royal inscriptions. Most are legal and administrative documents" (Stolper 1994, 234). As regards the *Astronomical Diaries*, Sachs and Hunger add to that: "... [T]he compilers of the diaries lived in Babylon and depended for their historical remarks on whatever they happened to hear. ... For events in other parts of the empire they had to rely on hearsay. Even if we had the diaries complete, historical information from them would be very Babylon-centered" (Sachs/Hunger 1988, 36).

As there are no other Achaemenid documents, either of Iranian or Babylonian origin, that I know of that can shed any light on the Persian perspective on the

conflict, let alone specifically as regards Xerxes' expedition of 480 BC, we have no alternative – unless ongoing research reveals such a document as yet – than to exploit the traditional ancient (i.e. predominantly Greek) accounts and to try to make the best of these, after all, and in more than one respect, biased, stories<sup>86</sup>. Their main objective, in the end, may well have been, apart from telling a good and edifying story, to accentuate Greek *areté* over Persian effeminacy. Certainly from the fourth century BC onward such a story could well find an obliging audience in Greece.

### Varia

There might be, finally, (descriptions of) some objects that may have some relevance as yet. The first is a reference in *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by (L. Flavius) Philostratus (ca. 170-ca. 247 AD). He mentions tapestries in a palace in Babylon, as he states a city richly adorned by a queen of Median origin. On one tapestry, he writes: ἐνύφανται που καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης περιεστηκῶς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ἃ νικᾶν ἔφασκεν· Ἀθῆναι γὰρ δὴ ἐχόμεναι εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικώτερα ἔτι, ποταμοὶ ἐξαιρούμενοι τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζευγμα καὶ ὁ Ἄθος ὡς ἐτμήθη (“Also woven into the tapestries are Datis drawing up Naxos from the sea, Artaphernes encircling Eretria, and the alleged victories of Xerxes. The occupation of Athens is there, Thermopylae, and things even more typically Median – the rivers of the earth drained dry, a bridge over the sea, and the cutting of Athos”: Philostr. *VA* 1.25.2; translation Jones, Loeb Classical Library). Naturally, this description is more than likely of an object sprouting from the author's phantasy, though all based upon events from the Greco-Persian Wars as described by Herodotus (Philostratus mentions that the subjects on the tapestries “come from Greek tales”), but might as yet reveal a certain attitude on the Persian side or at least might be a reflection of Persian state ideology. Odd as it might seem, it is not *totally* out of order, as the following fragments from the *Trojan discourse* by Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40-ca. 120 AD) may demonstrate.

First Dio Chrysostom puts ‘historical knowledge’ into perspective: [145] οἷον εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν φασιν ὑστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχης, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων τελευταῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· [146] καίτοι γε ἐγράφη παραχρήμα τῶν ἔργων. οὐ γὰρ ἴσασι οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ ἀκριβές, ἀλλὰ φήμης ἀκούουσι μόνον, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον· οἱ δὲ δεῦτεροι καὶ τρίτοι τελῶς ἄπειροι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν εἴη τις παραδέχονται ῥαδίως (“In regard to the Persian War, for instance, some hold

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<sup>86</sup> Cf. also Bridges 2015: 5: “...it is striking that no surviving source from Persia itself makes any reference to this military campaign which took place on what was the western fringe of the Persian empire. This omission acts as a reminder that the dominant verdict upon the king [sc. Xerxes], as pronounced by western society, is largely coloured by the response of that society to his military campaign”.

that the naval engagement off Salamis took place after the battle of Plataea [we have seen that, e.g., Ctesias did so, JPS], others that the affair at Plataea was the last of the events; yet a record was made immediately after the events occurred. [146] For most people have no accurate knowledge. They merely accept rumour, even when they are contemporary with the time in question, while the second and third generations are in total ignorance and readily swallow whatever anyone says”: D. Chr. 11.145-146, translation Cohoon, Loeb Classical Library). Next Dio discusses events relating to the Greco-Persian Wars and the expedition:

Dio Chrysostom 11.148-149 (translation Cohoon, Loeb Classical Library):

[148] τοῦτο δὲ τὸ στρατήγημα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστίν. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα Μήδου λέγοντος ὅτι οὐδὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλὰ Δαρείων μὲν φασὶν ἐπὶ Νάξον καὶ Ἐρέτριαν πέμψαι τοὺς περὶ Δᾶτιν καὶ Ἀρταφέρνην, κάκεινους ἐλόντας τὰς πόλεις ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁρμούντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ὀλίγας ναῦς ἀποσκευασθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ γενέσθαι τινὰ μάχην τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. [149] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξην ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαντα Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν νικήσαι περὶ Θερμοπύλας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι Λεωνίδην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐλόντα κατασκάψαι, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διέφυγον ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντα καὶ φόρους ἐπιθέντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ψευδῆ ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν βασιλέα κελεῦσαι στρατεύσαι τοὺς ἄνω ἔθνεσιν οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἵνα μὴ θορυβῶσιν.

[148] This is a very common device. I heard, for instance, a Mede declare that the Persians concede none of the claims made by the Greeks, but maintain that Darius despatched Datis and Artaphernes against Naxos and Eretria, and that after capturing these cities they returned to the king; that, however, while they were lying at anchor off Euboea, a few of their ships were driven on to the Attic coast – not more than twenty – and their crews had some kind of an engagement with the inhabitants of that place; [149] that, later on, Xerxes in his expedition against Greece conquered the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae and slew their king Leonidas, then captured and razed the city of the Athenians and sold into slavery all who did not escape; and that after these successes he laid tribute upon the Greeks and withdrew to Asia. Now it is quite clear that this is a false account, but, since it was the natural thing to do, it is quite possible that the king ordered this story to be spread among the inland tribes in order to keep them quiet.

I fail to be able to completely discern irony (if, indeed, intended) and factual information in this fragment, but I believe (though I, obviously, do not have sufficient supporting evidence) it certainly holds a kernel of truth and really represents notions or ideas on the Greco-Persian Wars in “Persia”, both within the times of the Achaemenid Empire<sup>87</sup> and perhaps even during the period of its suc-

<sup>87</sup> As a matter of fact, a similar attitude – on the one hand denial and belittling results of the adversary, emphasising the own achievements on the other hand – was displayed by Habsburg authorities in their reactions to the Dutch revolt in the second half of the sixteenth century AD: verbal communication, through Clio Stronk, by Dr. R.P. Fagel, Leiden University, Institute for History, Department of General History, who teaches, amongst others, on his project “Facing



Fig. 8. Persian king (Xerxes?) killing a Greek hoplite. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. An “anonymous loan”, referred to as L.1992.23.8. Photo: Marco Prins, <<http://www.livius.org/pictures/a/iran/an-achaemenid-king-killing-a-greek-hoplite/>>.

cessors, notably the Seleucid and Arsacid periods, especially in the non-ethnic Greek circles in the society. It is a reflection of the state ideology, referred to above. Simultaneously it is showing Greek pride, culminating in one of the closing remarks: ὅτι μὲν οὖν ψευδῆ ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐκ ἄδηλον (“Now it is quite clear that this is a false account”).

Of a slightly different order is an object currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 8). It is a (Chalcedon) seal with its impression, depicting a Persian king (among other things to be recognised by his crown) killing a Greek hoplite. The seal is to be dated to the first quarter of the fifth century BC: theoretically two kings may be relevant, viz. Darius I and Xerxes. Of these, the former has never been up in arms against the Greeks, but Xerxes has, of course. It has, therefore, caused the interpretation that the seal depicts Xerxes killing Leonidas (cf. <<http://www.livius.org/pictures/a/iran/an-achaemenid-king-killing-a-greek-hoplite/>>). Naturally, it is merely an interpretation, by no means a solid *datum*. Nevertheless, this very seal itself indicates that the Greco-Persian Wars also have had their impact on the Persian side, even though they may have evoked different emotions.

### Conclusion

In the pages above we have followed various accounts of the events leading up to the Battle of Thermopylae and the battle itself, taking into account several factors.

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the Enemy. The Spanish Army Commanders during the First Decade of the Dutch Revolt (1567-1577)”. See, e.g., also: <http://www.hum.leiden.edu/history/staff/fagel.html> (retrieved August 10, 2015).

In the process, we have shown (I hope beyond reasonable doubt) that each of the ancient authors carefully wrought his version of the occurrences to comply with his needs. I think that, based upon the accounts we have discussed, different separate main strands in the written tradition may be discerned. At the top of all there is the work of Simonides, the oldest surviving tradition, written in the traditional way to convey the past since at least the times of Homer, i.e. poetry. Afterwards, that function was taken by prose, the literary form of the other strands of testimonies we have on ‘Thermopylae’. The first strand, then, is the account by Herodotus (and possibly his sources, most of which remain unnamed). The second goes from Lysias through Isocrates and Ephorus to Diodorus of Sicily, Pompeius Trogus (in Justin’s *epitome*), and Plutarch. A third strand may have been that of Ctesias of Cnidus, but what remains of his *Persica* is too damaged to draw any solid conclusion regarding potential affiliations with any of the other sources – even Simonides – we have come across. Apart from these some minor strands may be discerned, most of which we have encountered in the discussion and as it appears all dependent of one of the main strands mentioned above.

I hope that in the discussion the reader on the one hand may have acquired a better view on the problems the interpretation of the texts poses due to the adaptations contingency demanded and on the other hand will acknowledge the hesitation modern historians *should* have to favour, almost unquestionably, a particular vision or source. In the words of Flower: “Neither we, nor our sources, have sufficient information to reconstruct *what* took place during the last night and day at Thermopylae with as much certainty and precision as many moderns lay claim to” (Flower 1998, 376). In fact, the same conclusion also goes for the events leading up to that last night and day. Only very few facts are uncontested, though we can admit that, from the point of view of narrative, Herodotus presents us, probably, with the most attractive story, not necessarily being equal with the most reliable one.

In view of the limited amount of *solid* historical evidence we have<sup>88</sup>, it seems pretty needless to create even more myths – especially such myths as practically demonise and, in fact, dehumanise the Persians and their king – such as a cinematographic ‘version’ of the events at and around Thermopylae (lately a film called *300*, directed by Zack Snyder, 2007, loosely based upon Frank Miller’s graphic novel *300*, 1998, Milwaukie, OR, presenting Xerxes as arch-villain: cf. Bridges 2015, 191). As it is, the extant versions of the battle are already sufficiently complicated to untangle.

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<sup>88</sup> See also Trundle, in: Matthew/Trundle 2013, 27-38 at 28: “There was no set version or tradition of the actual events at Thermopylae in antiquity despite Herodotus’ authoritative account”. In similar vein: Brown 2013, 100-116 at 101: “The account of Herodotus was not necessarily as definitive in antiquity as it is now”. Her account provides her audience with more epigrams and references than discussed in this paper.

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RELIGIOUS SUPPORT AND POLITICAL GAIN:  
THE SELEUCIDS, MILETUS, AND DIDYMA, 301-281 BC

Reinier Meijering

*At least from the turn of the third century BC onwards, and presumably already from before 300 BC, members of the house of Seleucus had supported the polis of Miletus and its extramural sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma, which was administered by people from Miletus. Seleucid support of Didyma was, therefore, no coincidence, but keen diplomacy from the part of Seleucus I Nikator and his descendants, aimed to establish political liaisons and expand their influence in this important Greek polis.*

**Introduction**

It was not until 281 that the Seleucids became the military masters of Ionia for a short period<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, at least from the turn of the third century onwards, and presumably before 300, members of the house of Seleucus had supported Miletus and its extramural sanctuary of Apollo in Didyma<sup>2</sup>. This article's main hypothesis is that because the Milesian people administered Didyma, Seleucid support of Didyma was no coincidence, but keen diplomacy in order to expand influence in this important Greek *polis*. Why and how did the Seleucids sustain such intensive relations with the Milesian people?

At first sight, Seleucid attendance in Miletus and Didyma in the early third century is paradoxical, and the scale of Seleucid activity in Miletus striking. Seleucus' empire was centred in modern day Syria, Iraq, and Iran. Only in 281 he brought Miletus within his direct sphere of influence by defeating and killing Lysimachus in the Battle of Koroupeidion. Why, then, supporting Miletus with its rebuilding program of an important temple on such a scale, while the *polis* was not part of Seleucid territory?

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<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, all years are BC/BCE.

<sup>2</sup> Antiochus (Seleucus' son, who became co-ruler in 291 and reigned from 281 as Antiochus I) in 300/299 (*I Didyma 479*), Apame (the wife of Seleucus I) in 300/299 (*I Didyma 480*), Seleucus I Nikator in 288/287 (*I Didyma 424*). See for the transcription: Bringman/von Steuben 1995, 334-344.

Three inscriptions are important in answering this question<sup>3</sup>. Milesian decrees concerning Seleucus, his wife Apame, and his son Antiochus shed new light on the relationship between kings and cities in the early Hellenistic period. More importantly, as I will clarify, the inscriptions show that religion played a crucial role in opening and maintaining diplomatic contact between king and city.

The three inscriptions touch several facets of the relationship between kings and cities. The autonomy of a city-state, both in its internal and external politics, and the role religion played in the creation of a liaison of the house of Seleucus with Miletus shine through these decrees<sup>4</sup>. More importantly, the inscriptions testify that in spite of not having military dominance in Ionia, the Seleucids yet maintained far-going diplomatic contact with Miletus. This implies that more kings (i.e. Lysimachus, Demetrius, Ptolemy) could be present in the same city at the same time, due to the personal networks of friends of the king.

I will show that Seleucid support of Didyma resulted in political gain for both the Seleucids and Miletus. In other words, Didyma was a means of fruitful diplomatic contact between the Seleucid court and Miletus in the early Hellenistic period. New, religious aspects of an already expressed opinion about the autonomous and democratic condition of the Greek *polis* in the first decades of the Hellenistic era will be given<sup>5</sup>.

### **City-states and Macedonian empires (334-281)**

What can we say about the connection between king and city-state in the early Hellenistic period when examining the Milesian-Seleucid relationship in the first two decades of the third century? In order to answer this question, we first have to clarify what we have on both sides of the bond. On the one side stands Miletus, a Greek city-state with a democratic constitution. City-states were to a large extent autonomous and self-governing entities. They had their own laws, served their own gods, and were, as the word *city-state* makes clear, *de facto* small states. During the presence of the Persians in Ionia in the fourth century Miletus was subjected to the Persian King. The Persians had supported an oligarchic government in Miletus and maintained a garrison (Greaves 2002, 134). When Alexander drove out the Persians in 334 he installed a democratic institution in most of the Greek cities he liberated<sup>6</sup>. By supporting a democracy and leaving the Milesians autonomous and self-governing, it was assumable that Miletus would support Alexander's cause. A king like Alexander had something

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<sup>3</sup> For the inscriptions, see Bringman/von Steuben 1995, 334-344.

<sup>4</sup> Orth 1977, 12-32 on the Seleucids and Miletus; on kings and cities: Strootman 2011, 141-153.

<sup>5</sup> Baker 2003, 376: "this phenomenon [sc. the *polis*' control over political life, justice, and community administration] was most striking in the Greek city-states of Western Asia Minor [...] and many of them entered a significant phase of political, economic and cultural development".

<sup>6</sup> Also in Ephesos and on the Aegean island of Chios democracies were installed.

to gain from a free and autonomous city-state as well. The city would be loyal to him, which would result in financial (tribute) and military support. Moreover, the *poleis* were the infrastructural, agrarian, and economic centers of the Ancient World (Strootman 2007, 56-7). Lastly, cities functioned as legitimizing actors of royal power, making them influential negotiators in diplomatic contact with kings.

Summarising, one could say that the bond between king and city was most fruitful when the city-state was autonomous and a king sustained that situation. This is one of the main reasons why kings approached cities as they did. They tried to win their support, for example by financing public and religious buildings and maintaining good contacts with the city by levying courtiers from the city-states. On the other side of the bond stand the Seleucids. They were members of a mighty royal family who stood at the head of a huge empire that stretched from the Indus in the east to the Mediterranean basin in the west. Carla M. Sinopoli's general definition of an empire is as follows:

“a territorial expansive and incorporative kind of state, involving relationships in which one state exercises control over other socio-political entities. The diverse polities and communities that constitute an empire typically retain some degree of autonomy – in self- and centrally-defined cultural identity, and in some dimensions of political and economic decision making” (Sinopoli 1994, 160).

Key elements of her definition can be traced back in what Goldstone and Haldon say about the subject in their contribution to *The Dynamics of Ancient Empires*, namely that “an [ancient] empire is a territory ruled from a distinct center”, in which “there may be partial integration of local elites” (Goldstone/Haldon 2009, 19). The vast area that Seleucus had conquered was the imperial territory, while Miletus as a city-state was one of the socio-political entities the Seleucids wanted a relationship with, thereby trying to involve it into their empire. Court members from Miletus, like the Demodamas who turns up in the three inscriptions (see below: *Cities, diplomats, soldiers, and courts*), must be seen as an example of the partial integration of local elites in the imperial structure. They were invited to the Seleucid distinct centre, and they served as the intermediaries and negotiators between court and city-state (Herman 1987, 208).

As a result, the attitude of the Seleucids and their behaviour towards Miletus and Didyma has to be placed in the light of their imperial policy. It clarifies how the Macedonian empires came to be and were constructed in the early Hellenistic period. As legitimising factors city-states took a prominent place in this process.

### **Miletus and Didyma during the Wars of the Successors**

What was the interest of kings of being influential in Miletus in the early Hellenistic period? Miletus was situated at the frontline of the Wars of the Successors between Antigonos, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus.

As a port city with excellent access to the Aegean, the strategic significance of Miletus cannot be ignored. Last but not least, Miletus was a Greek city, a *polis* with a long and rich history. So, being in sway of Miletus, a king increased his military potential as well as his status. The presence of different monarchs during half a century makes Miletus therefore a fertile case study about the relationship between *polis* and king(s) in the early Hellenistic period<sup>7</sup>.

As far as Ionia is concerned, two battles serve as watersheds in the early Hellenistic period: Ipsos in 301 and Koroupeidion in 281. These had been decisive for the political situation in the western part of Alexander's former realm, Miletus and Didyma included. After Ipsos, the victors of Antigonos the One-eyed, Lysimachus and Seleucus, took over control in Asia Minor. The former had first to get rid of Antigonos' son Demetrius the Besieger, before he became able to strengthen his grip on the western part in 294, while the latter built his powerbase around his newly founded Antioch on the Orontes in the eastern corner of Asia Minor. Twenty years later, at Koroupeidion in Lydia, the former allies clashed. Seleucus was victorious over Lysimachus and, as the last of Alexander's Successors, he had almost successfully reunited Alexander's realm. A few months later, however, Seleucus was dead as well, murdered at the age of 82, after he just had landed in Thrace. The Seleucid military presence in western Asia Minor crumbled and direct control over the area became highly contested (Ager 2003, 35).

During the first three quarters of the fourth century the Persians had been dominant in the eastern Aegean. Miletus had been in Persian hands as well. Alexander the Great had captured Miletus in 334. After his victory, he visited the former sanctuary and oracle of Apollo. Didyma, located some 10 miles south of Miletus, had been destroyed by the Persians in 494 during the Ionian revolt. It was only in the year of Alexander's arrival the Didymeian oracle of Apollo started to speak again. That year, the rebuilding of the temple started too (Greaves 2002, 134). From 323 onwards, many power brokers became active in Ionia. Antigonos the One-eyed, Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Cassander, all were more or less active and influential in the strategically important region. But it was the house of Seleucus that in the last decade of the fourth and first decades of the third century initiated and supported the reconstruction of Didyma. As a matter of fact, the Seleucids created a special bond with this Ionian *polis* and its sanctuary. Three inscriptions from the beginning of the third century are exemplifying.

### **The Seleucid inscriptions**

In 300/299 Seleucus' son Antiochos received special thanks after he had done a

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<sup>7</sup> Antigonos the One-eyed held power there from 313 until his death in 301. His son Demetrius 'the Besieger' tried to maintain Antigonid power in the 290's and early 280's, but ultimately had to accept Lysimachus' superiority in the first two decades of the third century. See for Antigonos: Billows 1990.

favour to the city and its sanctuary. Antiochus' decree was set up after the crown prince had announced to build a *stoa* in Miletus. It was in fact an offering to the sanctuary of Didyma, according to lines 9-13 of the inscription *I Didyma 479*:

ἐ]π[αγγ]έλ[λε]ται στοὰν οἰκοδο[μήσειν στα]-  
[διαίαν τῶι θε]ῶι κατὰ πόλιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἔσσονται κα[θ' ἔτος?]  
[πρόσοδοι, ἄς] οἶεται δεῖν δαπανᾶσθαι εἰς τὰ κατα-  
[σκευαζόμε]να ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι ἐν Διδύμοις

[...] and he [Antiochos] has announced that he will build for [the god a stade-long] *stoa* in the city, from which there will be [annual revenues that] he thinks ought to be spend on the construction of the temple at Didyma (translation: Ilse Jelidi-van der Zanden).

The *stoa* and the honorary decree had to be erected on the *agora* (Günther 1971, 31). The *stoa* functioned as a market hall. The money it thus would generate should be invested in the rebuilding programme of the temple of Apollo in Didyma (lines 9 and 10 of *I Didyma 479*). It was this money that would ultimately serve as Antiochus' gift to the Didymeian Apollo.

An intriguing phrase in the inscription can be found in lines 3 and 4: by dedicating his *stoa* to Apollo of Didyma, Antiochus followed the example of his father, *basileus* Seleucus, who had sustained the temple for many years. It only can be speculated when Seleucus had set this example. An interesting guess might be 313, when Seleucus was commander of the Ptolemaic fleet in the Aegean. That year, the Carian satrap called for his aid; Miletus was under threat by the forces of Antigonos the One-eyed. Mythological evidence for Seleucus' bond with Didyma is available as well<sup>8</sup>. It is therefore presumable that the roots of active Seleucid support of Miletus and Didyma lie in the period before the turn of the century.

In response to his generosity, Antiochus received religious privileges as a gift from the Milesian citizen body, which controlled the temple of Apollo. Antiochus would be seated at the front row when visiting the religious festivals of Didyma, the *Dionysia* and the *Didymeia*. He also would get the best parts of the sacrificial meat. Lastly, if he wanted to consult the oracle, he could do so without any delay: he received the right of *promanteia*, which means that he controlled the sanctuary and could consult the oracle in person. Moreover, Antiochus' offspring would automatically have the same privileges as he had. The state of affairs of the bond between king and city becomes clear through Antiochus' dedication and how the Milesians responded. Each party offered the

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<sup>8</sup> The Didymeian Apollo is said to have given the following oracles to Seleucus: "Do not haste to Europe, Asia is far much better to you" and "By avoiding Argos you will arrive at your fated end. But if you approach Argos, than you may perish untimely". Both oracles point to Seleucus' death if he should land in Europe. See Parke 1985, 44-45.

other something that suited its status. Because a member of a royal family was supposed to be more powerful than a city, his gift ought to be more prestigious as well. That is why Antiochus dedicated his *stoa*. Likewise, the citizens presented the king gifts that matched with their identity as being more or less lower in rank than a king. The fact that they offered Antiochus religious privileges not only shows that they administered the cults. It also illuminates that religion played a central role in the contact between king and city.

The second inscription, *I Didyma 480*, is an honorary decree for Antiochus' mother Apame, the Iranian wife of Seleucus. According to the decree, she had taken care of Milesian soldiers in her husband's army, as well as of Milesian diplomats visiting the Seleucid court<sup>9</sup>. The Milesian people and city council decided<sup>10</sup> that Apame should be thanked for her service towards Miletus and its citizens. That is why this decree was inscribed on a stone *stela* that would be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis in Didyma<sup>11</sup>.

The Milesians would honour the Seleucid queen also by erecting a statue, funded by the Milesian people. The Milesian decree for Apame mentions Antiochus and his *stoa* (lines 12-13). It also refers to king Seleucus. The king had invited members of the Milesian community, presumably from the elite, to his court to talk about the reconstruction of Didyma (lines 8-10)<sup>12</sup>. The presence of Milesian soldiers and visitors at the Seleucid court this inscription speaks of is crucial if we want to understand how the relationship between the Seleucids and Miletus in the early Hellenistic period looked like.

The third Seleucid inscription (*I Didyma 424*) is from 287. It is the copy of an announcement of king Seleucus to the Milesian *demos* of the sending of a huge amount of silver and golden gifts, exotic spices, and sacrificial animals. These offerings should be dedicated to Apollo of Didyma, while the Milesians as supervisors of the sanctuary had to pray the god for Seleucid wellbeing<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Lines 5-6 of *I Didyma 480*: “εὐνοίαν καὶ προ[θυμίαν] | παρείχετο περὶ Μιλησίων τοὺς στρατευομένου[ς]”: “She [Apame] showed willingness and kindness to those of the Milesians who undertook a campaign” (translation: Ilse Jelidi-van der Zanden).

<sup>10</sup> ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ (“Council and people decided”): *I Didyma 480*, line 1, line 4 with slightly different form.

<sup>11</sup> It is illustrating that a male member of the Seleucids, Antiochus, received religious privileges in cults of male gods, Apollo and Dionysus, while the gratitude towards a female member, Apame, is associated with a female goddess, Artemis (Apollo's sister).

<sup>12</sup> The ones who set up the decrees were mostly members of the *ekklesia*. Volker Grieb shows that these were men from the elite, who had privileges and held the political positions in the *polis*. See Grieb 2008, 210.

<sup>13</sup> *I Didyma 428*. Apollo ultimately became the Seleucid patron god. He is depicted on many Seleucid coins. According to a famous legend, Apollo was the father of Seleucus (Justinian 15.4.5). When exactly this divine association materialised, is not known. See Parke 1985, 47.

### The importance of cities

Through the inscriptions, it is exemplified how stark the bond between politics – from *politeia*, the things concerning the *polis* – and religion in the Greek world was. A religious move had political consequences and vice versa. It is exactly this intertwining of these two aspects that forms the key in examining the way Miletus and the Seleucids behaved. All three the inscriptions prove that the house of Seleucus Nikator had a strong interest in Miletus and its sanctuary. Three reasons should be mentioned. In the first place, the explanation of Seleucid support can be found in the presence of Milesians in the inner circle of Seleucid power. Secondly, the nature of the Seleucid Empire and the place of religion – and of Didymeian Apollo in particular – lies at the heart of the bond between the Seleucid court and this Ionian city-state. Thirdly, the nature of empire in general, and the place Greek city-states had in these empires, clarifies why Seleucus and his family were active in Miletus and Didyma. It is the first of these three aspects we will focus on now.

The period between the sudden death of Alexander in 323 and the murder of Seleucus in 281 was a turbulent one. Across the eastern Mediterranean world Alexander's successors struggled for his greatest heritage: the vast area he had conquered. At the top of the political pyramid the Successors used several means to strive for one goal: to create an empire. Marriages, coalitions, and (most of all) warfare, these were the ways to outmanoeuvre your rivals. But to win on the battlefield did not immediately imply to win an empire. Cities had to be persuaded to join one's side. This could be done either by brute force or through negotiation. The former was far more expensive in time and money than the latter<sup>14</sup>. That is why kings favoured the way of diplomacy above a siege when trying to bring cities into their sphere of influence.

A clear example is Antigonus' proclamation of the Freedom of the Greeks in 314, known as the Declaration of Tyre (D.S. 19.61.3-4). By offering autonomy Antigonus granted the cities two things most city-states *de facto* already possessed. Nevertheless, with his declaration the *poleis* could become autonomous *de iure* as well.

In the Hellenistic period, cities depended on kings for their safety and maintaining their autonomy. Only people like Alexander, Antigonus, and Seleucus could provide cities with protection and would be able and willing to safeguard their autonomous status<sup>15</sup>. Why? Cities were a key factor in forging an empire. The Hellenistic monarchs could only be head of an empire if their power was accepted and legitimised as such. The Greek city-states were one of the most powerful legitimising actors of a king. In that way, the city-states served as the corner-

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<sup>14</sup> For example, in 305/304 Demetrius laid siege to the city of Rhodes. After one year he gave up, only left with his nickname 'The Besieger'.

<sup>15</sup> On democracy, autonomy, and freedom in Miletus in the Hellenistic age: Grieb 2008, 238-242.

stones a king could build his empire with<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, cities were the centres of economy, agriculture, and infrastructure of the Greek world (Strootman 2007, 27-28). That made them valuable partners as well.

### **Cities, diplomats, soldiers, and courts**

In the early Hellenistic period both kings and cities needed each other. Kings were as dependent on cities as cities were on them. If a king wanted the support of a city or if a city wanted to receive help from a king they had to make contact. This was possible via courtiers from the cities, such as the Milesians who were invited by Seleucus to visit his court. These Hellenistic diplomats were citizens as well as members of the court (Herman 1980, 103-109). In the case of the Milesian decrees honouring Antiochus and Apame we know something about the identity of one of those courtiers. In both inscriptions Demodamas the son of Aristeides is mentioned as the one who proposed to honour both members of the Seleucid dynasty. As a citizen of Miletus Demodamas was allowed to speak in the city council (Grieb 2008, 230). At the same time, he was an important Seleucid courtier. We know that Demodamas commanded Seleucus' and Antiochus' troops during a campaign in Sogdia and Bactria. Pliny the Elder writes in his *Natural History* that it was Demodamas who, at the banks of the river Jaxartes, erected some shrines of the Apollo of Didyma when fighting there (Plin. *Nat.* 6.18.49).

As a member of the Seleucid court Demodamas could negotiate for the sake of his home city. Because of his position in Seleucus' inner circle, it is possible to regard Demodamas as one of the friends or *philo*i of Seleucus. *Philo*i were the unpaid ambassadors and generals at the Macedonian courts. Levied from the upper Greek and Macedonian classes in the cities, these men served as members of the court and as diplomats acting on behalf of a king as well as of their home city. Because *philo*i were prominent persons in their city, they had a network of clients and supporters behind them. By relying on *philo*i and their influence kings could to a large extent control internal politics (Herman 1997, 208). That made Demodamas an interesting person for the Seleucids to keep in contact with.

Was Demodamas the only example of a Milesian *philos*? Probably not. Could it be that other Milesian citizens were *philo*i of other Macedonian kings, for instance Lysimachus or Ptolemy? Probably yes. Evidence and names, however, lack. Yet it still is assumable that more than one king had personal networks within the same city, simply because communication between city and court went through personal networks<sup>17</sup>. In theory, every king could have his clients in Miletus. It was up to these *philo*i to persuade the governmental bodies which kings should be honored and supported and to what extent, and which not.

Now we have seen how Miletus and the Seleucids made contact, namely through

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<sup>16</sup> See for autonomy and democracy of the Greek city-states and the propaganda of autonomy and democracy of the Successors: Koehn 2007, 45-54.

<sup>17</sup> On networks and imperial communication: Smith 2008, 832-849.

the presence of Milesian officials at the Seleucid court, we also have to pay attention to the Milesian soldiers in the army of Seleucus of which the decree of Apame speaks of. These soldiers had been the main reason why queen Apame was honoured by the Milesians.

An army was a vital element of a king's power. Being a king meant first and foremost being a (successful) military commander. "Monarchal power is given [...] to those who are able of commanding troops"<sup>18</sup>. Success on the battlefield was from time to time necessary in order to maintain a king's position, to prove that he was indeed the most powerful man in the field (Chanotis 2004, 57). Without an army, a king was powerless. Military power was also a means to claim a certain authority, to gain royal or imperial status (Hekster/Fowler 2005, 13).

Because of the significance of a strong army another thing automatically became remarkable as well: money. It made Plutarch say that "money is the sinew of war" (Plu. *Cleom.* 27.1). With an army a king could gather booty, and bring other centres of power – like city-states – into his domain. The money a monarch could generate by means of his military powers made it possible to hold his soldiers in the field by paying them their salary. A coercion-extraction cycle could be developed: no money, no soldiers; no soldiers, no power; no power, no money<sup>19</sup>. The Milesians in the Seleucid army were part of the coercion-extraction machinery of the Seleucids. It was to them that Apame paid attention when they were fighting for the glory of the Seleucids.

What we must not forget, however, is that the decrees are from the hands of the Milesians. That means that we must treat the epigraphic evidence from a Milesian perspective, too. A city-state like Miletus had much to gain from a good relationship with a powerful dynasty. By honouring members of a royal house a *polis* could try to win the favor of them and in that way secure their protection, financial support, and a good name in the Hellenistic world. The presence of Milesian soldiers and diplomats at the heart of the Seleucid power could have been the key-motive for Miletus to try to profit as much as possible from the position of some of its citizens. A fruitful relationship implies love from both sides. The affection from the side of Seleucus, Antiochus, and Apame can be seen in their favourable treatment of Miletus and Didyma, whereas Miletus' friendliness towards the Seleucids can be seen in the honorary decrees, the Seleucid statues erected in their city-centre, and the religious privileges they offered to them. But, what had the Seleucids to gain from such an intensive bond with Miletus and Didyma? And, more importantly, why?

### **The Seleucid religious approach**

At first sight it seems strange that the Seleucids supported Miletus and Didyma in the opening of the third century. It may be even stranger that they could do so

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<sup>18</sup> *Suda*, s.v. *basileia*, quoted by Chanotis 2004, 57.

<sup>19</sup> This cycle is in the context of the rise of the European nation-states defined by Charles Tilly as the "coercion-extraction-cycle". See Tilly 1994, 1-27.

at a time when Demetrius and Lysimachus were the military masters of Ionia. However, the fact that the contact between Miletus and the Seleucids was there tells us in the first place something about the relatively limited power of the Successors in the city-states. Secondly, it also proves that several kings could be active and present in the same city at the same time. Thirdly, the Hellenistic period was not the end of the Greek city-state, but, conversely, *poleis* were crucial parts of the Hellenistic empires in the post-Alexandrian period.

After a king or satrap had left the field, the conditions between a city and the new power had to be redefined<sup>20</sup>. Since Alexander, Antigonus, and the other Macedonians being active in Ionia were unable and unwilling to stay for a long time at the same place, they were also unable to control every part of a city's politics. Autonomous city-states, therefore, were not only in the interest of the citizens, but of kings, too.

The spheres of influence in the early Hellenistic period changed with every military move. Concerning Ionia, this was the case after Ipsos, when Antigonid power was crumbling rapidly. The contact between Miletus and the Seleucid court exemplifies the autonomous position a Greek city-state could have. Peter Burke, writing on the city-state, says that a city-state's political playground and autonomy rose when central authority was weak or even absent (Burke 1986, 150). In the turbulent period after the arrival of Alexander central authority was weak, enlarging the political playground of city-states and of the Successors simultaneously. That explains why in the first two decades of the third century Lysimachus, Demetrius, the Ptolemies, and the Seleucids could be present in Miletus at the same time (for Ptolemaic presence, see Burstein 1984, 61).

The Seleucid approach towards Miletus and its sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma has been explained as a political move: from 300 onwards, the Seleucids aimed at getting a foothold in Ionia before starting a campaign against Lysimachus. However, this is not the strongest argument when examining the available epigraphic evidence. The presence of Milesians at the heart of the Seleucid power is the direct cause. As can be seen in all three decrees, Milesians had prominent positions in the Seleucid circle of power. Milesian soldiers were active in the army of Seleucus, while Demodamas maintained a prominent position at the Seleucid court. This created a bond between Miletus and the Seleucids. At the same time, the Milesians around the Seleucids served as a network through which the dynasty could be influential in the *polis* in order to win its support (Morris 2009, 12). Another argument for Seleucid support could be given. As becomes clear from *I Didyma 424* Seleucus sent pepper, cinnamon, and other

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<sup>20</sup> This was the case when Alexander drove the Persian power out of Miletus; the oligarchic regime disappeared, a democratic government took its place. Alexander offered the Milesians freedom and autonomy, whereas the Persians had maintained a garrison. When Antigonus the One-eyed captured Miletus in 312 after a period of satrap rule in Ionia, he again had to come to terms with the Milesians. He fell back on the Alexandrian policy, thereby bringing his Declaration of Tyre (see above) into practice in Miletus.

exotic spices from the eastern territories of his domain to a prestigious temple site in the western part of the Hellenistic world. This could be a clear sign of Seleucid potential, that the Seleucids had been able to lay their hands on such luxuries. In other words, by sending these exotic gifts from India to Didyma, Seleucus showed how far his power reached.

Most importantly, however, is the religious aspect of the bond between Miletus and the Seleucids. Religion could serve as an imperial binding factor. Morris writes that “rulers were generally quite aware of the process of religious-political manipulation necessary to the maintenance of their power” and therefore aimed to “invest in this ritual system on a grand scale in order to continually legitimate their position” (Morris 2009, 13).

The three Seleucid inscriptions make clear that religion played a central role in forging diplomatic, political, and religious contact between a Hellenistic monarch and a Greek city-state. Why? It is obvious that with financing the activities concerning Didyma (rebuilding, sacrifices) the Seleucids could increase their political status in Miletus. In all three of the decrees Didyma is mentioned.

Sustaining the sanctuary went through the controllers of the temple site, the Milesian *demos*. Moreover, religion and politics cannot be seen as two loose aspects, but as intertwined. The wellbeing of a *polis* depended on a good relationship with the gods. This relationship could only be maintained by means of cults and religious activities. Taking care of the gods was a communal affair<sup>21</sup>. This is a crucial factor. It means that by financing the rebuilding of the temple the Seleucids maintained intensive contacts with the Milesians concurrently. Their religious approach towards Didyma resulted in diplomatic and political profit in Miletus<sup>22</sup>. That a diplomatic delegation visited the Seleucid court to talk about the reconstruction of the sanctuary at Didyma is another example of the close connection between religion and politics. By accepting the Milesians at his court, Seleucus made clear that he was interested in Didyma and Miletus. But listening to the delegation also implied that the bond between court and city was once more underlined. Members of the *polis* visited the court, thereby legitimising the status of the ruler, while the ruler accepted and listened to the delegation, thus showing his standing towards Miletus (Bosworth 2002, 257-258).

## Conclusion

The way the Seleucids and Miletus interacted in the early Hellenistic period shows that religion played a pivotal role in the construction and maintenance of diplomatic contact between court and city. Moreover, it demonstrates that in a period Demetrius and Lysimachus interfered militarily and politically in Miletus, the Seleucids still could act in religious and diplomatic ways at the same time.

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<sup>21</sup> Blok 2003, 10 on how politics and religion in Athens were intertwined.

<sup>22</sup> How close religion and politics were connected in Hellenistic Miletus becomes clear in chapter 3.1 of Grieb's *Hellenistische Demokratie*. Every political decision became only reality after divine approval. See Grieb 2008, 221-224.

Seleucid religious support of the important Milesian sanctuary in Didyma resulted in political gain. Due to the interactive character of the bond both the Seleucids and Miletus profited from it. As a Greek city-state on the Aegean coast Miletus was a legitimising factor of imperial power, an economic centre and a strategic bridgehead. That made the city a highly valuable partner for Macedonian kings in the turbulent decades after Alexander's death. Through Didyma the Seleucids and the Milesians came closer to each other. In spite of the fact that the Seleucids did not have military dominance in Ionia, they could maintain contact with the Milesian elite through Milesian courtiers. The presence of Milesians at the Seleucid court and in the Seleucid army made negotiations between city and court possible. This resulted in rapprochement between the two, as can be seen in the Milesian decrees concerning Antiochus, Apame, and Seleucus. Because of the presence and importance of Milesian court members and soldiers, combined with Miletus' control over Didyma and the entanglement of politics and religion, the Seleucids could make use of these circumstances and thus increase their influence in Miletus.

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BOEOTIAN EPAMINONDAS: AN UNEASY EXEMPLUM  
TO THE ATHENIAN XENOPHON

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*In this article I will discuss why Xenophon wanted the Athenian cavalry to adopt Boeotian tactics and how developments in Greek cavalry tactics required an improvement of Athenian horsemanship. I will suggest that Xenophon wrote his treatises *On Horsemanship* and *Cavalry Commander* (written after the Battle of Mantinea in 362 BC) to inform his fellow Athenians about his own experiences with horsemanship and wanted to convey the practices that he thought of as most useful to the Athenian cavalry. Thus examining the influence of Boeotian cavalry tactics and training in the works of Xenophon, this article will offer a new interpretation of tactics and horsemanship in the mentioned treatises.*

**Introduction**

It is very probable, that Xenophon learned his horsemanship- and cavalry skills from Agesilaus II, King of Sparta, or vice versa, and, that he has been influenced by Persian weaponry and tactics because of his campaigns in Persia<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, there is also a Boeotian influence on the works of Xenophon, specifically his works on cavalry and horsemanship (Toalster 2011, 85). In this article, I will argue that Xenophon analysed Boeotian cavalry tactics and referred to these in works such as *Cavalry Commander* and *On Horsemanship* in order to convey these tactics to the Athenians in an attempt to improve and update the Athenian cavalry<sup>2</sup>. Xenophon seems to have been convinced that especially Boeotian tactics were the battle tactics of the future. As a result he has put his views on cavalry tactics and training forward in the *Cavalry Commander*

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<sup>1</sup> Worley 1994, 136. See also Anderson 1970; 1974; Bugh 1988; Gaebel 2002; Spence 1993; Worley 1994; Blaineau 2010; Toalster 2011.

<sup>2</sup> The Athenian cavalry suffered a steady decline after the 5th century BC. See for example: Bugh 1988, 143-153.

(*de Equitum magistro [Eq.Mag.]*), while *On Horsemanship (de Equitandi ratione [Eq.]*) deals with training horses and riders individually according to his views on tactics. In these works he refers to ‘the enemy’ specifically, by whom he meant the Thebans<sup>3</sup>. Xenophon’s *On Horsemanship* is closely connected to *Cavalry Commander*, as Xenophon writes in the final chapter<sup>4</sup>.

Xenophon’s respect for Epaminondas is not a new idea. For instance, J.K. Anderson wrote that he did not immediately recognize the genius of the Theban commander, but did so at a later stage in his life (Anderson 1970, 199; see also Toalster 2011, 16). Xenophon accorded praise to Epaminondas in his *Hellenica*, before he starts his account of the Battle at Mantinea (362 BC) and he devoted the final chapter 7.5 of *Hellenica* to Epaminondas<sup>5</sup>. From this remark and others we may conclude that Xenophon surely respected Epaminondas on at least a military level<sup>6</sup>. An example that Xenophon really had a high opinion of the Theban general is found in the following quote:

“But when he [Epaminondas] had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worthwhile again to note what he did” (X. *HG* 7.5.21).

This might also put Epaminondas on the list of Xenophon’s *exempla* – such as Hiero and Agesilaus II – which function as a model for military strategy and tactics. Although he probably had much trouble admitting this, since he and his friend Agesilaus II of Sparta had been lifelong enemies of Thebes and Epaminondas<sup>7</sup>. In his works, Xenophon makes as little reference to Boeotians as

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<sup>3</sup> X. *Eq.Mag.* 7.1 (in footnote on page 273 in Loeb edition: “The Thebans are meant”); 7.2; 7.3; 9.7.

<sup>4</sup> X. *Eq.* 12.14: “What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know and to do has been set forth in another book”. With this book he meant ‘*Cavalry Commander*’.

<sup>5</sup> X. *HG* 7.5.19-21: “Now the fact that Epaminondas himself entertained such thoughts, seems to me to be in no wise remarkable, — for such thoughts are natural to ambitious men; but that he had brought his army to such a point that the troops flinched from no toil, whether by night or by day, and shrank from no peril, and although the provisions they had were scanty, were nevertheless willing to be obedient, this seems to me to be more remarkable. (...) But when he had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worthwhile again to note what he did”.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson 1970, 222 quoting Xenophon: “I would not say that his generalship was fortunate. But of all things that are the work of forethought and of daring, this man seems to me to have omitted not one”.

<sup>7</sup> Many works of Xenophon can be regarded as manifests to pass on knowledge to future generations. It is likely that it was Xenophon’s intention to write the works on horsemanship and cavalry as political and military advice. Various pronouncements of his regarding the city of Athens, the need of the preparations for war and the training of the cavalry in particular, as stated earlier, are to be found not only in his specific manuals but also in *Ways and Means* and in *Economics* and *Memorabilia*. In works as *Agesilaus*, *Hiero* and the *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon uses kings as role models or *exempla*. Epaminondas is not explicitly mentioned in his works, except for a few places and chapter 7.5 in the *Hellenica* if he is forced by the circumstances to do so.

possible, preferring to ascribe actions to Agesilaus or the Spartans, though not with complete success<sup>8</sup>. In his *Hellenica*, for example, he completely ignores the Battle at Tegyra and makes every effort to cite Sparta as the precursor of cavalry attacks and the Boeotian Thebans as their imitators<sup>9</sup>. I would like to suggest that Boeotian tactics found their way into the manuscripts of Xenophon because Xenophon might have seen Epaminondas as a military role model, even though he does not mention him explicitly in his work on cavalry commandership. But why were Boeotian tactics that important to Xenophon? We have to take a look at the military situation in Greece at the time of Xenophon.

### **Greek cavalry on the battlefield**

The works of Xenophon on cavalry and horses should be regarded against the background of the developments in Greek cavalry warfare in especially the 4th century BC. Traditionally and generally speaking, there had been a different approach to battle tactics in Greece, where states without hoplite tradition favoured their cavalry contingents and states with hoplite traditions, such as Athens, favoured their hoplite tactics (Spence 1995, 178-179). Not only in Greece the approach to warfare differed from state to state, there was a large difference between warfare in Asia Minor and on the Greek mainland as well. The Persians possessed large contingents of lightly armed cavalry, whereas the Greeks had smaller units of cavalry<sup>10</sup>. Traditional cavalry states such as Thessaly and Boeotia were more capable of fighting cavalry battles, although even those riders preferred not to attack hoplite lines<sup>11</sup>.

The Athenian cavalry was very capable of raiding and fighting small skirmishes as a unit working on the field around their infantry, but they failed to train them-

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<sup>8</sup> X. *HG* 6.4.10: "In the second place, since the space between the armies was a plain, the Lacedaemonians posted their horsemen in front of their phalanx, and the Thebans in like manner posted theirs over against them. (...) the horsemen had already joined battle and those of the Lacedaemonians had speedily been worsted; then in their flight they had fallen foul of their own hoplites, and, besides, the companies of the Thebans were now charging upon them". Although Xenophon implies that the Thebans imitated the Spartans by doing so, in my PhD thesis (2012) I argue that Xenophon tried to ascribe certain Theban inventions to his Spartan friend Agesilaus. It might certainly be, that the Spartans copied Theban tactics here, since the Spartans were not very eager to change their opinions on the use of cavalry on the battlefield. In the Battle at Mantinea (418), Spartan cavalry seems to have played no role. And Agesilaus, for example, did not use cavalry at the Battle of Coronea in 394, but instead used infantry attacks against the Thebans (Worley 1994, 134).

<sup>9</sup> Xenophon does not mention this battle at all. Also, Plutarch gives a different account of many actions of Agesilaus against the Thebans, which many times goes against that of Xenophon. Also, he tries to defend Agesilaus almost to the bitter end in the work *Agesilaus* and he clearly tries to cover up some of the mistakes of his friend: see Koolen 2012, 101-112.

<sup>10</sup> Worley 1994, 152; whether or not light armed cavalry formed the core of the Persian army, see Tuplin 2010.

<sup>11</sup> For more on this subject, see also Spence 1995, 123-132; 153-155; Worley 1994, 123-152; Koolen 2012, 75; Koolen 2013.

selves to fight in formations or to fight as a unit against lines of infantry. This usually appeared not to occur in the battle until a decision was made and then the cavalry went for the remaining infantry units or fleeing infantry to cut them down one by one. One of the reasons that cavalry did not earn a high standard in the hoplite army was that cavalymen usually waited for the infantry to decide a battle and came into action only afterwards<sup>12</sup>. This does not mean that Greek cavalry did not have an important role in warfare at all or that it was not able to render decisive actions on the battlefield. Athenian cavalry, for instance, played a decisive role on the battlegrounds of Solygeia in 425 BC (Th. 4.43-44). So, although the approach to tactics differed, cavalry was certainly not an obsolete type of defence. This conclusion is fortified by the new coordination between Greek cavalry and infantry that began to appear in the 4th century – a development that had started during the Peloponnesian War. Cavalry units were more often used on the battlefield itself to drive off enemy cavalry and their close combat deployment increased. Traditionally, the safest and easiest way of deploying cavalry was on the wings. This provided not only flank protection but also made sure that the cavalry could not get in the way of the infantry in case of a forced retreat (which would put them against their own infantry). The traditional tactics of deploying cavalry on the wings was easier, probably safer, and required less thought from the commander. Deploying cavalry in front of the hoplite lines asked for an intelligent general that had a well-trained cavalry capable of maneuvering easily as it could then be used either against other infantry or cavalry (Spence 1995, 154; Koolen 2012, 113-136).

### **Boeotian tactics in *Cavalry Commander***

Many tactical advice given in the *Cavalry Commander* appears to be very similar to the tactics used by Epaminondas in the Battle at Mantinea. According to the *Hellenica*, which was written after Mantinea (362 BC), Epaminondas used *hamippoi* and cavalry in a dense square formation with the infantry units forming an oblique phalanx in order to cut through the enemy infantry lines<sup>13</sup>. The

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<sup>12</sup> Athenian cavalymen even seem to have had a reputation for staying mounted or riding off the battlefield with their infantry in a troubled situation (Lys. 14.7). In *Hippeis*, Aristophanes seems to be referring to such a situation, when a slave called Nicias offers a solution to a difficult situation: “let us bolt at top speed” (Ar. *Eq.* 25).

<sup>13</sup> Although the battle at Mantinea (362) is renowned for what seems to have been the first deployment of a wedge formation, this formation is not described by Xenophon in his *Hellenica* nor his *Cavalry Commander*. Nor is it described by Diodorus Siculus in his account of this battle or by any other author, D.S. 15.85.4; Xenophon does say that Epaminondas led his army ‘prow on like a trireme’, using the adiective ‘ἀντίπρῳρον’ (X. *HG* 7.5.23). This can be translated as ‘head on’ or ‘frontally’. Xenophon applies this term to wheeling of the Spartan *lochoi* in parallel columns to the right to meet an attack on the line of march. Epaminondas led his cavalry and infantry force in a deepened and dense phalanx forward, which is described by the word ‘ἐμβολον’. Anderson 1970, 326 and 327 on these tactics; Arr. *Tact.* 11.2; see also: Devine 1983.

improvement that Epaminondas made is the use of a dense cavalry column with intermingled hoplites serving as *hamippoi* to push their way through enemy infantry or cavalry. In this particular battle he believed that when he could cut through the Athenian cavalry fielded in a formation like a hoplite phalanx six lines deep, he would have defeated the entire opposing army<sup>14</sup>. The Athenians had merely fielded their cavalry in phalanx formation, without intermingled foot soldiers, on which Xenophon commented: ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίπτων (“without intermingled foot soldiers”). This will lead us to conclude that Xenophon ascribed the defeat of the Athenian cavalry to the absence of *hamippoi* (X. *HG* 7.5.23-24).

Apparently, Xenophon was convinced that *hamippoi* or cavalry combined with infantry was the key to dominating the Greek battlefields in the future and this led him to discuss (*hamippoi*) *pezoi* in *Cavalry Commander*, referring to infantry intermingled with cavalry and the benefit of such tactics<sup>15</sup>.

“Another duty of a cavalry commander is to demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that has infantry attached to it. Further, having got his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use of it. A mounted man being much higher than a man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only among the cavalry but in the rear as well” (X. *Eq.Mag.* 5.13).

He strongly recommends a heavily armed infantry to work in close cooperation with the cavalry on the battlefield. This would mean that cavalry attacking a line of battle in an attempt to break the lines is followed by the *hamippoi*, who either charge simultaneously with the cavalry or follow close behind<sup>16</sup>. In addition to the *hamippoi* he mentions a ‘cutting through steel’ ability of the square formation if it is rightly put in line with the best men who are “bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed” (X. *Eq.Mag.* 2.2-4). Xenophon’s friend Agesilaus II of Sparta used a square infantry formation for marching<sup>17</sup>, with cavalry in front and at the rear, but Xenophon takes this idea further and recommends a square for-

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<sup>14</sup> He was not mistaken, according to X. *HG* 7.5.24: “Thus, then, he made his attack, and he was not disappointed of his hope; for by gaining the mastery at the point where he struck, he caused the entire army of his adversaries to flee”.

<sup>15</sup> E.g.: X. *Eq.Mag.* 5.13; 8.19; 9.7: “infantry attached to cavalry will be most effective if it consists of persons who are very bitter against the enemy”. As explained above ‘the enemy’ seems to refer specifically to Thebes.

<sup>16</sup> X. *Ages.* 1.31. Note that Xenophon speaks of the Spartan *hamippoi* being *heavy infantry* of 10 years with the cavalry.

<sup>17</sup> X. *HG* 3.4.20 in the battle at Sardis in 395 BC and also at Coronea in 394 BC against Thessaly. See for example: X. *Ages.* 2.2.

mation when marching or fielding the cavalry<sup>18</sup>. The square formation was used in the Battle of Mantinea by Epaminondas.

In *Cavalry Commander* Xenophon also explains that the cavalry should be capable of ‘attack and flight’ tactics. Such ‘attack and flight’ tactics seem to have been deployed by Boeotians specifically, if we are to believe Plutarch:

“for they were not pitched battles, nor was the fighting in open and regular array, but it was by making well-timed sallies, and by either retreating before the enemy or by pursuing and coming to close quarters with them that the Thebans won their successes” (Plu. *Pel.* 15.5).

Xenophon suggests that cavalry should line itself up in the no-man’s-land between infantry battle lines with an as large as possible front. In this no-man’s-land, the cavalry should take strategic positions and harass the opposing side while wheeling, pursuing, and retreating. This harassing tactic is more effective if the commander keeps four or five of his best horses and riders hidden behind the infantry, so that the enemy will be surprised at his next attack: infantry appears from behind the cavalry to surprise the enemy<sup>19</sup>.

We now need to consider that *hamippoi* had already been used by the Thebans in 419 BC in the Peloponnesian War, being dispatched against Athens<sup>20</sup>. So we

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<sup>18</sup> X. *Eq.Mag.* 2: “When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manoeuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. (...) To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable. (...) You must be very careful to appoint a competent man as leader in the rear. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge; or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment. An even number of file-leaders has this advantage over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts”.

<sup>19</sup> X. *Eq.Mag.* 8.23-25: “Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the no-man’s-land that separates two battle lines drawn up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling, pursuing, and retreating. After such manoeuvres both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop at full speed in the unoccupied ground. But if a commander first feints in this manner, and then after wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defence, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy’s defences. If, moreover, he can secretly leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge”.

<sup>20</sup> First mention of ἰπποδρόμοι ψιλοί by Hdt. 7.158.4, referring to the offer of Gelon to help the Greek against the Persians. Also see: “The Tegeans and the other Arcadian allies of Lacedaemon joined in the expedition. The allies from the rest of Peloponnesse and from outside mustered at Phlius; the Boeotians with five thousand heavy infantry and as many light troops, and five hundred horse and the same number of *hamippoi*”: Th. 5.57.2. It may well be that the heavy infantry which came to the aid of the Boeotian cavalry and so defeated the Athenian and Thessalian cavalry were also *hamippoi* (Th. 2.22). But Thucydides is not clear

would be wrong to assume that the phenomenon of *hamippoi* was new. Why did Xenophon put so much emphasis on the need to implement such intermingled foot soldiers? In my view there is only one explanation: Epaminondas improved the use of the Boeotian *hamippoi*. At Mantinea the Athenian cavalry could not keep up with this improved deployment of cavalry and *hamippoi*. Apparently, Epaminondas was not only fielding merely *hamippoi* like he presumably did at Leuctra and other battles, but put to field a new and improved version. The Athenian cavalry did initially not succumb necessarily to Boeotian tactics but to Epaminondean tactics. From the comment in *Hellenica* chapter 7.5 on Mantinea, Xenophon says it was noteworthy what Epaminondas did. Did Xenophon immediately recognize the benefits of the improved type of warfare and tried to convince the Athenians of it in *Cavalry Commander*? Or did he write his works before Mantinea?

### Dating *Cavalry Commander*

*Cavalry Commander* is traditionally dated at 365 BC<sup>21</sup>. So, if we follow the original dating, the question is: why would the Athenians not have listened to a man who was an authority on the subject of cavalry and go into battle without *hamippoi*, but did so years after the Battle of Mantinea? There are clues in the *Cavalry Commander* and other works of Xenophon that may force us to leave the traditional date<sup>22</sup>. Some passages from *Ways and Means* (*de Vectigalibus*) are exactly the same as in *Cavalry Commander* and Xenophon states that *Ways and Means* was written in the period after Hegesileos, a commander who fought at Mantinea in 362 BC (*Ways and Means* 3.7) and after ‘the late war’ (*Ways and Means* 4.40)<sup>23</sup>.

Xenophon speaks especially anxious about the Thebans and a state of confusion in Greece. Several passages in *Cavalry Commander*, *Ways and Means*, and *On Horsemanship*, refer to a power vacuum which really only had first arisen after

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on this. This is the first time that *hamippoi* are mentioned. It is possible that the Boeotians devised this type of cavalry in order to be capable of fighting the Thessalian cavalry which, according to Simon. Ath. (*Eq.* 1) was the most powerful cavalry in Greece, though unwilling to fight hoplites in battle formation, (*X. HG* 4.3.5-9). In the above passages from Xenophon, this would seem to be the first time that the *hamippoi* are mentioned.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Marchant, Loeb: *Xenophon Scripta Minora*: Introduction on Xenophon p. xxviii.

<sup>22</sup> I am not the only one to advocate a different, later, date: Christesen 2006. On the dates of these treatises, see also Delebecque 1957, 425-460; Delebecque 1973) 19-29, and (1978) 8-12. Delebecque believed that *On Horsemanship* was written in two phases, one dating to the 380s and another dating to the 350s (after the *Cavalry Commander*, to which Xenophon refers at the end of *On Horsemanship* (12.4).

<sup>23</sup> Ἡγησίλειος; Hēgēsileōs. Relative of Eubulus of Probalinthus (Dem. 19.290), *strategos* of the Athenian troops in the battle of Mantinea in 362 BC (*X. Vect.* 3,7; Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 85; D.S. 15.84.2) and probably in 349/348 again *strategos* of the Athenian reinforcements for the tyrant Plutarchus of Eretria. In agreement with the latter he was convicted of deceiving the people in an *eisangelia* law-suit (Schol. Dem. Or. 19.290). (see: Brill Online Reference Works).

the Battle at Mantinea in 362. The first being his reference to the confused state Greece was in, which he clearly stated as a consequence of the Battle at Mantinea in 362 BC: “neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before” (X. *HG* 7.5.27). The same he states in *Ways and Means* 5.8: “and now owing to the confusion prevalent in Greece, an opportunity, I think, has fallen to the state to win back the Greeks”. Indeed, after Mantinea Greece was left in confusion, as Sparta had been thoroughly defeated, Athens could not really coin its victory, and Thebes lost its leader. But, at this point in history, Athens did not yet have lost its allies. Only in 357 its allies started to revolt from Athens. So the last comment was definitely referring to the Social War and not to the recent battle against Thebes. Marchant, in Xenophon’s *Scripta Minora*, states that this will probably be an allusion to the ‘War of the Allies’ lasting from 357 to 355 BC<sup>24</sup>. Xenophon died around 355 BC and probably never saw the end of the ‘War of the Allies’. If so, he will never have spoken about a ‘reigning peace’. This could mean that the *Cavalry Commander* was also authored after the Battle at Mantinea, since after that battle an uneasy peace was made between Sparta, Athens, and Thebes. Xenophon sensed his opportunity with the confusion that reigned in Greece shortly after the battle at Mantinea. He urges the Athenians to seize power in the Aegean once more and in *Ways and Means*, for example, he set out a plan on how this might be achieved and he called on the Athenians to take action to regain control over Greece (X. *Vect.* 5.8 - 6.3). Xenophon put forward Boeotian tactics in the *Cavalry Commander* in order to prepare the Athenians for an upcoming (decisive?) battle, which he foresaw or probably even wanted. He anticipated Thebes would not long stay content with the current peace treaty and under a new leader, after the demise of Epaminondas, would try to fight Athens and Sparta again. In his works he mingled his own best practises from his own large experience of cavalry warfare in Persia and the Peloponnese with the aforementioned ‘modern’ Boeotian tactics. Thus Xenophon wrote that the city would absolutely be destitute without *hamippoi*, concluding this from the Battle of Mantinea.

After meticulously analysing Boeotian tactics in his account of the battle at Mantinea in 362 BC (X. *Hellenica* 7.5.19 - 27), he put forward his recommendations in the *Cavalry Commander*. Presumably, the death of his son Gryllus while serving in the Athenian cavalry at Mantinea made Xenophon even more determined to offer his expertise to the Athenians. He hoped it would give them the means to avenge their defeat – not to mention the death of Gryllus – in the future.

Taking into account other sources, such as Aristotle, we find that tactical recommendations made by Xenophon were implemented by the Athenian army

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<sup>24</sup> See footnote on page 219 of the Loeb edition.

around 355 BC<sup>25</sup>. A relief showing an Athenian *hamippos* has been dated around 350 BC (Sekunda 2005, 54). In the *Memorabilia* and *Cavalry Commander* Xenophon for example writes that the cavalry commander should reject horses that are incapable of keeping up with the exercises or that kick and behave viciously. Aristotle writes that the Council did indeed mark and reject such horses using exactly the phrases Xenophon used in his treatises. Aristotle also mentions infantry attached to cavalry or *hamippoi* to have become a regular unit in the Athenian army (Arist. *Ath.* 49). When infantry needs to keep up with the horses in battle formation, the riders will need to get more control of their horses, this control called ‘collection’ which can only be achieved by frequent specific training and specific horsebits<sup>26</sup>. And being a horseman he recognized that new style *hamippoi* and infantry units would require the Athenian horsemen to improve or at least alter their training. This remark brings me to an issue that needs careful consideration, which Xenophon himself was very aware of: horsemanship.

### **Linking *Hellenica*, *Cavalry Commander* and *On Horsemanship***

Since the Athenians were at war with the Boeotians who were experts in cavalry warfare, Xenophon advised Athens to put more emphasis on the use (and therefore training) of cavalry. He needed to alert Athens to the importance of taking the cavalry seriously and acquiring or at least altering their horsemanship<sup>27</sup>. All aspects of horsemanship are important to the functioning of cavalry, especially if it is to fulfil its task as a battle cavalry fighting in formation<sup>28</sup>.

As we have seen above, at Mantinea the Athenian cavalry was lined up in formation and they were not able to withstand an attack by the dense cavalry and *hamippoi* formation of Epaminondas. If a cavalry unit should be able to attack another cavalry unit frontally, combined with an infantry unit, the horses should be trained to stay in line and in pace with the foot soldiers. This requires a higher standard of control of the horse than a loose formation of cavalymen waiting

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<sup>25</sup> Marchant 2000, Introduction, xxvi: Euboulus seems to have implemented some of Xenophon’s advice after 355 BC.

<sup>26</sup> Exercises and bits to improve control or ‘collection’ are described by Xenophon in ‘On Horsemanship’, i.e. 7.12-8.10; 10.1-11.13.

<sup>27</sup> Horsemanship means that the horses must be trained to work closely with their riders, forming one unit. The riders need to train their horses to such an extent that they will be able to withstand hardship and trust their riders, who in turn require a good understanding of speed, formation, and tactics. Horses must be prepared for all eventualities, such as unexpected situations (sudden enemy attack which necessitates a galloping retreat, jumping over dead bodies, leaping over trenches, making quick turns, and executing assault manoeuvres). This requires daily hard work and cannot be learned in a few months. Since Greeks did not use standing armies, the quality of their cavalry units was usually very poor. Another important factor is the Greek landscape which is usually not very suitable for horseriding or keeping horses.

<sup>28</sup> Horsemanship is a skill that encompasses not only the riding of a horse, but also thorough knowledge of horses, horse breeds, their character, build, training requirements, use of bridles, and so on. For the cavalryman, this demands a thorough knowledge of weaponry, exercises, formations, and cavalry tactics. This is also expressed by Beamish 2010, 23-36; 56.

for an attack on infantry that had lost its formation. Xenophon wanted the Athenian cavalry to adapt to the changing battlefield conditions and adopt, amongst other tactics, especially Boeotian tactics combining cavalry and infantry as these were the successful military tactics of the day. Xenophon understood how important the cavalry fighting in formation would become on the battlefield and how necessary it would be for the cavalry and the infantry to be deployed as a tactical unit together<sup>29</sup>.

The performance of the cavalry as a combat unit will succeed or fail depending on the level of training received by horses and riders alike. When lacking a high standard of horsemanship, a cavalry may be successful in minor skirmishes but if facing a cavalry on the battlefield that is being deployed as a tactical and strategic weapon, a poorly trained cavalry will prove unsuccessful, especially against an expert force like that of the Boeotian Thebans. Of course, being masters in horsemanship will not guarantee victory on the battlefield, but poorly trained horsemen will not be able to perform manoeuvres that require more control of their horses. Xenophon explains that the cavalry should be capable of ‘attack and flight’ tactics. Referring to the above ‘attack and flight’ tactics, Xenophon writes on manoeuvres to be held during annual cavalcades in Athens: “I think that these manoeuvres would look more like war and would have the charm of novelty” (X. *Eq.Mag.* 3.13). He also admits that “our cavalrymen are not accustomed to these movements” (X. *Eq.Mag.* 3.5). This comment means that the Athenian cavalry at that time did not perform these exercises during parades or daily drills. Although he is now speaking of cavalcades instead of battle, the exercises performed by the cavalry in the intervals of peace between wars, should reflect real battle situations in order to prepare the cavalry for war. If they did not perform these exercises during training or cavalcades, they will absolutely not have been able to perform such during battle.

In *Horsemanship and Cavalry Commander* Xenophon discusses the horsemanship and thus training necessary to rise to a higher level of cavalry warfare in which cavalry and infantry had to be able to work more closely together. Xenophon recommends to practise exercises that will prepare horses and riders for close encounter battles and keeping up battle formations or performing manoeuvres on the battle field. Xenophon also writes about the importance of discipline and authority within the army, always a salient point in Athenian armies that consisted of citizens who were used to democracy and speaking their minds<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> X. *Eq.Mag.* 8.1: “It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs”.

<sup>30</sup> The Athenian cavalrymen were not used to being ‘bossed around’ by their peers nor would they easily accept a cavalry commander that came from non-equestrian stock. Also the many changes in the leadership of cavalry made it impossible to create a ‘standing army’ or to create an ‘equestrian type of mentality’. On peer leadership and how democracy can fail in a military environment, see Koolen 2012, 151-165.

Xenophon describes how putting an incompetent cavalry commander in charge could negatively affect the overall performance of the force and that only those who were proven competent horsemen should be allowed to command<sup>31</sup>. The cavalry commander should be better than his riders, otherwise he cannot substantiate his superior position. He must therefore be a superior horseman, better in combat tactics and be capable of training his men well. In addition, he needs to have a good tactical insight in order to be successful in war and on the battlefield. A lack of which, of course, might be fatal on the battlefield and during a march. Xenophon warns that the Athenians will need to put a good commander in charge of their cavalry, otherwise they will not be capable of fighting a superior force<sup>32</sup>.

I believe that Boeotian tactics found their way into the writings of Xenophon, precisely because in the fourth century the Athenians started to fall short in cavalry tactics on the battlefield. Xenophon seems to refer to this, when he observes: “if one took the same pains with our cavalry, they too would greatly excel others in arms and horses and discipline and readiness to face the enemy, if they thought that they would win glory and honour by it?” (X. *Oec.* 9.3.14). The Athenians had to recognise this and to discontinue with their usual *ad hoc* training of both these units<sup>33</sup>.

Unfortunately, a few years after Mantinea, Greece again lost itself in the aforementioned War of the Allies, being the battle perhaps that Xenophon foresaw. Macedonian Philip II, who had learned tactical lessons from Epaminondas while being in custody at Thebes, eventually put an end to all strife. The Macedonian phalanxes relied heavily on their cooperation with the cavalry, thus proving Xenophon right in his observations he had made (Devine 1983, 213; Strootman 2010-2011, 51-68).

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<sup>31</sup> In 4th century Athens, the command of the cavalry had become a stepping stone to a high position in a political career. Those men were not capable of leading a military force that needed strict orders and sometimes severe measures of punishment, because they would only think of canvassing the soldiers in order to secure their votes later on, according to Polybius 10.22.8-10. Also in the *Memorabilia*, Xenophon criticizes the Athenians for choosing generals that are inexperienced and not interested in the art of warfare itself, but only in career- and moneymaking (X. *Mem.* 3.4.1.).

<sup>32</sup> That especially cavalry needs an excellent and brave commander is expressed in many military works. Not only in Xenophon: “but if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them, and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes – why then, I suppose, we need first the strong arm of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes” (X. *Eq.Mag.* 7.5); But also for example in Beamish (2010, 23-36), the author states that cavalry can only succeed on the battlefield if it is led by excellent and capable commanders.

<sup>33</sup> Greek armies were not professional armies, except for the Spartan infantry. Greek armies received training on the job, which might work for infantry, but cavalry just does not work like that.

## Conclusions

It is clear that from the 5th century BC onwards Greek cavalry had slowly developed from a mainly supporting unit into a combat unit, with Epaminondas taking the role of the cavalry even further between 371 BC and 362 BC. Especially the Boeotian cavalry became able to work closely with the infantry in the centre of the battlefield instead of a wing unit waiting for the infantry lines to break. Xenophon clearly saw this new role for cavalry as an important development in cavalry warfare since Athens was at constant threat from Thebes and tried to convey his thoughts on this subject to the Athenians. After the successive defeats of Sparta at Tegyra in 375 BC and at Leuctra in 371 BC, and especially, after the defeat of Athens at Mantinea in 362 BC, Xenophon had seen the effectiveness of the *hamippoi* and cavalry in formation in the way Epaminondas fielded them. From Xenophon's account of the Battle at Mantinea in 362 BC we can conclude that the Athenians went to battle without *hamippoi*. Xenophon decided it was best to fight fire with fire, so he wanted the Athenians to adopt Boeotian tactics in order to defeat them and try to regain hegemony in the Aegean. Around 350 BC, *hamippoi* seem to have found their way into the Athenian cavalry, but Athens was utterly defenceless against a new foe on the battlefield: Epaminondas with his tactics of dense infantry and cavalry formations had prepared a solid basis for the genius cavalry and infantry stratagems of his student Philip II of Macedon, who would eventually conquer large parts of the Greek world.

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THE IBERIAN (CAUCASIAN) TOWN OF ARTANISSA  
IN CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S COORDINATES

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*One of the essential sources for studying the localisation of Iberian towns is the Geography by Claudius Ptolemy. According to the description of Iberia given in Chapter 8 we find that Iberia is bordered by the populated land of Sarmatia on the north, Colchis on the west, Greater Armenia on the south, and Albania on the east. The focus in this paper is the localisation of Artanissa, one of the Iberian towns, which until now has remained a matter of controversy. Several opinions have been expressed, but these require further examination on the basis of modern methods. Studies of historical maps of the earliest and later periods, vector determination on the basis of steady point on the coordinate grid, placing toponyms on the map, together with corresponding meridians and parallels, have allowed us to identify Artanissa as the modern village of Artany, located on the right bank of the River Iori, in the municipality of Tianeti. Naturally there is space that might have been suitable for urban development. The village is situated between two ravines, with the River Artanula on the left, which downstreams joins the Iori. The location of the point between natural barriers somehow answers the question of its dominant role in the environment. The review of toponyms from a theophoric point of view is also of interest. As is well known, none of the historical territories within Georgia has manifested such a strong convergence of old and new religions as Iberia – interesting for its strategic location. At this stage it is not easy to draw any particular conclusions. We shall be able to do so with more confidence if the search for archaeological material, topographical investigation, and map-making continue to use modern technologies (GIS, etc.).*

Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography* is one of the most important sources for an exact localisation of Caucasian Iberian towns. The book consists of eight chapters and it has radically influenced the forming of topographers' conceptions (Lortkipanidze/Kipiani 2009, 3). The work is a kind of manual (an atlas in modern terms) that represents a milieu, i.e. *oikoumene*, opened up by a human. Scholars were able to create 26 regional and 67 smaller area maps based on the knowledge they had obtained from the *Geography* (Stevens 1908, 9). The book includes flat representations of the globe (the Earth) designed with the use of

three different methods of projections such as flatwise, stereographic (i.e. something seen in perspective), and conical. Eight thousand spots, together with their appropriate coordinates, geographic latitudes, and longitudes have been mapped and labelled (Berggren/Jones 2000, 3-4, 17-20). The methodology of the manual includes very interesting peculiarities such as a tendency to indicate important small or large towns and cities distinguished among those eight thousand spots and marked with specific, clearly pronounced symbols. Towns are mentioned in the *Geography* according to certain principles emanating from Ptolemy's own perception of the world, which in its turn had been based on the logical cohesion of geocentrism (Lomouri 1955, 40). Ptolemy was the first who instituted orientation of a map according to the four main directions of the earth.

In spite of the fact that the system of coordinates created by Ptolemy had been based on geocentric methods that caused uncertainties of angle degrees, Georgian historians (I. Djavakhishvili, S. Djanashia, S. Kakabadze, S. Gorgadze, P. Ingorokva, etc.) used to take them at face value. They had been studying Ptolemy's works with great interest and, even now, later generations of scholars such as N. Lomouri, G. Lortkipanidze, and G. Kipiani continue to identify the localisation of Georgian sites according to Ptolemy's coordinates.

In his article "Claudius Ptolemy's 'Geography' – Records about Georgia", N. Lomouri (1955) gave a critical analysis and, most importantly, descriptions of Georgia and its neighbouring territories. His analysis was based on the papers of Muler (1901), P. Montano (1605), F. Wilberg (1838), F. Nobe (1843-45), E. Stivenson (1932), and the prototypic publications of the two manuscripts (1932) (Lomouri 1955, 40). His analysis enables us to better understand and comprehend those data given by Ptolemy.

There were a number of towns and villages in Caucasian Iberia such as Lubioni (Λούβιον κώμη)  $-75^{\circ} 40' - 46^{\circ} 50'$ ; Agina (Άγινα)  $-75^{\circ} - 46^{\circ} 30'$ ; Uasaida (Ούάσαιδα)  $-76^{\circ} - 46^{\circ} 20'$ ; Uarika (Ούάρικα)  $-75^{\circ} 20' - 46^{\circ}$ ; Sura (Σοῦρα)  $-75^{\circ} - 45^{\circ} 20'$ ; Artanissa (Άρτάνισσα)  $-75^{\circ} 40' - 46^{\circ}$ ; Mestleta (Μεστλήτα)  $-75^{\circ} 40' - 45^{\circ}$ ; Dzalisa (Ζάλισσα)  $-76^{\circ} - 44^{\circ} 40'$ ; and Harmaktika (Άρμάκτικα)  $-75^{\circ} - 44^{\circ} 50'$  (see Fig. 5).

Here we are going to focus our attention on the localisation of the town of Artanissa, mentioned in the list of Iberian inhabited areas, which has remained a chief interest of scholars and is still widely disputed. S. Kakabadze and P. Ioseliani associate it with Georgia's historic geographical region of Artaani, which is now identified as in the territory of modern Turkey, along both banks of the upper reaches of the Mtkvari (Cyrus) river; its Turkish name is Ardahani. The territory was a part of the Tsunda dukedom (together with the Djavakheti and Kola regions) in the time of King Parnavaz in the 3rd century BC. V. Tomashek believed that Artanissa was the same town as Artanudji, situated in the southwest part of historical Georgia on the left bank of the Artanudjistskali river. The etymological similarity of this name made Tomashek assume that the two last

*sigmas* (σ/σ) point to the presence of certain affricate, supposedly “dj”. In order to add credence to his supposition, Tomashek referred to one of the manuscripts belonging to Ptolemy, which included a different form of the same name – Ἀρτάουισσα. He believed that *oi* might have been a graphical mistake from *ou* (i.e. “u”) (Lomouri 1955, 59-60). If so, in the case like this the name Ἀρτάουισσα could have been connected with Artanudji.

S. Kauhchishvili believed that Artanudji is the very same site of scientific interest, which was mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetos (AD 905-959). According to him Artanuji (now it is a town and district of the Artvin Province in the Black Sea region of Turkey) was the trading centre of the 8th-10th century Iberia (Kauhchishvili 1964, 72-73). The similar view has been suggested by G. Grigolia in his article “Artaani Iberiashi” (“Artaani in Iberia”). As he states, a country Artanissa, currently situated on the territory of Turkey, known as “Artahani” is similar to Ptolemy’s “Iberian town – Artanissa”. As he says Artaani, together with the Kola region, had always been a part of Iberia. The international routes coming from Byzantium (and also from Persarmenia, i.e. Iranian Armenia) to Shida (“Inner”) Kartli-Tbilisi-Bardavi, passed through Artaani and made entrance to Javakheti. Actually, Artaani connected the Black Sea coastal harbours with Tbilisi-Bardavi through the Artanuji road and Iran and Byzantium through the route coming from Kola. The same author notes that later “Artanissa Town” had been deserted and renamed as Huri (Kajta kalaki/The town of demons) (Grigolia 2010, 50).

L. Chilashvili completely disagreed with all of these opinions and believed that “Artanissa town” should have been sought on the southern slopes of the Caucasian mountain ridge, somewhere to the north of Mtskheta, on the upper reaches of the Iori river, namely in the environs of the present-day village of Artani. His suggestion was strengthened by fieldwork carried out at the headwaters of a Iori tributary, the Kushkheura (left bank) in 1954 and 1966. These yielded buttressed walls of a castle built of huge, trimmed stone blocks (Chilashvili assigned them to antiquity: Chilashvili 1968, 57-58).

Nowadays, it is extremely difficult to determine the function and architectural context of the site on the Kushkheura River. The structures are badly damaged and hidden beneath the flora (the territory is covered with opulent vegetation). Four tower structures survive in considerably better condition. They are built of huge, deliberately hewn stones (but the walls have collapsed and it is impossible to see the interiors) (Figs. 1, 2). The orientation of the structures is noteworthy. They point to the east and the corners of almost all of their eastern walls are rounded while the outer surfaces of them are strictly fitted to the existing relief. This casts doubt on the function of the structure which might, more likely, have been a shrine than a fortress. It should be considered that within the structures there are an icon of a later period together with deer antlers presented to it and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin (Fig. 3). Toponyms like Kviria, Kopala and Qvajama shrines, Pirqushi, Iaghsari, etc. have survived in the area (definitely



Fig. 1. Ruins of one of the towers, village of Kushkhevi, Georgia, 2014 (photo author).

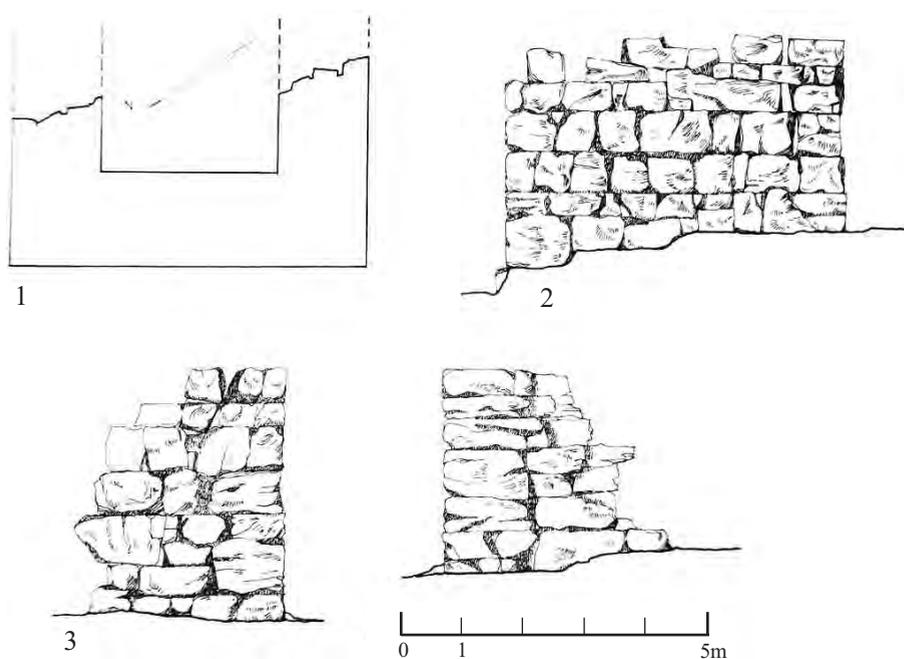


Fig. 2. Ruins of one of the towers, village of Kushkhevi, Georgia, 2014. Plan: (1) a fragment of the western wall, (2) a fragment of the northern wall, (3) remains of the southern wall (drawing G. Kipiani).



Fig. 3 A chapel with deer's horns presented, village of Kushkhevi, Georgia, 2014 (photo author).

indicating that this spot had been an area of some special veneration in the pre-Christian period)<sup>1</sup>.

All of the opinions about the localisation of Artanissa are interesting and logical but they were formulated without access to modern tools and these scholars were unable to properly study the maps of historical Georgia (those made by medieval geographers and cartographers), calculate vectors of urban areas with the use of constant spots, etc. Instead, they drew their conclusions based only on a semantic or technical analysis of toponyms.

We have used a variety of methods in order to examine the problem more closely: 1. Seeking out earlier and modern period historical maps (Fig. 4 (1), (2), (3)); 2. Fixing a constant spot on the grid of coordinates and identifying a vector through triangulation; 3. Tracing toponyms on the map with respect to parallels

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<sup>1</sup> In the mountainous regions of Georgia (Tusheti, Fshavi, Khevsureti) the pagan cults have functioned until the begin of the 19th century. The said deities have been preserved. In order to differentiate them from the Georgian Christian shrines, in Georgian scientific literature they are referenced as "traditional shrines".



Fig. 4. (1) N. Sanson, 1655, Tabula Asiae III, reconstruction of map after Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography* (<<http://www.armenica.org/history/maps/sanson1658gal72.jpg>>).





Fig. 4. (3) N. Germanus, 15th century, Black Sea to Caspian Sea (HM 1092, Folio: ff. 35v-36 Huntington Catalog Images), reconstruction of the map after Claudius Ptolemy (<[http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh\\_br?CallNumber=HM+1092](http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_br?CallNumber=HM+1092)>).

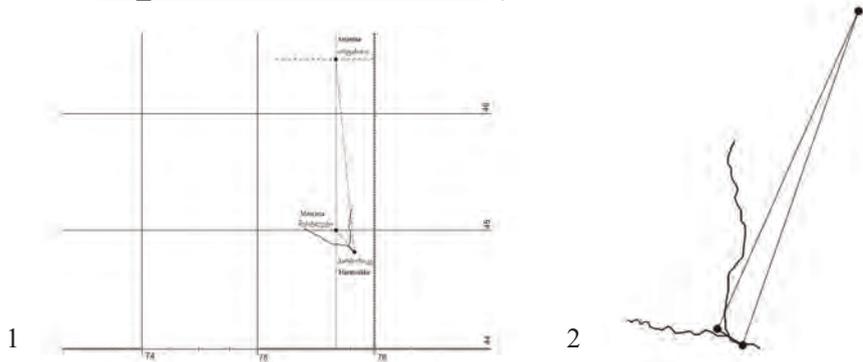


Fig. 5. (1) The grid of geographic coordinates, showing location points of Mtskheta (Mestleta), Armaztsikhe (Harmozike) and Artana (Artanissa?). (2) The present-day representation of the location points (author, 2013).

Fig. 4. (2) C. Cellarius, 1706, Iberia and Colchis. Detail from the map “Bosporus, Maeotis, Iberia, Albania et Sarmatica”. *Notitia Orbis Antiqui sive Geographiae plenioris tomus alter. Asiam et Africam antiquam exponens*, Leipzig (<<http://www.ancient.eu/image/591/>>).



Fig. 6. (1) Masonry identified in the Ghorghashula gorge (photo author)..

Fig. 6. (2) Traces of tool use on the stone, village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia, 2013 (photo author).  
↓



and meridians; 4. Identifying toponyms, correlating earlier and modern ones, and attributing their possible accordance with one another; 5. Toponymic analysis. The degrees and minutes for Mestleta (Mtskheta) and Harmaktika (Armaztsikhe) set out by Ptolemy himself were used as basic points for fixing a localisation on the grid of coordinates. According to triangulation, the third angle was Artanissa itself (Fig. 5, (1), (2)). If we look at Ptolemy's data we will see that it is clear that Artanissa was supposedly coincident with Artan village lying on the right bank of the Iori Rver in the Tianeti district. Visually, it is fairly apparent that the area is naturally suited for urban settlement. The village, together with the Artanula River flowing along its left side and then merging into the Iori, is sandwiched between two gorges. Localisation of the spot among nat-



Fig. 7. Schematic measurements of the wall in the north of the Ghorghashula gorge, village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia (drawing G. Kipiani, 2013).

ural borders points to its dominant role in the area. If we look attentively at the locality we can see that only Artanissa would have been able to control quite a long stretch of the road running along the Iori river. It seems quite possible that there might have been some kind of urban settlements around Artanissa.

There are lower and upper Artani villages in Tianeti municipality (Artani is an ancient name of the village). Regrettably, the village's architectural and archaeological sites have not yet received proper attention. Artani, then in the Tbilisi region, consisted of 50 families (288 persons) in 1925. In 2002, only 64 inhabitants were left in lower Artani. The village now belongs to the Mtskheta-Mtianeti region, Tianeti district. A village with 49 inhabitants lies on the right bank of the Iori at an altitude of 1170 m, 12 km from Tianeti. Upper Artani also lies on the same bank of the same river but at an altitude of 1180 m and is 13 km from the same Tianeti district.

According to a list of Georgia's historical and cultural sites made in 2004, there are three shrines (altars), six churches (one of them is a complex), the ruins of several towers and a granary at upper Artani. Trimmed stones scattered around the Ghoghashula gorge and stone masonry along a hill slope on the right bank of the gorge have been identified during surveys of the territory of upper Artani village. The stones bear traces of trimming tools (Figs. 6, (1), (2), 7). Remains of some structure were identified in the north of the gorge (the locals call them Tagva Taghlaura's castle) (Fig. 8, (1), (2)). This structure has completely col-



Fig. 8. (1)-(2) Remains of the structure identified in the north of the Ghorghashula gorge (ruins of Tagva Taghlaura castle), village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia, 2013 (photos author).



Fig. 9. The wall fixed at the right bank of the Artnula river – 1.20 m thick and 170 m long, village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia, 2014 (photo author).

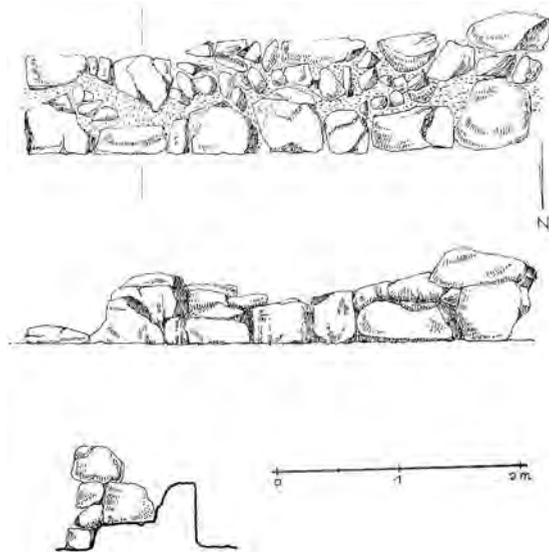


Fig. 10. The wall at the right bank of the Artanula river, plan of lower structure exterior masonry (drawing G. Kipiani and M. Akhalaia, 2014).

lapsed. A number of architectural details and fragments of pottery have also been recovered from this spot. Photographs have been taken at the site and GPS coordinates recorded (Fig. 7).

An interesting picture is presented on the Artnula, another tributary of the Iori, at the site of a new bridge. A stone wall, about 170 m long and 1.20 m wide was found along the right bank of the river (locals said that it had been there for quite a long time before and it was even used for quarrying stone: Figs. 9-10). The length of the wall suggests that it had outwardly projecting towers which might have been found in the yards of the villagers if looked for.

Existing data do not allow us to make any exact inferences. Because of the fact that the sites have never even been mentioned in scholarly literature, they demand further examination. It is also extremely important to uncover any possible inter-linkages between the sites.

The 18th-century church of the Archangels lying in upper Artani village (Fig. 11), now badly damaged and disused, attracts special attention for the ancient capitals inserted in the structure (Figs. 11, 12). There are ruins of a Late Medieval several storey tower (only two storeys have survived) and one more church.

It is very interesting to examine the toponym from a theophoric point of view, since it is well known that Iberia is the only region of historical Georgia where the pantheons of earlier and new religions (paganism and Christianity) were so close to each other. Other countries were constantly interested in events taking place in this strategically important part of Central Transcaucasia that commanded the very important Dariali corridor leading to the north. Iberia was the north-eastern strong-point not only of Transcaucasia and eastern Anatolia but also of the entire eastern Mediterranean world. Iberia's attractive location offered her great opportunities to control important trading routes running to all the four edges of the world via its territory. The roads were used by different peoples of several origins and cultural particularities. This stimulated their crowding together within a considerably limited territory, which in turn created the main conditions for the further social development of these peoples and for the creation of a state. Such a political environment fuelled an almost predictable coexistence of different religious cults and systems. In the 2nd century AD Iberia experienced concurrent and continuing Roman and Iranian political influence, and it seems almost inevitable that local paganism was syncretised with the religious cults of these foreigners, which in its turn left an indelible mark on the process of urbanisation and the institution of a particular toponym.

The toponym Artanissa includes a theophoric root. Names of gods including the roots "Art", "Asha", and "Ash" are common in both the Roman and Persian pantheons. A Greek Ἄρτεμις-Artemis had been considered the goddess of hunting, forests, desert, animals, punishment, and fertility. Later she was identified with the moon. There is a passage about the goddess Artemis' relations with Iberia in



Fig. 11. Archangel church (18th century), village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia, 2013 (photo author).

one of the appendices of the ancient Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Georgian Chronicles). It is a 'Homily of Andrew the Disciple in Georgia' say-



Fig. 12. A secondarily used capital of an earlier period, Archangel church (18th century), village of Zemo (Upper) Artani, Georgia, 2013 (photo author).

ing that “there was an idol altar in Atskveri town where were worshipped their vicious gods Artem and Apollo” (*Kartlis Tskhovreba*, vol. 1: 41; *idem*, vol. IV: 16-25; Das Leben Kartlis, 1985, 96-97). If we judge by this appendix and admit that Artemis was worshipped in the western part of the Kartli (Iberian) kingdom, then we can suppose that she was worshipped in some way or other by the highlanders as well (Bochoidze 1993, 354). Asha Vakchishta, the same as Arta Vakchishta, a member of the Iranian triad of gods, was a defender of justice and ideal order in the universe, the soul of fire (Kavtaradze 2009, 115; Meletinskiy 1990, 81; Widengren 1965, 13-14).

There is one more interesting fact in connection with the toponym. The locals call the village Devta Nasakhlari (“remains of Giants’ dwelling”). The story goes that the village had once been inhabited by giants who built a cyclopean stronghold. Kopala, the ancestor of the modern population, defeated the giants, drove them from the area and settled there himself.

It still remains difficult to draw exact conclusions, but if explorations continue in appropriate areas and it becomes possible to collect archaeological material, make topographical surveys with the use of modern tools (GIS), map the plots properly, etc., then the problem will be solved far more cogently.

Recently, the author published a monograph on the Caucasian Iberian cities in Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography* (Mshvildadze 2015).

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WALL HEATING SYSTEMS IN ROMAN ARCHITECTURE  
AND 'SPACER TUBES'  
FOUND IN THE PARION SLOPE STRUCTURE

Vedat Keleş and Ersin Çelikbaş

*Parion is situated in the village of Kemer, and is connected to the town of Balıklı Çeşme, in the Biga District of Çanakkale. The city was established around a stream that flows into the sea and has a natural harbor, as have other colonial cities established in the region during the 7th and 8th centuries BC. Excavations were carried out from 2008 until now, in a building with rooms of different sizes, walls, water channels, mosaic pieces, glass products, ceramic pieces from different periods, and many bronze coins in poor condition. In addition, excavations conducted on the northern side of the structure showed the remains of a cylindrical ground support with pilae, which belong to a 'hypocaust system'. This article discusses the ways in which caldarium and tepidarium rooms from Early Roman to Byzantine period bathhouses and villas were provided in that period of time with a hypocaust wall heating system. One of the new construction methods is the use of 'spacer tubes': small hollow terracotta tubes which were used during a long time because they were cheaper. In Parion, one of the most important cities of Troas Region in the Roman period, the excavated small building showed three building phases. The spacer tubes have revealed new information of their building function. They are very important as there are only few examples of this building method in the Troas region. Examples of their types and features are described in a catalogue.*

**Location and Foundation**

Parion is located on the Anatolian side of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) region, including the Biga Peninsula, in the west of Anatolian Turkey. Parion is situated in Kemer Village, connected to the town of Balıklı Çeşme, in the Biga District of Çanakkale (Fig. 1).

Parion is located at Bodrum Burnu (Cape Bodrum). The city was founded at both sides of a river where it empties into the sea and has a natural harbor, very much like other colonies established in the region during the 7th and 8th centuries BC. Although there is no definitive information about the foundation of Parion, Strabo (Str. 13.1.14) reports that the foundation of the city, which might be dated

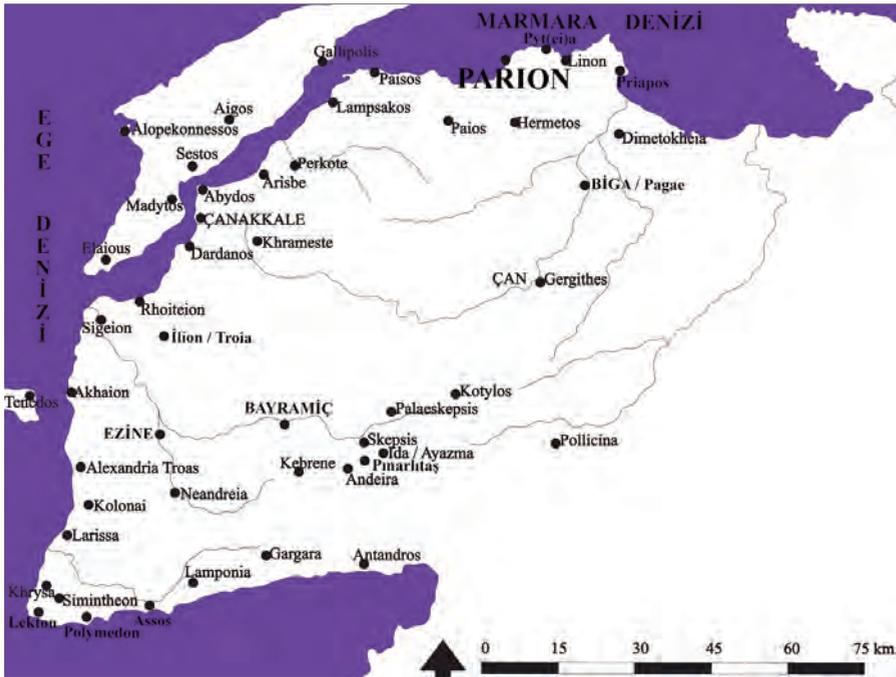


Fig. 1. Troas Region and Parion.

to 709 BC, might, amongst others, be related to the colonization by the city of Miletus, Erythrai, and Paros. In addition to these sources, Pausanias (Paus. 9.27.1) indicates that Parion was colonised by the city of Erythrai (Çelikbaş 2010, 10).

Modern research partially confirms the information provided by historical sources. Both modern and historical sources indicate that three cities may be taken as the founders of Parion: Erythrai, Paros (Keleş 2011, 238-239), and Miletus (Tsetskhladze/Hargrave 2010, 396). There is a strong discussion about the role of Erythrai on the names of Oikists (= founders) and this discussion may stem from the fact that the names of some people came to light. Gorman (2001, 245) concludes that Paros was highly influential and likely to be the origin for the name of Parion. The city of Miletus was known as the founder of many colonies in the region (Keleş 2003, 5; Tekin 2008, 70). However, the only information on this issue is provided by ancient literary sources, as the excavation of Parion is currently in its initial stage, and no new archaeological evidence has yet been discovered (Çelikbaş 2010, 10).

In 2004, groundwork started in the area of (what would become) the South Necropolis of the ancient city, in preparation of the construction of an elementary school, and subsequently graves and archaeological materials were uncovered



Fig. 2. Parion, Excavation Sectors.

dating to Antiquity. Upon this development (Başaran 2006, 26–28), rescue excavations were carried out in the area of the necropolis by the Archaeological Museum of Çanakkale in the same year (Kozanlı 2006, 28). In 2005, however, systematic excavations were carried out in the ancient city for the first time by a team under the leadership of Prof. Dr. Cevat Başaran, who previously already had conducted archaeological surface research in the region between 1999 and 2002 (Başaran 2005, 20-22). Systematic excavations were carried out at 6 locations [in Fig. 2:7] within the city over a five-year period. The sectors in which these excavations were carried out are shown in Fig. 2 as: Theatre, SDJ 1, Roman Bath, South Necropolis, Odeion, and the Slope Structure. These excavations form the basis of the present report.

### The Slope Structure

Excavation works (initiated in 2008) are ongoing to the east of the Parion Acropolis and the ancient theatre, within a sector located on the western slope of a hill (Figs 3-9). Excavations were carried out between 2008 and 2011, in a building with rooms of different sizes, walls, water channels, mosaic pieces, glass products, ceramic pieces from different periods, and many bronze coins in poor condition. In addition, works conducted on the northern side of the structure identified the



Fig. 3. Parion, Slope Structure.

remains of a foundation consisting of cylindrical *pilae*, which belong to a 'hypocaust system'. In 2009, elements of a three-wall heating system, called a 'Spacer Tube', which is the subject of the present report, were found in a range of about 250-300 cm outside the part having a hypocaust (Başaran 2010, 289).

### **Roman Heating Systems**

The popularity and spread of bathing in the Roman world was directly related to the technological developments associated with baths. In particular, the devel-



Fig. 4. Parion, Slope Structure, Water Supply.



Fig. 5. Parion, Slope Structure, Water Supply, Detail.



Fig. 6. Parion, Slope Structure, Water Channel.



Fig. 7. Parion, Slope Structure, “Twin Pool”.

opment of a hypocaust system for under-floor heating, dating to the end of the 2nd century BC, constitutes the real reason for the spread of this bathing habit. It is accepted that the hypocaust system and its simpler derivatives were independently developed in the city of Olympia in Greece (Winter 2006, 133), and in the city of Pompeii in Italy (Rook 1992, 12). Moreover, the Romans pioneered the systematic use of hypocaust systems in bath design for controlling heating temperature (Yegül 2006, 16). The Roman merchant and hydraulic engineer Sergius Orata, who invented ‘*Balnea Pensiles*’ (= hanging baths) in the 1st century BC, was the first person to present an under-floor heating system, that is to say a hypocaust system, in practice (Nielsen 1993, 21–22; Fagan, 2002, 98). The use of the walls and the floor to function as heating elements provided more effective space-heating and more effective re-use of hot gases of the hypocaust (Chant/Goodman 1999, 104). Wall heating was implemented through four architectural elements: ‘*tegulae mammatae*’ (sc. tiles with four perforated conical lugs on one side close to their corners), ‘*tubuli*’ (sc. hollow rectangular tubes), ‘spacer pins’, and ‘spacer tubes’ (Wright 2005, 131). A wall heating system was found for the first time in the 1st century BC in the *caldarium* (sc. a hot room, heated and with a hot-water pool and a separate basin on a stand (‘*labrum*’)) and the ‘*tepidarium*’ (sc. a warm room, indirectly heated and with a tepid pool) of



Fig. 8. Parion, Slope Structure, Hypocaust System.

Fig. 9. Parion, Slope Structure, Hypocaust System Basement.



the Stabian Baths and in the ‘*caldarium*’ of the Forum Baths in Pompeii (Mau 1982, 205-206; Chant/Goodman 1999, 104). These systems are explained briefly.

### **Tegulae Mammatae**

*Tegulae mammatae* is the general name of terracotta ceramic wall-tiles, which are large, square-shaped and have on one side of the tile protruding conical lugs at their edges (Yegül 2006, 16) (Fig. 10). These tiles were placed on the interior face of a wall, and attached with “T” shaped clips, nails, and terracotta cylinder pillars by inserting them into mortar or stone with their sharp sides (Rook 1978, 270). Thus, the protruding spacers on the tiles produced an air-gap between the wall and the tiles, permitting the circulation of hot air for a wall heating system (Rook 1992, 14). We learn from Vitruvius that this application was also used to provide isolation against moisture in internal walls (Vitruvius 7.4.1-2).

### **Tubuli**

Next to the use of the *tegulae mammatae*, a brick system called ‘*tubuli*’ – hollow bricks that were made of terracotta – was developed, and placed between the wall and the flagstones (Meikleham 1845, 42–43) (Fig. 11). The *tubuli* served as a chimney, but were also used in the construction of the wall heating system (Rook 2002, 16). *Tubuli* have an internal wall with a thickness of 2 cm and are approximately 25×15 cm in size (Nielsen 1993, 15; Coşkun 2004, 59). They are placed in the walls of the structure by means of a clamp and mortar (Rook 2002, 16) and their surface is covered with stucco, gatch (i.e. a type of plaster used by Persian craftsmen), and marble (Adam 1994, fig. 629). The mouths of *tubuli* opened to a hypocaust system at the bottom and to a chimney at the top. In this way, hot air exiting from the hypocaust heats the walls by passing through the *tubuli* placed side-by-side and stacked on top of each other, and is emitted through the chimney (Forbes 1966, 54–56). The *tubuli* system was first used in the walls of the house of Julia Felix in Pompeii, together with *tegulae mammatae* (Rook 2002, 16). The *tubuli* system, which is more difficult to place inside the wall than the *tegulae mammatae*, was generally predominantly used in the baths of the Empire period (Adam 1994, 629–630).

### **Spacer Pin**

The ‘Spacer pin’ system was developed as an alternative to *tegulae mammatae* and *tubuli*; it consists of a terracotta nail that has a length of 20–25 cm and a head with two disk-shaped, round asperities and a tapering block (Farrington/Coulton 1990, 56–57) (Fig. 12). In the head part of the nail, which resembles a disk, there is one slot on which one edge of terracotta plates can rest. The other end of the spacer pin is inserted into beds opened in the masonry and arranged as a polygon, generally a rectangular shape (Korkut 2003, Abb. 6; Farrington/Coulton 1990, fig. 3). Spacer pins are mounted to the wall by means of mortar. Yegül (2006, 94, Fig. 84) suggested that spacer pins were inserted into the joints of walls. However, since it is necessary to mount spacer pins to a wall in a symmetric way

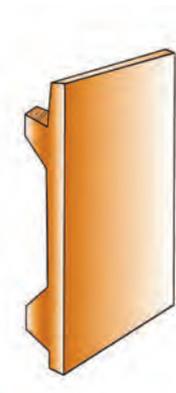


Fig. 10

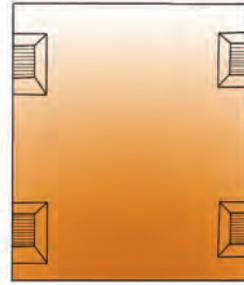


Fig. 11

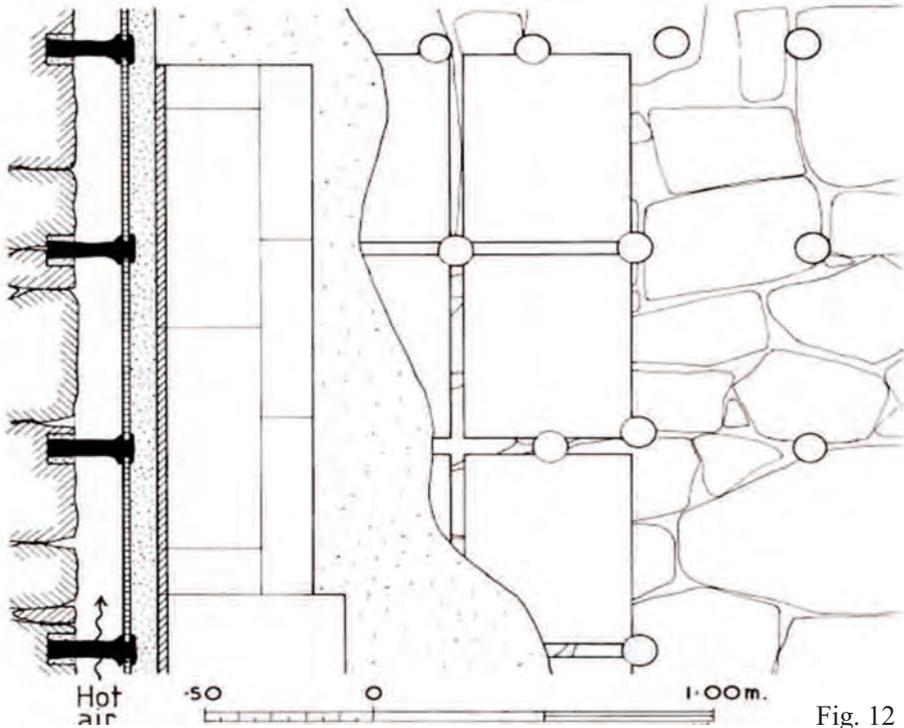


Fig. 12

Fig. 10. Tegulae Mammatae System.

Fig. 11. Tubuli System.

Fig. 12. Spacer Pin System (Farrington-Coulton 1990, Fig.4).

at certain intervals, they are mounted not only in the joints of the wall, as previously suggested, but also in the holes which open to the stones. The surface of the terracotta plates, which were placed in the slots of spacer pins, was covered with stucco/mortar, it was then covered with marble plates. There is no definitive information regarding when the spacer pin system was first used in baths. Yegül (2006, 94) states that the spacer pin system was mostly seen in the Mediterranean and Anatolia, while Farrington (Farrington 1995, 101–104) indicates that it was used in the baths of the Lycia region in particular.

### Spacer Tube

The last of the terracotta architectural heating-elements discussed in this article are called ‘spacer tubes’ (Figs. 13-14). In contrast to the nail-shaped spacer pin design, spacer tubes were conical (9 to 15 cm), disk-shaped elements with two open mouths, provided with lips that were twisted towards the outside. In the spacer tube system, spacers were nailed to the wall with cylinder or T-headed iron nails (Fig. 13: pins) in a way that terracotta plates could be attached. This created a space of 10-15 cm between the wall and the terracotta plates, through which hot air could circulate (Fig. 13).

The cavities of the spacer tubes, which are claimed by Farrington to have been produced as an alternative to *tegulae mammatae* (Farrington/Coulton 1990, 64–65), can be broader than the nails passing through them. In order to make the spacers stronger, their inner parts were probably filled with mortar (Fig. 13) when they were nailed to the wall.

It is necessary to ask why the spacer tube system was preferred when the *tubuli* design was the strongest and the most successful of the wall-heating systems; probably the reason was economic<sup>1</sup>. Spacer tubes, which are generally seen in bath buildings belonging to the Late Roman–Early Byzantine periods (Biers 2003, 311), have the lowest production costs of the wall-heating systems, taking into consideration the economic conditions of the period. The traces of throwing-rings on the excavated spacer tubes indicate that these were produced using a potter’s wheel. The fact that they have a simple form, and the small quantity of ceramic clay needed for their manufacture, might well suggest basic economic cuttings as the reason for their use in the wall-heating system.

It is observed that, apart from economics, the spacer tube system provides some additional advantages compared to the other systems. The width of the *tubuli* was greater than that of the spacer tubes. This means that a much greater volume of hot air could pass through the *tubuli*. When more hot air was needed, much more fuel was consumed. However, because the spacer tubes only allowed for a

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<sup>1</sup> The Roman Empire suffered from military crises, domestic instability, and political and social transformation in the 3rd century AD. This transformation not only affected the basic central economy but also resulted in an economic crisis in the provinces. The crisis is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the proportion of silver in coins was reduced to 2% between AD 260 and 268. See Howgego 1998, 156–160.

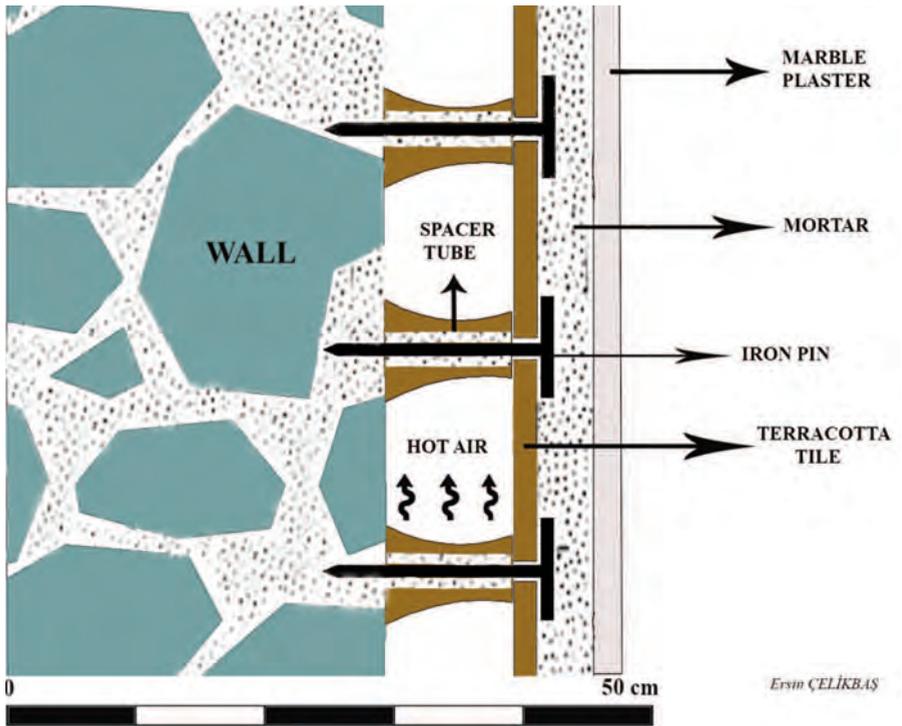


Fig. 13. Parion, “Spacer Tube” System.



Fig. 14. Parion, Slope Structure, Spacer Tubes.

much more limited space compared to the *tubuli*, less hot air and thus less fuel was needed (Farrington/Coulton 1990, 66). However, as mentioned above, the *tubuli* had an internal wall-thickness of 2 cm. The heat must pass through the 2-cm thick *tubuli* layer before reaching the adjoining wall. As terracotta has a lower thermal retention than the masonry wall, this again introduces additional costs in terms of fuel consumption. However, as there is no layer between the spacer tube and the adjoining wall, the hot air is in direct contact with the wall of the building. As a result, the wall retains heat longer and thus provides fuel saving.

It is also interesting to consider why the spacer tube system was developed as an alternative to the spacer pin system, which was similarly cheap to produce, and which was as successful as the *tubuli* in creating the required space for ventilation. The answer is hidden in the difficulties encountered in mounting the spacer pin system. As mentioned above, the spacer pins were mounted symmetrically, on the surface of a wall, at specific intervals. This required the lengthy preparation of appropriate mounting holes in the wall, thereby increasing the construction cost of the building. However, there is no symmetry in spacer tubes and spacers are generally nailed into the mortar between the stones, thereby reducing the cost of constructing the building. This clearly demonstrates why spacer tubes were adopted as an alternative to spacer pins. In addition, much more ceramic clay was used in the production of spacer pins than in that of spacer tubes. Another disadvantage of spacer pins is their required space for lugs. It was necessary to produce terracotta plates with lugs in order to make the spacer pin fit in the slots located at the top of the disks. This resulted in the need for the molding of the terracotta plates, which is not required for spacer tubes (Farrington/Coulton 1990, 65-66). Taking all of these reasons into consideration, it is clear why spacer tubes were developed as an alternative to spacer pins.

The spacer tubes show regional variations and do not have standard forms or patterns (Cunliffe 1976, 31). There are spaces through which a nail can pass. Some of the examples excavated in Parion have wider spaces through which a nail can pass. In addition, there are no patterns on them, but only some traces, which can be observed both internally and externally, indicating that they had been produced on a potter's wheel.

It is important that they had the same function as their antecedents. The fact that spacer tubes were developed as an alternative to the previous wall-heating systems is, perhaps, a consequence of economic conditions. Spacer tubes were preferred to previous versions, which were more expensive due to changes in the plans and sizes of baths from the Late Roman – Early Byzantine period<sup>2</sup>. The finds of spacer tubes in the city of Parion is of great significance. Studies indicate that the city of Parion has been permanently settled since its foundation in 709 BC. This makes it possible that these architectural elements, first emerged in Parion, located in the Troas region.

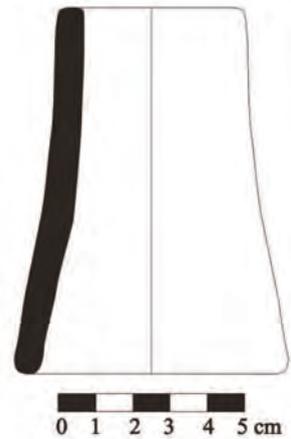
The fact that late-period technology emerged in Parion contemporaneously with other cities demonstrates that the builders of this construction in Parion may pos-

sibly have been aware of new technologies in the late Roman period, and that there was widespread communication and technological diffusion throughout the Empire. Along with the regions of Phrygia, Paphlagonia, and Kilikia where spacer tubes are seen in Anatolia, Parion, located in the Troas region<sup>3</sup>, is the only ancient city in which late-period wall-heating systems emerged.

We do not yet have conclusive information about the structure from which spacer tubes emerged. The spacer tubes were not found *in situ* (on a wall), and the material may have originated on a different level, because the excavation site is located on a slope; this makes it difficult for us to comment on the structure. As spacer tubes are generally seen in parts of baths and villa complexes with a hypocaust system, the available information suggests that the Slope Structure was a bath complex.

## CATALOG

Floor No.	: 1
Figure No.	: 14
Name	: Spacer Tube
Material	: Terracotta
Location of excavation	: The Slope Structure
Height	: 9.9 cm
Mouth Diameter	: 4.9 cm
Floor Diameter	: 7.5 cm
Dough Color	: Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6
Plaster Color	: Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8
Clay	: Graded
Additive	: Many stones, limestone at mid level, small amount of mica
Fabric	: Hard

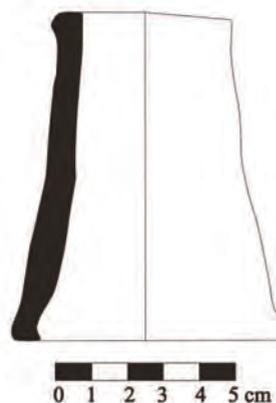


<sup>2</sup> Related to the economic crisis in the Late Roman–Early Byzantine period, it became increasingly expensive to operate great public baths, maintain the building, and pay employee salaries. In addition, the constant need for fuel to heat rooms and provide hot water became an important problem. Furthermore, problems emerged in relation to water resources. As a result, it can be accepted that smaller ‘balnea’ became preferred to the baths in the Late Roman–Early Byzantine period, which were large and difficult to operate. Such smaller balnea were not only more economical to operate, but were much more easily constructed within the city because they required less ground surface. Since there were much more customers in the city, such operations had much greater economic viability (see Koçyiğit, 2006, 119; Steskal, 2011, 90).

<sup>3</sup> The graves excavated in the South Necropolis show that, in terms of typology and burial traditions, the ancient city of Parion reflects the traditions of the Troas region rather than that of the Mysia region, indicating that Parion was associated with the Troas region (see Başaran 2005, 20–22).

Burning : Good  
 Surface Quality : Dusty, ragged  
 Construction Technique : Thrown  
 Mesh : Mid-Range  
 Definition : The form tapers from the floor to the mouth. There are traces (internally and externally) from being formed on a potter's wheel  
 Construction : Potter's wheel  
 References : Biers 1985, Cat. No: 113-115; Haalebos/Thijssen 1977, Fig. 7: 1-4; Sanders 1999, Fig. 17, 25-26; Koçyiğit 2006, Cat. No. 1-8.  
 Date : Late Roman – Early Byzantine

Floor No. : 2  
 Figure No. : 14  
 Name : Spacer Tube  
 Material : Terracotta  
 Location of excavation : The Slope Structure  
 Height : 9.2 cm  
 Mouth Diameter : 4.9 cm  
 Floor Diameter : 7.5 cm  
 Dough Color : Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6  
 Plaster Color : Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/6  
 Clay : Graded  
 Additive : Plenty of stones, limestone at mid-level, small amount of mica



Fabric : Hard  
 Burning : Good  
 Surface Quality : Dusty ragged  
 Construction Technique : Thrown  
 Mesh : Mid range  
 Definition : The form tapers from the floor to the mouth. There are traces (internally and externally) from being formed on a potter's wheel  
 Construction : Potter's wheel  
 References : Biers 1985, Cat. No. 113-115; Haalebos/Thijssen 1977, Fig. 7: 1-4; Sanders 1999, Fig. 17, 25–26; Koçyiğit 2006, Cat. No. 1-8.  
 Date : Late Roman – Early Byzantine

Floor No. : 3  
 Figure No. : 14  
 Name : Spacer Tube  
 Material : Terracotta  
 Location of excavation : The Slope Structure  
 Height : 9 cm  
 Mouth Diameter : 4.7 cm  
 Floor Diameter : 7.3 cm  
 Dough Color : Munsell: 2.5 YR 5/8  
 Plaster Color : Munsell: 3.5 YR 4/6  
 Clay : Graded  
 Additive : Plenty of stone,  
 limestone at mid-level,  
 small amount of mica.



Fabric : Hard  
 Burning : Good  
 Surface Quality : Dusty ragged  
 Construction Technique : Thrown  
 Mesh : Over  
 Definition : The form tapers from the floor to the mouth. There are traces (internally and externally) from being formed on a potter's wheel  
 Construction : Potter's wheel  
 References : Biers 1985, Cat. No: 113–115; Haalebos-Thijssen 1977, Fig. 7: 1–4; Sanders 1999, Fig. 17, 25–26; Koçyiğit 2006, Cat. No. 1–8  
 Date : Late Roman–Early Byzantine

#### SOURCE AND TRANSLATIONS

##### **Pausanias**

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## SOME SOUTHWEST IBERIAN INSCRIPTIONS

*(Supplementum Epigraphicum Mediterraneum 40)*

Fred C. Woudhuizen

*The Southwest Iberian inscriptions are conducted in a variant of the Iberian family of scripts, which originates from the Phoenician alphabet but became subject to a secondary process of partial syllabification. Now, the Southwest Iberian inscriptions presumably date from an earlier period than the Celtiberian ones of the Meseta in northeast central Spain, and hence it is a dangerous procedure to plug in the values as valid for the later Celtiberian inscriptions. In some instances, namely, signs of the Southwest Iberian script may well render a more original or simply alternative value. Therefore, this study sets out with a scrutiny of the values of the signs before embarking on linguistic interpretation. Having done so, it appears that among the total of ten texts selected for their workable state of preservation there can be distinguished three categories: (1) bilateral dedications, (2) dedications more in general, and (3) funeral inscriptions. Moreover, the language can positively be identified as a local dialectal variant of Celtic, most closely related to Celtiberian and Gaulish. To underline this point of view, the final sections are dedicated to overviews of the relevant linguistic evidence and a provisional grammatical sketch.*

**Section A: Introduction**

For this paper I have selected 10 texts on the criterion of that they are completely preserved or, in one case, emendable on the basis of a recurrent expression. The study of these inscriptions is facilitated by Jürgen Untermann and Dagmar Wodtke's monumental *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum* IV [= *MLH* IV] of 1997, which, alongside providing a corpus of Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions, presents improved drawings of the texts in question.

With the help of *MLH* IV, I had already reached some results in retrieving the contents of the inscription on the oval stone from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1), which is now lost but of which a good drawing is preserved, but I did not find the time to work out these results into a paper. Then I was informed in August of 2011, by professor Wolfgang Meid in e-mails and a letter about his visit of the Celtic congress at Maynooth and the hand-out of the paper by John T. Koch, who also argued that the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions were con-

ducted in a Celtic vernacular. I was immediately struck by his identification of the sequence *ka-a-ś-e-ta-a-n-a* in the Alacalá del Río inscription (an element I had up till then explained away as part of an onomastic formula) with Celtic *casidanos* “tin-master”, an honorific title or occupational term.

Encouraged by this fine discovery, I did my best to acquire all the relevant publications by John Koch on the topic of the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions, which were not available in the libraries in the Netherlands, and managed to get a hold on his paper to *Palaeohispanica* 9 of 2009, his work co-edited with Barry Cunliffe of 2010 and his monograph focused on the newly discovered Mesas do Castelinho text (in fact up to this moment the largest extant inscription of its kind) entitled *Tartessian* 2 of 2011. Unfortunately, his *Tartessian* [1] of 2009 is no longer available, but, as the author is repeating his arguments in the publications I did get a hand on, I do not think I missed something vital as a result of this fact.

Some time ago, professor Meid from Innsbruck University was so kind to draw my attention in a letter dated February 2, 2014, to the revised and expanded edition of Koch’s *Tartessian* [1] of 2013 and the second volume in the series *Celtic from the West*, co-edited with Barry Cunliffe, also of 2013. Of both these works I acquired a copy in order to be fully up-to-date.

From the above it is already clear that my thanks are due to professor Meid, who encouraged me to pick up the thread in this field of study where I had left it, and whose comments to an earlier draft of the manuscript in a letter dated November 3, 2011, stimulated me to think over some of the weakest points of the interpretations I presented and to rework the sections of the manuscript in question. To this comes that he, as noted in the preceding, kindly drew my attention to the latest publication in the field. Furthermore, I warmly thank Maarten de Weerd for presenting me with a copy of the catalogue of the exhibition of *Die Iberer* 1997, which contains a useful section on the Iberian script by Javier de Hoz. Next, Carlos Jordán Cólera generously sent me a copy of his informative book on Celtiberian from 2004, otherwise unavailable in Dutch libraries, and thanks to this my attention was drawn to his handsome introduction to the Celtiberian language of 1998. Finally, I feel privileged to have been among the “chosen ones” to be rewarded with a copy of Meid’s overview of the history and culture of the Celts of 2010 – the English version of the German edition of 2007 also in my possession owing to professor Meid’s kindness.

Finally, I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for suggestions as to the improvement of an earlier draft of the manuscript, the gist of the argument being that Celtic comparanda, if available, should be preferred to the ones from other Indo-European languages.

Even though I do agree with Koch that the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions are indeed conducted in a Celtic tongue, my readings of the texts are for the most part fundamentally different. This is due to two facts: (1) my reading of a number of signs is different from the ones applied by Koch, who as regards this issue predominantly follows the edition by Untermann and Wodtko

in this respect, and, partly as result of this, (2) my division of the texts, which are in *scriptio continua*, into separate elements also varies substantially.

As such, I think Koch is premature in his claim to the decipherment of the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions, and the same verdict applies to the elaboration of his findings in a provisional vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and grammar. It deserves attention in this context that in a decipherment a key-role is played by the attribution of values to the individual signs of the script, whether it is an hieroglyphic one with determinatives, logograms and syllables or consonants, a syllabary, an alphabet, or, as in the present case, a mixture of the latter two categories (to be more precise: the Iberian script concerns a partly resyllabification of the alphabet). Hence our adagium: *get your values right before you start to read, because every wrong value leads to wrong readings and mistaken interpretations*. Accordingly, I will first discuss the signs of which the value is in need of elaboration and focus on the formation of a reliable grid of the signary (section B) before turning to the interpretation of the contents of the selected texts (section C) and the determination of the language (section D), which is followed by a final section with an overview of the vocabulary based on Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) roots (section E).

### **Section B: The script**

The Southwest Iberian script belongs to the Iberian family of scripts, which has been deciphered by Manuel Gómez Moreno in 1925. This decipherment led to the linguistic elucidation of texts conducted in one particular branch of the Iberian script-family, the Celiberian as found in the region of the Meseta in northeast Spain. In other fields, however, like the Southeast Iberian and Southwest Iberian, linguistic interpretation lagged behind, because the signaries are not identical to the Celiberian and some of the signs remain unexplained. In the case of Southwest Iberian, however, new opportunities to establish the values of as yet unclear signs were offered by the discovery of the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1), in which the first 13 signs, which are all of Phoenician antecedents, are enumerated in the order of their Phoenician counterparts (De Hoz 1991).

Notwithstanding so, Untermann and Wodtko in their monumental edition of the Southwest Iberian inscriptions, *MLH IV*, feel forced to leave a number of signs without proper value in their transliterations and resort to presenting their form only. In other instances, their transliterations are in my opinion improperly founded and incorrect. The same verdict applies to the transliterations used by De Hoz and Koch, who, apart from a few differences in detail, mainly follow the lead by Untermann and Wodtko.

In the following, then, I will discuss the problematic signs and try to provide a more properly founded value for each of them.

(1)  Owing to its presence in the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1), this sign, which is commonly transliterated as *ba* or *pa* (de Hoz 1991, 681-682; *MLH IV*, 153, Abb. 2; Koch 2010, 206), can definitely be identified as the vertical variant of

Phoenician *mēm*. This particular form precedes the horizontal variant of the same sign (see below), which is attested for the Phoenician mother-script for the first time in the “Baal of Libanon” inscription from Limassol in Cyprus, dated to *ca.* 750 BC. As a side remark, it may be deduced from this observation that the date in question serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the transmission of the Phoenician alphabet to the indigenous population of southwest Iberia. In any case, our identification of the sign as expressing the alphabetic value *m* leads us to the following readings: (a) *masetaala* in the inscription from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1), which can be explained as an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the geographic name *Meseta*; (b) the object *m<sub>2</sub>uteeman* in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho, of which the root recalls Greek μύθημα “story”; (c) the recurrent stem *eromare-* (so in inscriptions from Abóbada [J.12.1] and Fonte Velha [no. 6 = J.1.1]) or, in adjectival derivative in *-na-*, *eromarena-* (so in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho and likewise to be emended in that from Cerro dos Enforcados [J.22.1]), which, like Gaulish *Aremorici* “the (inhabitant)s (living) along the sea” (Delamarre 2003, 52), is to be analyzed as a compound of a writing variant of the preposition *\*ara* < *\*para* “along” (< PIE *\*per-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]) with a reflex of the PIE root *\*mori-* “sea” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 748; note that the loss of *p*-initial in the preposition is a regular Celtic feature); (d) the sequence *romatee maremanai keentii* in D sg. “on behalf of the Roman maritime people” in the inscription from Mealha Nova (no. 1 = J.18.1), and the endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *rawarmar* in yet another inscription from Fonte Velha (no. 3 = J.1.2), of which the second element corresponds with Gaulish *maro-* “great” (Delamarre 2003, 218-219). The arguments for an, in my opinion mistaken, labial-reading of the sign are ultimately rooted in *m/b*-interchange as evidenced by the correspondence between Celtiberian *rátubará* and *katubará* to the Celtic MNs *Ratumāros* and *Catumāros* (Koch 2011, 57). But, as the exact date of the change from nasal *m* into labial *b* is not determined as yet, it cannot be decided when the sign for *m* under discussion became used for the expression of the labial *b* or *p*, or, syllabificated *ba* or *pa*. If our identification of the sequence *romatee maremanai keentii* “on behalf of the Roman maritime people” applies, it may reasonably be argued that the production of Southwest Iberian texts continued into the period of Roman occupation, for which the end of the second Punic war, in 201 BC, likely serves as a *terminus post quem*.

(2) **M**: The alphabetic value *m* of this sign, which is attested for inscriptions from Abóbada (J.12.1), Ameixial (J.7.8), and San Martinho (Koch 2010, 255), is not in dispute, only, in my view, it presents a secondary form of the alphabetic letter in question, transliterated here as *m<sub>1</sub>*, which is horizontal instead of vertical, and therefore its introduction into the Southwest Iberian script may safely be assigned to the period after *ca.* 750 BC. As its closest cognates are from the Greek, Lydian, and Phrygian scripts (Jeffery 1998, Table of letters), this sign-variant clearly confronts us with secondary Aegean influences on the in this respect original Phoenician model. Note, however, that in my opinion the writ-

ing of the endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *m,umat(e)* in the Abóbada-text (J.12.1) represents, in line with the Celtiberian TN *Numantia*, \**Numa<sup>n</sup>t(os)* and as such exemplifies a case of regressive assimilation.

(3) : Again, the alphabetic value *m* of this sign, which occurs in the inscriptions from Mesas de Castelinho (Koch 2011, 43) and one from Pardieiro (J.15.1) (Koch 2010, 236), is not in dispute, but it clearly constitutes a loan from the Celtiberian script, and hence serves as a marker of a late date of the inscription in question, for which reason it is transliterated here as *m*<sub>2</sub> (cf. the mention of *m,uteeman* sub [1] above). In view of the Cypro-Minoan background of the arrow-shaped *t*<sub>i</sub>-sign (see sub [5] below), it might plausibly be argued that this particular sign originates from the Cypro-Minoan one for *ru* or *lu*, and its derivative, the Lydian one for *l* or *l*<sub>1</sub>, but has subsequently been attributed with a secondary value entirely unrelated with the original one, in like manner as this happened with, for example, Greek *psi* < *khi* < Phoenician *kap* (cf. Gusmani 1964, 29).

(4) : On account of its likeness in form to the Phoenician *qôp*, the present sign has been identified by De Hoz in his contributions of 1991 and 1997 as the syllabified variant of a velar sound, *kí*. But this sign does not occur in its expected place in the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1), which seriously undermines the argument. Therefore, in actual fact we may merely be dealing here with a writing variant of  *tí* characterized by a long hasta<sup>1</sup>. At least, it can be argued that such an interpretation is in conformity with the correspondence of the root of the form *latiuuij* (D sg. in *-i*) from the inscription of Mesas do Castelinho with Gaulish *latis* “hero” (Delamarre 2003, 197-198), and the identification of *poiatí* from an inscription from Fonte Velha (no. 3 = J.1.2) as the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. in *-ti* of the verbal root *po(ia)-* formally corresponding to that of Greek ποιέω “to make, do”, hence “he will make” (see further the discussion of *po* sub [10] below). Note that this variant of *tí* is to be distinguished from the rounded variant of the otherwise angular sign for *ti*, which is open at the top, as attested for an inscription from Fonte Velha (J.1.1: *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tíis*, corresponding to Latin *regentis* [G sg.] “during the reign” < PIE \**reǵ-* “to rule”; cf. Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 854-855; Delamarre 2003, 261).

(5) : This sign ultimately originates from the arrow-shaped Cypro-Minoan *ti*-sign, which in the Lydian (Gusmani 1964, 29) and Phrygian (Brixhe/Lejeune 1984, 4; 34; 79; 226; 256) alphabets apparently developed into an alphabetic

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<sup>1</sup> Note that both signs occur separately in the lower version of the Espanca alphabet, but the second one takes the position of the *qôp* in the upper version which latter is distinguished by the fact that the hasta starts at the lower side of the lozenge or circle at its top and does not penetrate this.

secondary sign for *t*, to be transliterated as *t*<sub>1</sub> in Phrygian and *t*<sub>2</sub> in Lydian<sup>2</sup>. This original dental value is still traceable in the variant writing *keentii* of regular *keentii* (J.12.1; J.16.1; J.17.2; J.18.1) in an inscription from Herdade do Pêgo (J.19.2), see Koch 2010, 244; cf. for the given form the D sg. *genti* of Latin *gens*, G *gentis* “people” < PIE \**ǵenh*- “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373-374; cf. Wodtko 2000, 178-182 for Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*). Later on, however, this sign is used for the unrelated secondary value *pí*, as possibly attested for a Southwest Iberian inscription from Vale dos Vermelhos (no. 3 = J.7.1) and certainly for the form *arateetunpiites* “the (inhabitant)s (of the region) along the *Dedunbaitis*” (N[m/f] pl. in *-es*) from the inscription found at Alcalá del Río (J.53.1: with the preposition *ara* < \**para* “along” (< PIE \**per*- [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]) as in Gaulish *Aresequani* “the (inhabitant)s (living) along the Seine”, see Delamarre 2003, 52, showing the typical Celtic loss of *p*-initial in like manner as this is the case in the compound *eromare-* or *eromarena-* discussed above). This secondary value is acknowledged by De Hoz (1991, 682; 1997, 209).

(6) **D** : This sign, for, to me at least, unclear reasons read as *be* by Koch (2010, 251; 2011, 87), constitutes a roundish variant of the Phoenician triangular *dālet*, the latter of which occurs in its regular fourth position in the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1) and is used for the related syllabificated value *tu* (note that the Southwest Iberian script does not distinguish between voiced *d* and unvoiced *t*). Now, it is generally acknowledged that the variant of the triangular *dālet* with a notch at its lower side is used for the related syllabic dental value *to* (MLH IV, 153, Abb. 2; cf. Koch 2010, 206). Accordingly, we arrive for the roundish variant under discussion, which, like the particular variant of the horizontal *m*, should be attributed to Aegean substrate influences on the original Phoenician model (Jeffery 1998, Table of letters; note in this connection also the Carian variant in the MN *Darqpeon* “Tarkumbios” in a bilingual inscription from Sais, cf. Adiego 2007, 32-3), at a dental value. In order to distinguish it from the notched triangular *to*, this particular sign, which occurs in the verbal from *po<sup>n</sup>tó* “they have made (as an offering) for themselves” (3rd pers. pl. of the middle-passive of the past tense in *-<sup>n</sup>to*, see Beekes 1990, 285 [Greek ἐλύοντο) and the D sg. in *-e* of the TN *tóopiarite* “on behalf of Botorrita” of the inscription from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1; for the this interpretation, which rests on the assumption of metathesis of the first two consonants in the given TN, see discussion of the text below), will be transliterated here as *tó*.

(7) **✱** : This particular sign, which is variously attributed with the syllabic value *bu* (MLH IV, 153, Abb. 2; Koch 2010, 206) or *po* (De Hoz 1991, 682) – which

<sup>2</sup> Note that the dental value of the arrow-shaped sign in Phrygian is now verifiable thanks to the presence of *t<sub>1</sub>emeney* (cf. Greek τέμενος) in the apodosis of the damnation-formula of the bilingual inscription from Vezirhan (B-05), cf. Gorbachov 2008.

propositions, because Southwest Iberian does not distinguish between voiced *b* and unvoiced *p*, in effect do not differ fundamentally from each other – in my opinion reads *ku*. At any rate, we can interpret *kuuoi* in an inscription from Fonte Velha (no. 3 = J.1.2.) as the N(m/f) sg. of the relative pronoun, corresponding to archaic Latin *qoi* (< PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>o-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 644]). If so, the first phrase of the inscription, *kooreli pooiatii kuuoi* “Who(ever) will make (a sacrifice) to Korelos”, smacks of the offering formula *qoi med mitat* “who(ever) sends me” following the introductory phrase in the archaic Latin inscription on the so-called Duenos vase. As an immediate consequence of this identification, the Southwest Iberian language can, just like its closest cognate Celtiberian (*\*equeisos* < PIE *\*e<sup>h</sup>k<sup>w</sup>o-* “horse”, *kuekue-* “whosoever” < PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-*, and *-kue* “and” < PIE *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* as identified by Meid 1996, 16, 30-31, and Meid 2000, 11), be classified as *q-Celtic*<sup>3</sup>. The latter conclusion can further be underlined by the variant writing *kooi* of the N(m/f) sg. of the relative pronoun as encountered in the inscription from Alcalá del Río, and the identification of the first word of this particular inscription, *kotuu*, as the N-A(n) sg. of the relative pronoun, corresponding to Latin *quod*.

(8)  : There is agreement in *MLH* IV, 153, Abb. 2 and Koch 2010, 206 about the reading of this sign as a secondary *r*, transliterated *ř*, but, what seems to be the underlying idea, a correspondence to the sign for *r* in Celiberian (cf. De Hoz 1997, 209), fails for the lack of any formal relationship between the signs in question. In reality, therefore, it may perhaps be argued that we are dealing with a writing variant of “the Lydian *yôd* sign”, , on the basis of the fact that the form accordingly read as *kooi* in the inscription from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1) confronts us with a mere writing variant of *kuuoi*, as we have just noted the N(m/f) sg. of the relative pronoun corresponding to archaic Latin *qoi* “who(ever)” (< PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>o-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 644]). Moreover, such an analysis also makes sense for the use of the sign in final position of tribal names, usually followed by the D sg. form *keentii* or one of its variant writings (see, for example, *altusielnai keentii* in Abóbada [J.12.1], *arune er<o> marenai keenii* in Cerro dos Enforcados [J.22.1], *romatee maremanai keentii* in Mealha Nova 1 [J.18.1], *tiir-toosjemanai keeni* in Fonte Velha 3 [J.1.2], and *aštapoopiirnai keenai* in Vale dos Vermelhos 3 [J.7.1]), as a marker of the D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stems, because *these entire sequences are invariably conducted in the dative case!*

(9)  : *MLH* IV, 153, Abb. 2 distinguishes a variant of this sign with two hori-

<sup>3</sup> Note, however, that the linguistic situation in Southwest Iberia happens to be more complicated in view of the fact that the inscription from Barradas (J.5.1) clearly bears the testimony of *p*-Celtic. Of importance in this connection may be a difference in the dating of the inscriptions, the *p*-Celtic one presumably being posterior to the *q*-Celtic ones. However, in actual fact proper archaeological datings are in the main lacking and we therefore have to rely solely on indications from epigraphy or the contents more in general.

zontal bars, rendering the value *te*, from the one with three horizontal bars, which in their opinion represents the value *ku*. Untermann and Wodtko are followed in this distinction by Koch (2010, 206). Deviating from this interpretation, De Hoz (1991, 681-682) assumes that the variant with three horizontal bars renders the value *te* in like manner as the one with two horizontal bars. In fact, I agree with the analysis by De Hoz that we are indeed dealing here with mere writing variants of one and the same sign for the expression of the value *te*. I would only add that close examination of the use of this particular sign reveals that, alongside its syllabic use, it is on its way of becoming an alphabet letter, *t*. Thus, on the one hand the syllabic use for *te* is evidenced by forms like the composite *arateetunpiites* (Alcalá del Río [J.53.1]; note especially its expression here of the ending of the N(m/f) pl. in *-es* of the consonant stems), *kaaltee*, and *m<sub>2</sub>uteeman* (both forms from Mesas do Castelinho, but note that the first is also attested for Abóbada [J.12.1]), whereas its alphabetic use for *t* can be exemplified by forms like *betasiioonii* (Fonte Velha 6 [J.1.1]), *aştanapolon* (Vale dos Vermelhos 3 [J.7.1]), and *vartoi* (Cerro dos Enforcados [J.22.1]). Marking the stage in between the development from syllabic sign to alphabetic letter is the patently mute vowel *e* in the sequence *m<sub>2</sub>umat(e) eromareí*, where the sign is used only in anticipation of the front vowel of the next word being *e*. Note, by the way, that, for the recurrent nature of *eromare-*, we are, just like in the case of *pooi<sup>n</sup>t(e) eromare* in Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1), clearly confronted here with two distinct words, and that hence the inference by Koch in the frame of his discussion of the phenomenon of *scriptio continua* that “a sequence of Tartessian signs will never break as two words between **t<sup>a</sup>** and the following **a** or **b<sup>o</sup>** and **o**, and so on” (Koch 2011, 37; cf. 141) is clearly mistaken.

(10)  : This sign is analyzed as representing the syllabic value *bo* in *MLH IV*, 153, Abb. 2 and Koch 2010, 206. In contrast, De Hoz 1991, 682 places it at the position of *pu* in his grid of the signary. I follow De Hoz in connection with the consonant being the unvoiced *p*, but agree with *MLH IV* and Koch that the vowel consists of *o*. My reasons for doing so are twofold. In the first place, the sign features prominently in verbal forms based on a root which shows a striking formal resemblance to that of Greek ποίεω “to make, do” (< PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-* [Mallory/Adams 2007, 220]), three of which, *pooiatii* (Fonte Velha 3 [J.1.2]), which renders the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres/fut. in *-ti*, *pooi<sup>n</sup>t(e)* (Fonte Velha 6 [J.1.1]), which represents the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-t*, and *po<sup>n</sup>tó* (Alcalá del Río [J.53.1]), which expresses the 3rd pers. pl. of the middle-passive of the past tense in *-<sup>n</sup>to*, we already came across in the preceding. To these instances can be added the form *pootii* (Mealha Nova 1 [J.18.1]), which also renders the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres/fut. in *-ti*, and *pooiir* (Mesas do Castelinho), which stands for the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-r* (cf. Hittite *-er* or *-ir* [Friedrich 1974, 77]) and Latin *-re* in *vīdēre* [Beekes 1990, 282] for the same function). Secondly, the sign is used for the expression of the root *pou-* < PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>ou-* “ox” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 482), which corresponds to the first ele-

ment of Celtiberian *pouštom* “cow-shed” (Meid 1993, 106). Of course, we are in reality confronted here with the typical Celtic development of the PIE labiovelar  $*g^w > b$ , and the labial as such likely represents the voiced  $b$  in this instance, but nevertheless, from a graphic point of view, with our present transliteration we stay close to that applied for the closest cognate of the Southwest Iberian language, Celtiberian. To this comes that for the expression of the voiced labial  $b$  the Southwest Iberian script preferably uses the second letter of the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1), as in *be<sup>n</sup>tasiioonii* “to Bendasion” (Fonte Velha 6 [J.1.1]; D sg. in *-i* of the consonant stems) < PIE  $*b^hend^h-$  “to bind” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 127), *liibianii* “Libians” (Mesas do Castelinho; N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the *o*-stems) corresponding to the inhabitants of the region of the town Libia (= present-day Herramélluri in the region of Rioja along the upper-Ebro) called *Libienses* by Plinius, *Plin. Nat.* 3.3.24 (cf. Jordán 1998, 146). But it should be realized that this last argument is somewhat undermined by cases in which, like in that of *pou-* representing  $*bou-$ ,  $p$  is clearly used to express the voiced  $b$ , as in *arateetunpiites* “the (inhabitant)s (of the region) along the *Dedunbaitis*” (N(m/f) pl. in *-es* of the consonant stems), of which the last element corresponds to Greek Βαῖτις, the ancient name of the Guadalquivir River along which the find spot of the text, Alcalá del Río, is situated, and *tóopiarite* “on behalf of Botorrita” (also Alcalá del Río [J.53.1]; D sg. in *-e* of presumably the *c*-stems). The verbal root *po(ia)-* shows, as we have noted, a formal resemblance to that of Greek ποίεω “to make, do”, but whether it likewise originates from PIE  $*k^wei-$  (Mallory/Adams 2007, 220) remains to be determined and in the mean time this matter should not affect our identification of the Southwest Iberian language as *q*-Celtic in the above or question the fact that the latter language shares with Celtic in general the typical Celtic loss of *p*-initial.

(11) **4** : About the sign for the vowel *u* it is duly remarked by De Hoz (1991, 676) that in the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1) it follows the cross sign for *ta*, which in its turn corresponds to the last letter of the Phoenician alphabet, *tāw*. This fact is probably to be attributed to subsidiary Aegean influences, because *upsilon* is also placed after *tau* in, for example, the Greek alphabet. Note, however, that this particular instance of subsidiary Aegean influence does not stand on its own, but we have already above pointed out the Aegean influence discernable in the forms of the horizontal *m*, the roundish *d*, the Lydian type of *yôd*, and the arrow-shaped Cypro-Minoan *ti*-sign. Therefore it deserves our attention that some further subsidiary Aegean influences are observable in, for example, the M-shaped *ś*, which corresponds to the Aegean (Lydian and some of the Greek alphabets) *san*, the stance of the *a*, which is that of the Aegean (Lydian, Phrygian, and Greek) *alpha*, the upturned *lambda* (Lydian), to which might perhaps be added the relationship of the “trident” shaped *ti* to the Aegean *sampi*, and the archaic Lydian form for *f* consisting of a vertical stroke with a circle at either end as attested for an inscription from Alcoutim, see Schmoll 1961, 56, Nr. 23, *MLH* IV, J.9.1, and Koch 2010, 226. Notwithstanding all these subsidiary Aegean

influences, the relationship of Southwest Iberian *u* with its Phoenician predecessor *wāw* is underlined by the fact that this sign is also used to express the value of the semivowel *v* as in *vartoi* “the Vartoi” (Cerro dos Enforcados [J.22.1]; N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the *o*-stems) and *ravarmar* (Fonte Velha 3 [J.1.2]; endingless N(m/f) sg. of MN).

(12) : This particular sign, which appears to originate from Phoenician *hē'*, but in the Espanca alphabet (J.25.1) occurs among the subsidiary signs, goes without proper transliteration in *MLH IV*, and is suggested by Koch 2010, 206 to represent the value *ha*. Contrarily, de Hoz 1991, 682 placed it in his grid of the signary on the place of *i*, however, without conviction as on the previous page 681 the given value is replaced by a question mark. In my opinion, these doubts are not necessary, as, within the wider Mediterranean context, the use of Phoenician *hē'* for the vowel *i* is paralleled for the Lycian alphabet (Hajnal 1995, 7-8). All in all, then, we arrive at the following grid of the signary of the Southwest Iberian script (Fig. 1):

		k-	p-	t-	b	l	m	n	r	ś	s
a	A	∧		X	9	1	ζ	γ	4	M	≠
e	o	∩	∩	⊞			γ				
i	γ γ	∩	∩	∩			γ				
í			↑	⊙	φ						
ï				↑							
o	≠	⊞	□	∧	D						
u	4	⊞		Δ							
sol	 			&	3						

Fig. 1. Overview of the signary of the Southwest Iberian script.

### Section C: Selected inscriptions

In connection with the archaeological context, it is observed by Koch (2011, 38) that “many of the stones were found in or near Early Iron Age necropoleis,” from which observation he deduces that “so it appears that they are mainly funerary inscriptions”. In one case, that of the stele from Abóbada (J.12.1), Koch (2010, 199) is particularly specific in this respect as the stone has been found “placed directly over a large jar filled with cremated remains”. The conclusion, however, that the contents of most texts therefore must be funerary in nature is short-sighted. In the first place, it does not affect the inscription from Alacalá del Río (J.53.1), which is not a rectangular stone stele, but an oval shaped platform for a dedication. Secondly, it should be realized that, as duly stressed by Powell (1980, 168), religious and funerary practices were concentrated in the sacred places of the Celts, addressed to in the relevant literature as *drunemeton* (= a sacred grove), and that, in accordance with the evidence afforded by Powell (1989, 174-175 with fig. 126), one can find built sanctuaries with cremations. Finally, complications surely arise from the fact that stones were reused in the course of time, as can be argued persuasively for the stele from Abóbada (J.12.1). In this particular case close examination of the object points out that in the figurative scene depicting an armed warrior on a platform, which, in the light of the parallels, presumably represents a chariot, the afore-said platform is intersected by the lines forming the frame for the inscription, which therefore must have been added secondarily (see the excellent photographs in Koch 2010, 232; Koch 2011, 50; Koch 2013a, 73-75). All in all, then, texts of a non-funerary, but, for example, dedicatory nature should not be ruled out beforehand.

Notwithstanding this, it deserves our attention that the lower side of rectangular stones is usually left unscribed, because this part was placed in the ground in order to keep the stele upright.

All texts are in *scriptio continua*, and accordingly the distinction of the individual words and linguistic elements needs to be argued case for case. As far as dating is concerned, Koch (2010, 199-200) tends to assign the inscriptions to the overall period of the 7th to 5th or 4th century BC. As we have already noted, the figurative scene of the Abóbada stele is older than the inscription, and may well date its primary use into the 8th century BC. The same verdict does not apply to its inscription, which is added afterwards. In regard to the seeping in of signs from the Celtiberian script, like that of *m*<sub>2</sub> in the inscription from Mesas do Castelhinho and one from Pardieiro (J.15.1), some of the inscriptions may well be of a later date than assumed thus far, like the 2nd or even 1st century BC, which inference coincides with our reading of *\*romati-* “Roman, from Rome” in the selected inscription from Mealha Nova (J.18.1), for which the end of the Second Punic War in 201 BC may well serve as a *terminus post quem*. A similar late dating may, as observed in note 3 above, apply to the inscription from Barradas which is conducted in *p*-Celtic in contradistinction of the otherwise *q*-Celtic nature of the Southwest Iberian language.

## I. BILATERAL DEDICATIONS

### (1) J.53.1 **Alcalá del Río** (56 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 339-340; Koch 2010, 251-252; Koch 2011, 85-87; Koch 2013a, 114-115.

Drawings: *MLH* IV, 340; Koch 2010, 251; Koch 2011, 86; Koch 2013a, 115.

Description: oval shaped platform for a dedicatory object; the first part of the inscription follows the curve of the stone and runs in left-to-right direction of writing (1), whereas the second line is put in the remaining open space, starting near the beginning of the first part and running *boustrophedon*-wise in right-to-left direction of writing (2).

1. *ko-tu-u a-r-a-te-e-tu-n-pi-i-te-s & a-n-o-r m-a-s-e-ta-a-l-a*  
*ke-e-n-tí-i r-a-í-a ka-a-ś-e-ta-a-n-a*
2. *po-tó ko-o-i tó-o-pi-a-r-í-te*

1. “What the (inhabitant)s (of the region) along the Dedunbaitis and the man from the Meseta, tin-master on behalf of the people (and) king (of the afore-said country Meseta),
2. (what they) have made (as an offering) for themselves – (he) who (= the tin-master) (also made so) for/on behalf of (the capital) Botorrita”.

#### *Comments*

*kotuu*: N-A(n) sg. of the relative pronoun *ko(o)-* or *kuuo-* “who, what”, corresponding to Latin *quod*. Cf. also the Celtiberian forms of the relative pronoun *ku-* or *kue-*, see Woudhuizen 2015.

*arateetunpiites*: N(m/f) pl. in *-es* of the consonant stems of the composite *Arateetunpiit-*, consisting of the preposition *ara* < *\*para* “along” (< PIE *\*per-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]) and the river name *teetunpiit-*, the latter component of which corresponds to Greek Βαῖτις, the ancient name of the Guadalquivir River. Accordingly, after the pattern of Gaulish *Aresequani* “the (inhabitant)s (living) along the Seine” (Delamarre 2003, 52), we arrive at the interpretation “the (inhabitant)s (of the region) along the Dedunbaitis”. On the basis of this form, it can be deduced that the Southwest Iberian language is, as typical for Celtic more in general, characterized by the loss of *p*-initial. Furthermore, owing to the reference to the ancient name of the Guadalquivir River, the possibility that we are dealing here with an importation from southern Portugal, the region where most Southwest Iberian inscriptions were found, can be positively ruled out. As a consequence, it may safely be deduced that, in line with Koch’s assertion, Southwest Iberian is indeed the language of the inhabitants of Tartessos, which country according to the reconstruction by Adolf Schulten (1922; 1950) entailed the entire region from the area of the lower Guadalquivir west of Cadiz to that of Huelva situated near the lower Guadiana.

&: sign not in Espanca alphabet (J.25.1) and otherwise unknown, suggesting an *ad hoc* solution by the scribe to express parity between the two counterparts involved in the dedication comparable to our modern &.

*anor*: endingless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *anor*- “man”, corresponding to Greek ἀνὴρ, G ἀνδρῶς of the same meaning (< PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-*; cf. Delamarre 2003, 235; Fortson 2004, 71). Against the backdrop that forms like *Nerii* and *Nerti-* in the realm of onomastics also bear testimony of a reflex of the PIE root *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-* (see below), it may reasonably be argued that such reflexes in the realm of vocabulary, viz. *anor-* and its counterpart *anir-* in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho, are to be distinguished from the former category. For the use of *anor* “man” as an honorific title, which also holds good for its equivalent *anir-* as attested for the Mesas do Castelinho inscription, cf. Sumerian LÚ, Luwian hieroglyphic *ḫarmaḫi-*, etc.

*masetala*: endingless N(m/f) sg. of an adjectival derivative in *-l-* of the geographic name *Maset-* “Meseta”. As in the latter region the Celtiberian inscriptions are found, the counterpart in the present dedication is likely to be identified as a Celtiberian functionary.

*keentii*: D sg. of the noun *keent-* “people”, corresponding to Latin *gens*, G *gentis* of the same meaning < PIE *\*ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373-374). Cf. Wodtko (2000, 178-182) for the related Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*.

*raía*: D sg. of the root *rai-*, corresponding to Welsh *rhi*<sup>4</sup> and Old Irish *rí* “king” < PIE *\*reǵ-* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 854-855; cf. Delamarre 2003, 261). The problem with this form is that, as we will see in the discussion of Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1) below, the regular reflex of PIE *\*reǵ-* is *reka-* as in the G sg. of the participle *reka<sup>n</sup>tiiis* “during the reign”, corresponding to Latin *regentis* of the same meaning. Are we confronted here with a Gaulish loan? Or do we have here evidence for a tendency of the voiced velar *g* to be dropped similar to the one attested in Celtiberian, as exemplified by *tuateros* (G sg.) *tua[t]tereś* (N pl.) < PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>ter-* “daughter” from Botorrita 3 (K.1.3, III, 24; II, 40), and TNs in *-bria* alongside those in *-briga* < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-* “high” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 140-141; Fortson 2004, 340) as attested for indigenous Celtiberian coin legends like *Nertobis* “Nertobriga” (A.50) occurring alongside *Šekobirikes* “Segobriga” (A.89) (for the Celtiberian coins, see Untermann 1975 [= MLH I]) as well as TNs in Latin script like *Augustabria*, *Caliabria*, etc. occurring alongside the aforesaid *Nertobriga*, *Segobriga*, etc. (Villar 1995, 22 [with some more examples, like the variants of the following personal names: *Mailo* alongside *Magilo* and *Meiduenus* alongside *Medugenus*]; Jordán 1998, 29-30)? In any case it is clear that a similar loss of the voiced velar typifies the form *rino* < Gaulish *rig-*

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<sup>4</sup> According to professor Meid in his letter of November 3, 2011, the form *rhi* is Welsh as indicated by Delamarre by the abbreviation gall. (instead of gaul.) and as coincides with Jordán 2004, 57, 308.

*ani* or *rigana* “queen” (Koch 2013a, 215; cf. Delamarre 2003, 258) in the inscription from Barradas (J.5.1), see discussion below.

*kaašetaana*: endingless N(m/f) sg. of a root which, thanks to its formal resemblance to Celtic *casidanos* “tin-master” (Delamarre 2003, 108) as established by Koch (2009b, 346; 2010, 274-275; 2011, 85-87, 126; Koch 2013a: 184), can be positively identified as the honorific title or occupational term of the “man (from) the Meseta”.

*potó*: 3rd pers. pl. of the middle- passive of the past tense in *-<sup>n</sup>to* (cf. Greek ἐλύοντο) of the verbal root *po(ia)-* “to make (as an offering), do”, bearing a striking resemblance to that of Greek ποιέω of the same meaning. For the suppression of the writing of the *n* before *t* in Southwest Iberian, cf. \**Numa<sup>n</sup>t-* from Abóbada (J.12.1), and *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiiś*, *pooi<sup>n</sup>t(e)*, and *Be<sup>n</sup>tasiioonii* from Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1) as discussed below.

*kooi*: N(m/f) sg. of the relative pronoun *ko(o)-* or *kuuo-* “who, what”, corresponding to archaic Latin *qoi* (< PIE \**k<sup>w</sup>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>o-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 644]) of the same function. Cf. also the Celtiberian forms of the relative pronoun *ku-* or *kue-*, see Woudhuizen 2015.

*tóopiarite*: D sg. in *-e*, of what in the light of the parallels should most likely be analyzed as an *i*-stem of a formation which, if our assumption is right, should appear as \**Tóopiaritis* in the nominative. It so happens, however, that the closest correspondence to the element *rite* is provided by the entry *rita* in an Celtiberian inscription from Gruissan (K.17.1). This is preceded here by the abbreviation *ke* for *ken(t)-* “tribe”. In line with this comparison we would arrive at the interpretation of *rite* as a D sg. of a tribal name from the region of the Meseta (cf. Jordán 1998, 132). On the other hand, it so happens that *rita* is also the final element of the TN *Botorríta* (= Celtiberian *kontebakom belaiskom* or Roman *Contrebia Belaisca* [Jordán 2004, 197, 200-201]), where the longest Celtiberian inscriptions have been found and which no doubt functioned as a capital of the region. Accordingly, it might reasonably be argued that *Tóopiarit-*, by means of metathesis of the first two consonants (so *Tópia-* actually represents *Potia-*), is a reflex of the TN *Botorríta*. If this latter suggestion is considered a plausible one, it necessarily follows that the D sg. ending *-e* is not confined to the *i*-stems, but also applied in other stems, here most likely a consonant stem. In any case, considering its location along a river, viz. the Huerva, a tributary of the Ebro, the second element of the TN *Botorríta* no doubt corresponds to Gaulish *ritu-* “ford, river-crossing” < PIE \**prt<sup>u</sup>-* (Delamarre 2003, 259).

(2) [no number] **Mesas do Castelinho** (84 signs + 4 reconstructed ones)

Editions: Guerra 2010, 67-74; Koch 2011, 43-45; Koch 2013a, 125-128.

Photos: Guerra 2010, 70, 3.2 and 3.3.

Drawings: Guerra 2010, 71, 3.4; Koch 2011, 44; Koch 2013a, 127.

Description: rectangular stone stele, somewhat rounded at the top side, incised with bands to contain the inscription, which starts at the lower right side in right-

to-left direction of writing, runs all along the outer margin of the stone up till the starting point (1a-b), and then continues in the same direction of writing in two lines at the right side of the open space in the middle (2) in order to end up in left-to-right direction of writing in the third line in this particular space (3).

1a. *tí -i-l-e te-u-r-po-u-a-r-ka-a-s -ta-a m<sub>2</sub>-u-te-e-m-a-n*

1b. *tí -i-l-e po-o-i-i-r e-r-o-m-a-r-e-n-a-i ke[-e-n-tí-i] l-a-tí-i-u-u-í*

2. *l-i-i-b-i-a-n-i-i -ta-a e a-n-i-r-a ka-a-l-te-e -ta-a o*

3. *b-e-s-a-r-u sol-a-n*

1. “At that (meeting): the oral agreement also on the divine-oxen-fund, at that (meeting) they have made (this as sacrifice) to the hero of the coastal people:
2. (i.e.) on the one hand the Libians and on the other hand for this occasion the man on behalf of the Celt: so
3. (they have made it [= the agreement] as) an out-of-free-will-binding solar sacrifice”.

#### *Comments*

The elucidation of this text should take recurrent elements as its starting point. In the first place, it deserves our attention that the combination *tí-i-l-e* at the start recurs later on in section (1), and hence may be considered to introduce a phrase or part of a phrase. Secondly, the sequence *e-r-o-m-a-r-e-n-a-i ke[-e-n-tí-i]* is a familiar element of other Southwest Iberian inscriptions and as such easy to emend. In the third place, it is conspicuous that in section (2) two elements are followed by the sequence *-ta-a*, which in accordance with this observation may reasonably be assumed to function as an enclitic conjunction related to the non-enclitic PIE conjunction *\*eti* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 344) represented by Hittite *ta* (Friedrich 1974, 161) and Latin *et* “and” (the enclitic variant in the realm of IE Anatolian is Luwian *-hawa* and in Latin *-que* “and” < PIE *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e*). Note that this same element likely appears in the first part of section (1) as well. If our analysis of the element *-ta-a* applies, the structure of section (2) confronts us with the coordination of the sequences *l-i-i-b-i-a-n-i-i* and *a-n-i-r-a ka-a-l-te-e* after the pattern: X as well as Y. A final recurrent element may be traced in the combination *po-o-i-i-r*, which in the light of the parallels comes into consideration as a verbal form based on the root *po(ia)-* “to make, do”, bearing a striking resemblance to that of Greek *ποιέω* of the same meaning. If so, its ending in *-r*, considering its possible relationship to Hittite *-ir* or *-er* (Friedrich 1974, 77) and Latin *-re* as in *vīdēre* (Beekes 1990, 282), no doubt expresses the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense. At any rate, such an inference coincides with the plural nature of section (2), which, along this line of reasoning, may contain the subject of the phrase. Now, it is of course highly attractive to explain the form *l-i-i-b-i-a-n-i-i*, notwithstanding the uncertainty about the *b*, as a N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the o-stem of the ethnonym Libian, hence “the Libians” against the backdrop of the Celtiberian legend *Libiaka* as attested for two inscriptions of unfortunately unspecified

find spot (K.0.4 and K.0.5), which confronts us with an adjectival derivative in *-ako-* of the TN *Libia* (Untermann/Wodtko 1997 [= *MLH IV*], 545) as recorded for the region east of Zaragoza along the Ebro-river and identified with present-day Herramélluri in the Rioja-region. At any rate, the population in the region of this town is referred to by Plinius, *Plin. Nat.* 3.3.24 as *Libienses* (Jordán 1998, 146). The counterpart in this particular dedication must be traced in the sequence *e a-n-i-r-a ka-a-l-te-e*. In this sequence we come across the familiar elements *Kaaltee*, which is also present in Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1) discussed below and rightly explained by Koch as a form related to the ethnonym Κελτοί, *Galatae*, etc. (Koch 2010, 188; 2013a, 182). Furthermore, against the backdrop of the Greek variant form ἀνέρα alongside regular A(m) sg. ἄνδρα (Koch 2011, 70), the preceding *anira* may well come into consideration as a variant of *anor* “man” from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1), which, as we have seen in the above, strikingly recalls Greek ἀνήρ (< PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-*). The only drawback to this line of reasoning is formed by the fact that Greek ἀνέρα renders the A(m) sg., whereas for its parity with the patent N(m/f) pl. *Liibianii* in the structure of the text it cannot be assumed otherwise than that it is used for the N(m/f) sg. here. Furthermore, the associated *Kaaltee* is, on the analogy of its use in Fonte Velha 6, likely to be analyzed as a D sg. in *-e* of the *i*-stems, so the man in question is stated to act “on behalf of the Celt”, in which it is unclear whether the form expresses an adjectival meaning, “Celt(ic side)” or is used for the expression of a plural one, “Celt(s)”. However this may be, the preceding *e* surely represents a separate element of pronominal nature, related to the Latin pronoun of the 3rd person *is, ea, id*. To all probability the form in question represents the D sg. *\*ei* and hence underlines that “the man on behalf of the Celt” functions as such “for the occasion” at hand. Now, it seems clear that with the ethnonym *Kaaltee* reference is made to the Southwest Iberian counterpart in this bilateral dedication, who accordingly consider themselves to be Celts. Furthermore, it seems clear that the object is expressed by *m<sub>2</sub>-u-te-e-m-a-n*, which form is characterized by the A(m/f) sg. in *-n* and the root of which recalls Greek μύθευμα “story”, perhaps used here for “oral agreement”. Finally, the indirect object is, notwithstanding the fact that the final *i* is uncertain, likely to be traced in the sequence *l-a-ti-i-u-u-i*, no doubt a D sg. in *-i* of the *o*-stems of the root *latiuu-*, corresponding to Gaulish *latis* “hero” (Delamarre 2003, 197-198).

Recapitulating the foregoing exposé, then, we accordingly arrive at the following interpretation of the inscription in its bare outline: *Liibianii -taa e anira Kaaltee -taa* “on the one hand the Libians and on the other hand for this occasion the man on behalf of the Celt” *pooiir* “have made” *m<sub>2</sub>uteeman* “the oral agreement” *latiuuij* “for the hero”.

In an attempt to fill in the remaining parts, it first of all is clear that the sequence *e-r-o-m-a-r-e-n-a-i ke[-e-n-ti-i]* corresponds to the indirect object *latiuuij* and defines the hero in question as being of the “coastal people”. At any rate, there can be little doubt that *eromarenai* renders the D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stems of an adjectival derivative in *-na-* of the composite *eromare-*, of which, on the analo-

gy of Gaulish *Aremorici* “the (inhabitant)s (living) along the sea” (Delamarre 2003, 52), the first element *ero-* consists of a writing variant of *ara-* < *\*para* “along” (< PIE *\*per-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]) and the second element *mare-* shows a reflex of PIE *\*mori-* “sea” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 748), whereas *keentii* is the D sg in *-i* of the consonant stems of the noun *keent-* “people”, corresponding to Latin *gens*, G *gentis* of the same meaning < PIE *\*ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373; cf. Wodtke 2000, 178-182 for Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*). So, in sum we arrive at the translation of the indirect object as: “for the hero of the coastal people”.

Much harder nuts to crack are the residual sequences *tí-i-l-e*, *te-u-r-po-u-a-r-ka-a-s* and *o b-e-s-a-r-u sol-a-n*. I suggest the following solutions:

*tí -i-le*: a combination of the preposition *tí-* “at”, related to Lydian *ti-* as in *ti-Sardi*, “at Sardis” and Dutch *t(e)-* as in *t(e)huis* “at home” and *thans* (< *te-hants*) “directly, now (lit.: at hand)” (< PIE *\*de-* “at” with reflexes in Celtic, see Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 181-182), with the D sg. of the demonstrative pronoun *ile*, corresponding to Latin *illi*. If so, we arrive at the meaning “at that”, which must be a reference to the meeting of the counterparts when they decided to make their oral agreement.

*te-u-r-po-u-a-r-ka-a-s*: I analyze this as a compound consisting of the three elements. In the first place, the final part *a-r-ka-a-s* renders the G sg. in *-s* of the noun *arka-*, corresponding to Latin *arca* “fund”. Next, the first part *te-u-r-* is likely to be based on PIE *\*diyēw-* “(sky)god” (cf. Fortson 2004, 61, etc.; Mallory/Adams 2007, 329), and should perhaps be taken for an adjectival derivative meaning “divine”. Thirdly, the element *po-u-* in the middle strikingly recalls the first element of Celtiberian *pouštom* “cow-shed” (Meid 1993, 106), and therefore to all probability likewise originates from PIE *\*g<sup>w</sup>ou-* “ox” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 482). The meaning of the combination in its entirety in this manner appears to be “of the divine-oxen-fund”, which specifies the exact nature of the object *m<sub>2</sub>uteeman* “oral agreement”, or, as may be stressed by the enclitic *-taa*, here rather “also” than “and”, a part of it (in which case the G sg. functions as a partitive).

*o b-e-s-a-r-u sol-a-n*: this sequence, which is set apart by being largely conducted in a different direction of writing, in my opinion presents an additional clause, introduced by *o*, which reflects Greek ὥς “so, in this manner”. The final element, characterized by a solar symbol which probably confronts us with a variant writing of the one recorded for Mealha Nova 1 (J.18.1) discussed below, just like in the latter instance is marked by the A(m/f) sg. in *-n*, and as such likely functions as an object; perhaps, within the given context, we should think of a solar sacrifice. This leaves us with *besaru*, which I am inclined to analyze as a compound of Gaulish *bessu-* < PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-* “to bind” (Delamarre 2003, 74) with *aru-*, a root which reoccurs in the form *arune* of Cerro dos Enforcados, and from an Indo-European point of view might be considered related to Luwian hieroglyphic and Lycian *arawa-* “freedom” (Melchert 2004, 4) and Lycian *aru-* “(free) citizen” (Xanthos trilingual, lines 5-7). If so, we appear to be dealing here

with a solar sacrifice which is specified by a complex adjective to be “out-of-free-will-binding”. Note that the fund for the divine oxen, to which the agreement is restricted, in this manner is addressed as (being reserved for) a solar sacrifice, in which context I cannot resist the temptation to remind the reader to the Homeric expression Ἡελίοιο βόεζ “the oxen of Helios” (Hom. *Od.* 12, 343, etc.).

Note with respect to the foregoing 2 inscriptions that relations of the Tartessians with the Celtiberians are recorded in our historical sources at the time of the Carthaginian invasion of Iberia under the leadership of Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, from 237 BC onwards, see D.S. 25.10.1, where it is related that Hamilcar defeated a coalition of Tartessians, Iberians, and Celtiberians headed by the king of the latter, *Istolatios* (for the suggestion that second element of this name is based on Gaulish *latis* “hero”, which we just came across as *latiuii* in the dative case in phrase 1b of the inscription of Mesas do Castelinho, see Delamarre 2003, 197-198).

### (3) J.1.1 **Fonte Velha 6** (75 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 204-208; Koch 2010, 210-211; Koch 2013a, 29-33.

Photos: Harrison 1988, 142, Fig. 95; Koch 2010, 210 (right side); Koch 2013a, 30 (right side).

Drawings: Schmoll 1961, 53, Nr. 15; cf. Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 97, No. 305; *MLH* IV, 206; Koch 2010, 210 (left side); Koch 2011, 30; Koch 2013a, 30 (left side).

Description: rectangular stone stele incised with bands to contain the inscription, which starts at the lower right side and runs in right-to-left direction of writing along the outer margins of the stone and continues in the same direction of writing in an inner band covering three sides only. Note that the linguistic entities distinguished do not match with the distinction between the outer and the inner band, but that the first part of the text (1) is directly followed by the second (2), which runs from the lower left corner of the outer band up to the end of the text in the lower left side of the inner band.

1. *l-o-ko-o-po-o n-i-i-r-a-po-o í-o a-i a-i-r-i-ka-a-l-te-e*  
*l-o-ko-o-n-a-n-e-n-a-i r-e-ka-a-ti-i-ś*
2. *i-i-n-ko-o-l-o po-o-i-i-t(e) e-r-o-m-a-r-e b-e-t(e)-a-s-i-i-o-o-n-i-i*

1. “During the reign Airikeltis of the Lugonamena(-people) over the Lugii (and) Nerii, who (sent an envoy) for (the occasion),
2. the inhabitants have made (as a sacrifice) to the coastal Bendasio”.

#### *Comments*

At the outset of the discussion of this inscription it should be stressed that, although positioned in a damaged spot, the reading of *r* in *r-e-ka-a-ti-i-ś* is ascertained by the photograph published by Koch (2010, 210), lower right side, and

adopted in the transcription of the text by, for example, Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 97, No. 305.

Now, having established this, it next can be observed that close analysis of this inscription points out that it consists of two sections: (1) a dating formula, singled out as such by the participle *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiś*, corresponding to the Latin G sg. *regentis* “during the time while reigning”, translated here as a temporal genitive (cf. *rekiiōs* from the Sasamón-inscription [K.14.1] for a Celtiberian equivalent of a dating formula); and (2) the actual dedication or offering, in which the key-role is played by the verb *pooi<sup>n</sup>t(e)*, the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-<sup>n</sup>t* of the root *po(ia)*- “to make, do” – here used, as in the previously discussed inscriptions in which it appears, with the religious connotation of making a sacrifice or offering –, bearing a striking resemblance to Greek *ποιέω* with the same meaning.

The participle *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiś* is associated with a personal name in the D sg. in *-e* of the *i*-stems *Airikaaltee*. This personal name in turn is grammatically lined with the D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stems *Lokoonanenai*, which to all probability is to be taken for a tribal name. Note that the latter suggestion can be reinforced by the observation that the element *-nena-* likely stands for *-mena-* as attested for the tribal name *Tiirtoosiemana-* in Fonte Velha 3 (J.1.2) and the pseudo-tribal name *Maremana-* “maritime” in Mealha Nova 1 (J.18.1). Note in this connection that the use of the D sg. in the name-formula contrast with the case used in connection with the participle *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiś*, which we have just shown to render the G sg. In any case, the dating-formula is preceded by two forms rightly analyzed by John Koch (2011, 32-33; 2013a, 31-32) as being characterized by the D pl. in *-po*, *Lokoopo Niirapo*. Moreover, the root of the latter is plausibly identified by Koch (2011, 211; 2013a, 204) as a reflex of the ethnonym *Nerioi* or *Nerii*, a tribe of the Celtici in the northwest corner of Spain after whom *promontorium Nerium*, the present-day Cape Nariga near Coruña is named (see *RE*, s.v.; cf. cover illustration of Koch 2013a). However, if the second element of this combination can positively be identified as an ethnonym, the same no doubt applies also to the first element, which accordingly, contra to Koch’s divine *Lugoues* (plural of *Lug*), refers to a Celtic tribe *Lougoi* or *Lugii* named after the god *Lug* as actually encountered in other parts of the Celtic world outside Iberia proper (Scotland and north of Bohemia, see Ptol. *Geog.* 2.3.12, 11.10). In sum, then, the dating-formula runs as follows: “during the reign of Airikeltis of the Lugonamena(-people) over the Lugii (and) Nerii”.

This leaves us with the residual elements: *i-o* and *a-i*. Of these, the first cannot be dissociated from the Gaulish relative pronoun *-io* “who” (Delamarre 2003, s.v. *dugiiontīio*). In case of the second element *ai* we are no doubt dealing with the D sg. of the pronoun of the 3rd person which in monophthongized form *e* we already came across in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho. The expression is obscured by its *brevitas*, but the most likely interpretation is that it were the Lugii and Nerii of the province Galicia in northwest Spain “who for the occasion” had sent an envoy to represent them in the ceremony with which the remainder of the text deals.

Whatever the extent of these latter observations, it is in any case clear that most of the given names are based on well known Celtic onomastic elements, like *Lug-*, a reflex of the name of one of the foremost gods in the Celtic pantheon (< PIE *\*l(e)ug<sup>h</sup>-* “to bind” [cf. Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 687]), in the ethnonym *Lugi* and the gens-name *Lugonamena-* (Delamarre 2003, 211), and *ario-* “free citizen” (< PIE *\*ario-* or *\*ar(y)o-* “noble, free” [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 67; Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995, 657-658]), which appears as *aire* in Old Irish (Delamarre 2003, 55) as well as *Keltis*, a reflex of the ethnonym Κελτοί, *Galatae*, etc., in *Airikeltis*. Note in this connection that, as already indicated in the context of the occurrence of the element *Kaaltee* in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho, the comparison of root of this form to the given ethnonym is given by Koch (2010, 188; 2013a, 182). Finally, Koch (2013a, 204) rightly traces the root of the ethnonym *Nerioi* or *Nerii* back to PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>ner-* “man” – with reflexes of which in vocabulary we already were confronted in form of *anor* from the inscription from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1) and *anir-* in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho.

The second part with the actual dedication formula actually consists of a phrase of a quite transparent nature: it starts with the subject, *iinkoolo*, which form presumably represents the N(m/f) pl. of the *o*-stems in *-i*, *iinkoolo<sup>i</sup>*, of which the root corresponds to Latin *incola* “inhabitant”. For clarity’s sake: reference is made here to the local inhabitants as distinguished from foreigners of the first section of the inscription, which hence is of bilateral nature, again. This is followed by the verb *pooi<sup>n</sup>t(e)*, which we have already identified as the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense in *-<sup>n</sup>t* of the root *po(ia)-* “to make, do”. In third and final position, then, we are dealing with a combination of two forms in the D sg., *eromare* and *Betasiioonii*, the first marked as such by the ending in *-e* of the *i*-stems and the second by that in *-i* of the consonant stems, so that we likely have here the indirect object or more in specific the recipient of the dedication or offering, probably of divine nature. The latter inference can subsequently be further underlined by the identification of the sequence *beta-* at the start of the final form as a reflex of PIE *\*b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-* “to bind” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 127) from which the Celtiberian equivalent of the female Thracian GN *Bendis*, viz. *Bandua* or *Bandia* (Schmoll 1959, 42, 80; cf. Anderson 1985, 321, 323), is derived. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the element in question represents *be<sup>n</sup>ta-* and that what we have here is a Southwest Iberian counterpart of the given GNs reading *Bendasion*. With the preceding adjective *\*eromari-* as a shorthand variant of *eromarena-* “coastal”, we are by now familiar owing to its recurrence in the previously discussed inscription from Abóbada (J.12.1).

As a final remark in the context of the treatment of this inscription the reader may be reminded to the fact that in the preceding we have already pointed out the parallels for the (against the backdrop of the recurrent *keent-* “people”) incidental suppression in writing of *n* before *t* in the context of the verbal from *po<sup>n</sup>tó* from Alcalá del Río and the MN *\*numa<sup>n</sup>t-* from Abóbada, which feature appears to be quite common in the present inscription, being exemplified by *Be<sup>n</sup>tasiioon-*, *pooi<sup>n</sup>t*, and *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiś*. A similar phenomenon is traceable in Celtiberian, where, alongside its regular writing in *Konterbia*, *tirkantam*, *pionti*, *sisonti*, *ausanto*, and *ésianto*, we

are confronted with the incidental suppression of the writing *n* before *t* in *Kaiskata* alongside *Cascantum*, *kete* alongside *gente*, *Sekotias* alongside Σεγόντια, *steniotes* alongside *Stenionte*, etc., cf. Jordán Cólera 2004, 75-76.

(4) J.22.1 **Cerro dos Enforcados** (28 signs + 2 reconstructed ones)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 316-319; Koch 2010, 246; Koch 2013a, 103-104.

Drawings: Schmoll 1961, 54, Nr. 17; *MLH* IV, 318; Koch 2010, 246; Koch 2013a, 103.

Description: rectangular stone stele incised with a band along the right, top, and upper part of the left side of the stone containing the inscription, which begins at the lower right side and runs in right-to-left direction of writing.

1. *v-a-r-t(e)-o-i i-r<-u>-s a-r-u-n-e e-r<-o>-m-a-r-e-n-a-i*  
*ke-e-n-i-i*

1. “The Oretani have dedicated to the free coastal people”.

*Comments*

*vartoi*: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the *o*-stems of the tribal name *Varto-*, the root of which corresponds to that of the *Oretani*, who are situated in the region in between present-day Estremadura, La Mancha, east Andalusia, and Múrcia, which in effect means the land in between the upper courses of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir Rivers. The northern group of this tribe was known as the Germani, which emphasizes their possible Indo-European nature (Bosch-Gimpera 1939, Map IV; cf. Wikipedia, *s.v. Oretani*). According to Meid (1996, 13) the root of the ethnic is related to Greek ὄρος or οὔρος “mountain”, so designates “mountaineers”.

*ir<u>s*: 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the verb *i-* “to dedicate”, corresponding to Gaulish *iourus* as in the inscription from Saint-Germain-Sources-Seine, reading: *Aresequani Ariios iourus Lucio[n] Nertecoma[ri]* “The (inhabitant)s (living) along the Seine (and) Arios have dedicated the (stele of) Lucios, (the son) of Nertecomaros” (see Delamarre 2003, 188, 335; Meid 1994, 30-33; cf. Meid 1989, 32-35). Note that we are confronted here with the plural variant of *iru* “he has dedicated” from the Abóbada text, which further likely occurs in an inscription from Azinhal dos Mouros (J.7.9: also at the start of the text, like in the one from Abóbada, see Koch 2010, 225) and one from Monte Nova do Visconde (J.23.1: combination at the end of the first section, see Koch 2010, 247 and its treatment below). Note that the verbal root *i-*, notwithstanding Delamarre’s pertinent rejection of this analysis (Delamarre 2003, 189), is traced back by Isaac 1997 to PIE *\*yē-* or *\*yeh<sub>1</sub>-* (Mallory/Adams 2007, 389) from which, for example, Hittite *iya-* “to make, do”, Greek ἵημι “to place, do” and Latin *iacio* “to erect, build” are derived. According to this analysis, the element *-r-* functions as a marker of a deponens or middle-passive and the ending consists of the 3rd pers. sg. in *-u* or pl. in *-us*.

*arune*: D sg. in *-e* of the consonant stems of an adjectival derivative in *-n-* of the root *aru-* “free”, which we argued to be present as well in section (3) of the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho.

*er<o>marenai*: D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stems of the adjective *eromarena-* “coastal”, with which we are already familiar owing to the fact that it is also present in the text from Mesas do Castolinho, discussed in the above.

*keenii*: D sg. in *-i* of the consonant stems of a variant form *keen-* of the noun *keent-* “people”, which we frequently encountered in the texts discussed previously and of which we noted the correspondence to Latin *gens*, G *gentis* of the same meaning < PIE \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373-374; cf. Wodtko 2000, 178-182 for the related Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*). Note, however, in this connection that the present form of the noun occurs as second element in the ethnonym *Cilbiceni*, a people associated with the Tartessians in Avienus, 255, see Freeman 2010, 309. As duly remarked by Schulten (1950, 125), the first element of this ethnonym corresponds to Lydian Κίλβος, and its derivatives, Κίλβανοί, and Κίλβιανὸν πεδίον.

#### (5) J.18.1 **Mealha Nova 1** (33 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 301-303; Koch 2010, 242; Koch 2011, 102-103; Koch 2013a, 94-95.

Drawings: *MLH* IV, 303; Koch 2010, 242; Koch 2011, 103; Koch 2013a, 94; Koch 2013b, 128.

Description: rectangular stone stele with inscription running in right-to-left direction of writing along the edges of the stone, on the left in a somewhat roundish way.

1. *po-o-ti-i sol-a-n a-ke-e-r-to-o r-o-m-a-te-e m-a-r-e-m-a-n-a-i ke-e-n-ti-i*

1. “He (who) will make a solar sacrifice as headman on behalf of the Roman maritime people”.

#### *Comments*

*pootii*: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. tense in *-ti* of the verb *po(ia)-* “to make, do”, bearing a striking resemblance to Greek ποιέω of the same meaning.

*sol-an*: A(m/f) sg. in *-n* of the noun *sol-a-*, which, on the analogy of the use of a variant form of the sign *sol* in an otherwise identical formation in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho, likewise refers to a solar sacrifice.

*akertoo*: endless N(m/f) sg. of the noun *akertoo-* “headman”, an honorific title which constitutes a derivative in *-to-* of the PIE root \**ak<sub>1</sub>er-* “high, top” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 20). Reflexes of the same PIE root were also used for the expression of honorific titles in the case of Celtiberian *ocris* “headman” (Meid 1994, 36-37; 1996, 17-18) and, for example, Luwian hieroglyphic *a\*194kar-* “headman” (Körkün § 2). If this identification applies, the Southwest Iberian language may, just like its closest relative, Celtiberian on the basis of the

case of *\*equeisōs* < PIE *\*ek<sup>w</sup>o-* “horse” (Meid 1996, 16), for the velar reflex of PIE *\*k* be identified as a *centum*-language.

*romate*: D sg. in *-e* of the *i*-stems of the ethnic *\*Romati-* “Roman”.

*maremanai*: D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stem of a derivative in *-mana-*, a formation also used in the tribal name *Tiirtoosjemana-* from Fonte Velha 3 (J.1.2, see discussion below), of the root *mare-* < PIE *\*mori-* “sea” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 748), no doubt expressing the meaning “maritime”.

*keentii*: D sg. in *-i* of the consonant stems of the noun *keent-* “people”, corresponding, as we have already noted before, to Latin *gens*, G *gentis* of the same meaning < PIE *\*genh<sub>2</sub>-* “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373; cf. Wodtko 2000, 178-182 for Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*).

## II. DEDICATIONS MORE IN GENERAL

### (6) J.12.1 **Abóbada** (40 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 270-272; Koch 2010, 230-232; Koch 2011, 49-52.

Photos: Koch 2010, 232; Koch 2011, 50.

Drawings: Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 96; *MLH* IV, 271; Koch 2010, 231.

Description: rectangular stone stele, decorated with a warrior standing on a platform which likely represents a chariot. The figurative scene is enclosed on the right, top, and left side by a band containing an inscription running from the lower right side to the lower left side in right-to-left direction of writing (1), whereas the final part of the inscription is added in the free space to the left while running *boustrophedon*-wise in left-to-right direction of writing (2).

1. *i-r-u a-l-t(e)-u-s-i-e-l-n-a-i ke-e-n-ti-i m<sub>1</sub>-u-m-a-t(e)*

2. *e-r-o-m-a-r-e-i a-ta-a-n-e-r-te-e*

1. “Numat(os), on behalf of the Altusielna-people, has dedicated

2. to the coastal (goddess of) regeneration”.

#### *Comments*

*m<sub>1</sub>umat(e)*: endingless N(m/f) sg. of a MN the root of which, on the basis of regressive assimilation, is likely to be identified as *\*Numa<sup>n</sup>t-* also represented by the Celtiberian TN *Numantia*. For the occasional suppression of the writing of *n* before *t* in Southwest Iberian, cf. *po<sup>n</sup>to* from Alcalá del Río (J.53.1) and the examples of this phenomenon in Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1), both discussed above.

*iru*: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the verb *i-* “to dedicate”. This form corresponds to Gaulish *ieuru* or *ειωρον* (Delamarre 2003, 188-189) and can also be traced in form of *i’o* in the Celtiberian inscription from Sasamón (K.14.1), where, however, it is used for the expression of the plural.

*altusielnai keentii*: D sg. in *-i* of the tribal name *Altusielna-* and the noun *keent-*

“people”, which we have already noted in the above to be related to Latin *gens*, *Gentis* of the same meaning < PIE \**ǵenh<sub>1</sub>-* “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373; cf. Wodtko 2000, 178-182 for the related Celtiberian *kenei* [D sg] and *kentis*). As the recipient of the dedication is mentioned in section (2), which is singled out by a change in the direction of writing (see below), the only possible option left for the translation is that the dedicator, Numantos, acted “on behalf of the Altusielnapeople”. For the formation in *-sie-*, cf. the tribal name *Tiirtoosiemana-* in Fonte Velha 3 (J.1.2) discussed below.

*eromareí atanertee*: combination of two forms characterized by the D sg. *-eí* or *-e* of the *i*-stems, and therefore likely functioning as indirect object. The root of the first form, \**eromari-*, we have already come across in adjectival variant *eromarena-* and explained, on the close analogy of Gaulish *Aremorici* “the (inhabitant)s (living) along the sea” (Delamarre 2003, 52), as a compound of the preposition *ero*, a variant writing of *ara* < \**para* “along” (< PIE \**per-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]), with *mare-* < PIE \**mori-* “sea” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 748). The root of the second form, \**Atanerti-*, also consists of a compound, this time of the prefix *at(a)-* “re-” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 70; Delamarre 2003, 57) attached to the root *nert-* “strength” also present in the Celtiberian TN *Nertobriga*, the Gaulish MN \**Nertecomaros*, and the Germanic GN *Nerthus*. Now, the stem *Nert-* is explained as a derivative in *-to-* of the PIE root \**h<sub>2</sub>ner-* “strength” (Delamarre 2003, 235; Fortson 2004, 71), and should be distinguished, as we noted in the above, from the reflex in the realm of vocabulary of the same PIE root, *anor-* or *anir-* “man” (cf. Greek ἀνήρ). Presumably, we are, against the backdrop of Germanic *Nerthus*, dealing here with a female divine name, literally “the (goddess of) regeneration”<sup>5</sup>. If so, the preceding *eromare-* likely functions as a shorthand variant of the adjectival derivative *eromarena-* and expresses the adjectival meaning “coastal”.

#### (7) J.5.1 **Barradas** (41 signs; 3x word-divider)

Editions: *MLH IV*, 231-232; Koch 2010, 219-220; Koch 2013a, 48-50.

Drawings: *MLH IV*, 232; Koch 2010, 219; Koch 2013a, 49.

Description: roughly rectangular stone incised with four rudimentarily indicated bands containing the inscription, of which the first three are clustered together whereas the fourth one is set somewhat apart below them. The inscription itself runs *boustrophedon* in the first three lines, while in the fourth line it runs in right-to-left direction of writing. Note the three-times use of a word-divider in the form of a vertical stroke.

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<sup>5</sup> Note in this connection that the goddess in the central scene on the Gundestrup cauldron is not drowning the armed pedestrian men, waiting in a row, in the liquid contained by the cauldron, but *regenerating* or *immortalizing* them, so that, after their treatment, they drive away triumphantly as true heroes on their horse, see Best 1991.

1. *s-a-po-o-i/i-s-ta i-po-o r-i-n-o e-po-o*
2. *a-n-a ke-e-n-a -pe/e/i-po-o-i-i m-a-v m-a-r-tí-i-i*

1. “The Saboi this to the ones (who are) Horse Queen”.
2. “The nobles and people (have dedicated) on this (occasion): horses to the warlike Martis”.

*Comments*

*sapooi*: N(m) pl. in *-i* of the noun *sapoo-*, which, against the backdrop of the formally related Greek Σάβοι bearing reference to officials in the cult of *Dionysos Sabazios*, may reasonably be argued to denote some religious group in the local society.

*ista*: endless A(f) sg. of the demonstrative pronoun corresponding to Celtiberian *iste* and related to Latin *iste, ista, istud* (Koch 2013a, 180).

*ipoo rino*: this sequence is likely to be analyzed as a combination of the noun *ipoo-*, corresponding to Greek ἵππος “horse”, with the adjective *rino-*, derived from a reflex of Gaulish *rigani* or *rigana* “queen” (Koch 2013a, 168, 215; cf. Delamarre 2003, 258), of which both elements render the N(m) sg. Note that for the *o*-stems this particular case is endless, just like in Gaulish inscriptions of late date. The literal meaning of this sequence hence appears to be “queenly horse”. At any rate, it is clear that *ipoo-* “horse” confronts us with a *p*-Celtic reflex of PIE *\*ekʷo-* (cf. Fortson 2004, 428). Note that the initial vowel [i] is paralleled for the Lusitanian form of address of Gaulish *Epona* (Delamarre 2003, 163), *Icona* (rock inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas). In connection with our interpretation of the initial *Sapooi*, it deserves attention that the goddess *Epona* may reasonably be argued from iconography to have also been venerated by the Thracians.

*epoo*: D pl. in *-poo* of the pronoun of the 3rd person *e-*, corresponding to Latin *is, ea, id* (< PIE *\*e-, ei-, i-*, see Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 281).

*ana keena -pe*: note that the elements of the sequence, of which the second consists of the noun *keena-* “people” with which we are already familiar, are paired by the enclitic conjunction *-pe* “and”. Now, this latter reflex of PIE *\*-kʷe* (see Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 635) also happens to be characteristic for *p*-Celtic (cf. Lepontic *-pe* “and”, see Jordán Cólera 2004, 69) and is therefore fully consistent with *ipoo-* for “horse”. With a view to the context, the first element *ana* may be compared to Gaulish *anaw* “richness” (Delamarre 2003, 45) and have a bearing on the wealthier part of the society, the nobles.

*e*: D sg. of the pronoun of the 3rd person *e-*, which we already came across in our discussion of the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho where it likewise expressed the meaning “for the occasion”.

*ipooii*: N(m) pl. in *-i* of the *o*-stems of the noun *ipoo-* “horse”.

*mav*: abbreviation of the corresponding Southwest Iberian form of Latin *Māvortius* “bellicose, war-like, martial”, an adjective typical for the Latin war-god *Mars*.

*martiii*: D sg. in *-i* of the consonant stems of the divine name *Mart-*, corresponding to the Latin war-god *Mars* (G *Martis*).

### III. FUNERAL INSCRIPTIONS

#### (8) J.23.1 **Monte Nova do Visconde** (39 signs; 2x word-divider)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 321-324; Koch 2010, 247; Koch 2013a, 106-107.

Drawings: *MLH* IV, 323; Koch 2010, 247; Koch 2013a, 107.

Description: rectangular stone inscribed with three lines of text running in right-to-left direction of writing. The first line runs from bottom to top along the right side of the stone bending to the left as far as its last sign is concerned, whereas the second line continues from top to bottom along the left side of the stone. The third section, finally, runs with a slight bend in order to stress its continuation with the preceding part in the free space left in the centre of the stone from bottom to top. Note the two-times use of the word-divider in the form of a vertical stroke.

1. *b-e-tí-i-s-a-i te-e-e m-a-r-e-n-tí-i i-r-u*

2. *a-r-ku-u-i e-l-n-a-i r ke-e/n/u-ś-n-e-e*

1. “The Baetisans and coastal (people) have dedicated

2. to Arkos Elnas because of (his) noble birth”.

#### *Comments*

*betiisai*: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the *a*-stems (?) of the ethnic *Betiisa-* (or alternatively of the consonant stem *Betiis-*) “Baetisan” referring to inhabitants along the River Baĩtis, the ancient name of the Guadalquivir-river. Note that the difference of the writing of the basic root *pít-* in *Arateetunpiites* “the (inhabitant)s (of the region) along the Dedunbaitis” in the inscription from Alcalá del Río may be due to a lapse of time between the periods in which these two texts were written down.

*tee*: coordinative conjunction “and” with which in enclitic variant *-taa* we are already familiar owing to its three times occurrence in the inscription from Mesas do Castelinho.

*mentii*: N(m/f) pl. in *-i* of the *o*-stems (?) of the ethnic *Marent(o)-* (or alternatively of the consonant stem *Marent-*) “coastal (inhabitant)”, a derivative in *-nt(o)-* or *-nt-* of the noun *mare-* “sea” with which we are already familiar owing to its presence in the composite *eromare-* “coastal” (with *ero* < *\*para* “along” and *mare-* < *\*mori-* “sea”) as attested for the inscription from Abóbada (J.12.1) and its derivatives in *-na* as attested for the inscriptions from Mesas do Castelinho and Cerro dos Enforcados (J.22.1), treated in the above. Note that if we are indeed dealing with consonant stems in case of the ethnics in question, viz. *Betiis-* and *Marent-*, we would rather have expected the N(m/f) pl. in *-es*.

*iru*: 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the verb *i-* “to dedicate”. This form corresponds to Gaulish *ieuru* or *ειωρον* (Delamarre 2003, 188-189) and Celtiberian

*irō* as attested for the inscription from Sasamón (K.14.1). Note that the latter form is used here for the plural *irus* (Gaulish *iouros*) as reconstructed for the inscription from Cerro dos Enforcados (J.22.1).

*arkuui*: D sg. in *-i* of the *o*-stems of the praenomen *Arkuu-*, which Koch (2013a, 58, 141, 145) in connection with a wrong reading of the first entry of Ameixial 2 (J.7.6) rightly identifies as “archer”, cf. Latin *arcus* < PIE *h<sub>2</sub>érk<sup>w</sup>o-* (Mallory/Adams 2007, 246).

*elnai*: D sg. in *-i* of the gentilicium *Elna-*.

*r*: shorthand variant of the preposition *ro* < *\*pro* (c. D) as attested for sure in the sequence *ro kolione ertaune* “being put on top on behalf of Kolionis” from an inscription from Siruela (J.55.1), with *ertaune* as the Southwest Iberian equivalent of Celtiberian *uertaunei* (Koch 2013a, 117), analyzed by Wolfgang Meid (1993, 37-38, 118-119) as a compound of PIE *\*uper* “over, above” and PIE *\*d<sup>h</sup>ē-* “to put” (cf. Fortson 2004, 71). Note that the legend in question is indeed added on top of an earlier one placed regularly within a band. In the present context the preposition *ro* expresses the meaning “because of”.

*keen*: shorthand variant of *keenii*, the D sg. in *-i* of *keen-* “people, gens” as attested for Mealha Nova 1 (J.18.1), but more likely to be used here for the expression of the meaning “birth”

*usnee*: D sg. in *-e* of the *i*-stems of the adjective *usn(i)-* “high”, which is related to Celtiberian *usama* (Οὔζαμα) < PIE *\*ups-* “high, above” (see Wodtko 2000, 463 ff.; cf. Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 1106-1107).

### (9) J.1.2 **Fonte Velha 3** (41 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 209-211; Koch 2010, 211-212; Koch 2011, 104-106.

Drawings: Schmoll 1961, 52, Nr. 13; cf. Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 97, No. 301; *MLH* IV, 211; Koch 2010, 212; Koch 2011, 106.

Description: rectangular stone stele incised with a band containing the inscription which runs from the lower right side in right-to-left direction of writing along the outer margins of the stone and continues with a line in the inner space up to the upper left side. Like in the case of Fonte Velha 6 (J.1.1.) the linguistic entities distinguished (1 and 2) do not run parallel with the outer and inner sections.

1. *ko-o-r-e-l-i po-o-i-a-tí-i ku-u-o-i*

2. *r-a-v-a-r-m-a-r tí-i-r-to-o-s-i-e-m-a-n-a-i ke-e-n-i*

1. “Who(ever) will make (a sacrifice) to Korelos”.

2. “Rawarmar(os) on behalf of the Tirdosiemana-people”.

#### *Comments*

This text consists of two sections: (1) an offering formula, and (2) the name of the dedicator and the tribal name on whose behalf he acted. In the first section, we come across the following elements:

*kooreli*: D sg. in *-i* of the *o*-stem of the MN *\*Koorelo-* “Korelos”. This name occurs in variant witing *Corali* in the G sg. of the *o*-stems (Correa 1989, 250, note 53), which confirms the nature of the thematic vowel; cf. also its Celtic patronymic equivalent *Corellius* (Evans 1967, 339).

*pooiatii*: 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. in *-ti* of the verb *po(ia)-* “to make, do”, which we also encountered frequently in the previously discussed texts.

*kuuoi*: N(m/f) sg. of the relative pronoun *kuuo-* or, as we traced it in the Alcalá del Río text (J.53.1), *ko(o)-* “who, what”, corresponding to archaic Latin *qoi* (< PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>o-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 644]) of the same function. Note also in this context the N-A(n) form *kotuu*, corresponding to Latin *quod*, as found at the outset of the text last mentioned.

Now, this offering formula smacks of its archaic Latin counterpart: *qoi med mitat* “who(ever) sends me”, as attested for the so-called Duenos vase. It urges people who visit the grave to make a proper offering.

The second section presents us with the endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *Ravamar*, of which the latter part bears testimony of the Gaulish onomastic element *-maros* “great” (Delamarre 2003, 218-219) < PIE *\*mōro-* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 704; Fortson 2004, 276). This is followed by the combination of the tribal name *Tīrtoosjemana-* and the variant *keen-* of regular *keent-* “people” which we also came across in the previously discussed inscription, both marked by the D sg. in *-i* of the *a*-stems and consonant stems, respectively. As it seems, then, Ravamar(os) acted in accordance with a decision by his own people, whose name, by the way, is based on a reflex of the PIE numeral *\*tri-* “3”, or, to be even more exact, against the backdrop of Greek τρίτος “third” < PIE *\*tṛt̥yo-* “third” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 1090-1091), an ordinal variant of it characterized by the additional morpheme *-to-* (cf. the Celtiberian onomastic element *tirta-*, *tirto-* or *tirtu-*, see Jordán 1998, index s.v.; Jordán 2004, 196). The morpheme *-mana-* at the end comes into consideration of a formans of tribal names; in any case it is, as we already observed in the above, also present in the formation *maremana-*, based on *mare-* “sea” < PIE *\*mori-* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 748), as encountered in Mealha Nova 1 (J.18.1).

#### (10) J.7.1 Vale dos Vermelhos 3 (28 signs)

Editions: *MLH* IV, 236-237; Koch 2010, 221.

Drawings: Schmoll 1961, 56, Nr. 25; cf. Harrison 1988, 143, Fig. 97, No. 308; *MLH* IV, 237; Koch 2010, 221.

Description: rectangular stone stele inscribed with an inscription starting at the lower right side and running in right-to-left direction of writing along the right and, somewhat roundish, along the left side of the stone.

1. *a-ś-t(e)-a-po-o-pí-i-r-n-a-i ke-e-n-a-i*
2. *a-ś-t(e)-a-n-a-po-o-l-o-n*

1. “On behalf of the Astapopirna-people”:
2. Astanapolon”.

*Comments*

This is a very basic text, which only presents us with (1) the name of the dedicator and (2) the tribal name of the people in accordance of whose decision he acted. The first element consists of the endingless N(m/f) sg. of the MN *Astanapoolon*, and the second, which precedes it, shows the tribal name *Astapoopírna-* in combination with the variant *keena-* of the shorthand version *keen-* we are already acquainted with thanks to its occurrence in the two previously discussed texts of regular *keent-* “people”, both characterized by the D sg. ending in *-i* of the *a*-stems.

On the basis of the close correspondence of the contents of this text with that of the second section in Fonte Velha 3 (J.1.2), it may reasonably be assumed that the nature of the present inscription is funerary, but this is not certain because, contrary to the latter text, no name of the deceased person is recorded.

**Section D: Classification of the language**

The following features are of importance for the classification of the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian language:

- (1) *akeertoo-* “headman” < PIE *\*a<sup>h</sup>ker-* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 20), bearing testimony of the velar reflex of PIE *\*k̑*.
- (2) *arateetunpiites, eromare(na)-*, of which the first element *ara-* or *ero-* originates from *\*para* “along” (< PIE *\*per-* [Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 812]), and the preposition *ro*, which originates from *\*pro*, and as such presents us with evidence for the typical Celtic loss of *p*-initial. It deserves our attention in this connection that initial *p-* is preserved in the verbal root *po(ia)-* “to make, do”, which, as we have noted, bears a striking resemblance to Greek ποιέω of the same meaning < PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei-* (Mallory/Adams 2007, 220), but the origin of this verbal root is unclear and the initial *p-* is not necessarily to be traced back to labiovelar *\*k<sup>w</sup>* like in the Greek case. In other instances, like *pou-* < *\*g<sup>w</sup>ou-* “ox”, which phonetically represents /bou-/, *piit-* in *teetunpiit-* which shows a reflex of the name of the river known from Greek as Βαῖτις, and *tóopiarit-*, which by metathesis of the first two consonants, corresponds to the Celtiberian TN *Botorríta*, *p* represents *b*.
- (3) The forms of the relative pronoun, N(m/f) sg. *kuuoi* or *kooi* “who” and N-A(n) sg. *kotuu* “what”, corresponding to Lation *qoi* > *qui* and *quod*, respectively, originate from PIE *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>o-* (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 644; cf. Beekes 1990, 247), and as such may be considered the hallmark of a *q*-Celtic dialect. Further relevant in this context is the praenomen *Arkuu-* “archer”, which, like Latin *arcus* “bow”, originates from PIE *\*h<sub>2</sub>érk<sup>w</sup>o-*. Note, however, that one inscription, namely the one from Barradas (J.5.1), is consistently conducted in *p*-Celtic as deducible from the vocabulary word *ipo-* “horse” < PIE *\*ékwō-* and the coordinative conjunction *-pe* “and” < PIE *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e*.

(4) The development of PIE  $*g^w > p$  as exemplified by *pou-* <  $*g^wou-$  “ox” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 482), is typical for Celtiberian as well, as it can be traced as a first element in *pouštom* “cow-shed” (Meid 1993, 106). But, what is more, because the proper phonetic reading of *pou-* in both these instances is no doubt /bou-/, this verdict applies to Celtic in general (see Delamarre 2003, 79, 80).

(5a) The origin of the noun *keent-* “people”, which also occurs in shorthand variants *keen-* and *keena-*, from PIE  $*ĝenh_1-$  “to procreate” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 373) enables us to argue for a velar reflex of the PIE palatal  $*ĝ$ . This particular case can be further underlined by the fact that the participle *rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiiś*, corresponding to Latin *regentis*, can be positively traced back to PIE  $*reĝ-$  “to direct, rule” (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 854-855; Delamarre 2003, 261). As a *tertium comparationis*, it may be pointed out that the Tartessian royal name Ἀργανθώντιος on the basis of sound arguments is explained in terms of a distorted reflex of the Celtic magistracy *argantodanos* “silver master, exchequer” (Koch 2010, 260; cf. Delamarre 2003, 54), from which it would follow that the word for silver in the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian language is the same as in Celtic (note that Delamarre 2003, 53 explicitly considers the word for silver *sub* Gaulish *argenton* as pan-Celtic, and that Celtiberian should be included here on the basis of *arkanta toutinikum* [magistracy corresponding to the aforesaid Gaulish *argantodanos* “silver-master, exchequer”] and *arkata* “silver”, see Meid 1996, 42 and Meid 2000, 13, respectively). As Celtic *argenton* and related forms originate from PIE  $*h_2(e)rĝ-$  “white” (Delamarre 2003, 53), this provides us with yet another case in which the PIE palatal  $*ĝ$  is rendered in Southwest Iberian or Tartessian by a velar.

(5b) The only exceptions to the, what appears to be, regular velar reflex of PIE  $*ĝ$  are formed by the word *rai-* “king” and the adjective *rino-* “queenly” < PIE  $*reĝ-$  “to direct, rule”, according to which the PIE palatal  $*ĝ$  has been dropped. But similar forms are traceable in Welsh *rhi* and Old Irish *rí* “king” < PIE  $*reĝ-$  (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 854-855; Delamarre 2003, 261), whereas Gaulish in this particular case in the main shows preservation of the velar as in the onomastic element *-rīx* or *-ρεῖξ* or *-ριξ* < PIE  $*reĝ-$ , but note its dropping in the variant *-ris* (Delamarre 2003, 260-261). Against the backdrop of these comparative data we may well be dealing here with late Gaulish loans. Alternatively, this evidence may be indicative of a tendency for the voiced velar to be dropped as further exemplified, for example, by TNs in *-bria* alongside those in *-briga* (< PIE  $*bh_1ĝh(i)-$  “high”).

(6) *m/b*-interchange is evidenced by the correspondence between Celtiberian *řatubař* and *katubaře* to the Celtic MNs *Ratumāros* and *Catumāros* (Koch 2011, 57). Therefore, it is very well possible that the oldest letter for *m* in form of a vertical zigzag at a certain point in time became pronounced as *b*, but, as we do not know exactly when, it is, at least in my opinion, safest to provisionally stick to the nasal transliteration of this sign – until the time someone can prove beyond a shadow of a doubt when and where the development of nasal *m* to labial *b* had taken place.

## Section E: Overview of vocabulary based on a PIE root

In the preceding pages, while discussing a selection of Southwest Iberian or Tartessian inscriptions, we have noted words based on the following Proto-Indo-European roots, featuring in the relevant sources (Pokorny 1959 or 1994, Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995, Fortson 2004, Mallory/Adams 2007), be it sometimes in slightly adapted form:

Proto-Indo-European	Southwest Iberian
* <i>ak̑er-</i> “high, sharp”	<i>akeertoo-</i> “headman”
* <i>ar(y)o-</i> “noble, free”	<i>airi-</i> “free citizen”
* <i>at(a)-</i> “re-”	<i>ata-</i> “re-”
* <i>b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-</i> “to bind”	<i>be<sup>n</sup>tasiioon-</i> (GN)
* <i>diyēw-</i> “sky-god”	<i>teur-</i> “divine”
* <i>e-, ei-, i-</i> “the, he”	<i>a-, e-</i> “the, he”
* <i>ek̑wo-</i> “horse”	<i>ipoo-</i> “horse” ( <i>p</i> -Celtic)
* <i>eti</i> “and; also”	<i>-taa-, -tee</i> “and”
* <i>ġen<sub>h</sub>1-</i> “to procreate”	<i>keent-, keen(a)-</i> “people”
* <i>g<sup>w</sup>ou-</i> “ox”	<i>pou-</i> “ox”
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>ner-</i> “strength”	(1) <i>anor-, anir-</i> “man” <sup>6</sup> ; (2) <i>Nerii, *(Ata)nerti-</i>
* <i>h<sub>2</sub>(e)rg̑-</i> “white”	<i>Ἀργανθώνιος</i> (MN)
* <i>h<sub>a</sub>érk<sup>w</sup>o-</i> “bow”	<i>Arkuu-</i> “archer” ( <i>q</i> -Celtic)
* <i>-k<sup>w</sup>e</i> “and”	<i>-pe</i> “and” ( <i>p</i> -Celtic)
* <i>k<sup>w</sup>e-, k<sup>w</sup>o-</i> “who, what”	<i>kuuoi/kooi</i> “who”, <i>kotuu</i> “what”
	( <i>q</i> -Celtic)
* <i>l(e)ug<sup>h</sup>-</i> “to bind”	<i>lokoo-</i> (onomastic element)
* <i>mori-</i> “sea”	<i>mare-</i> “sea”
* <i>mōro-</i> “great”	<i>-mar-</i> (onomastic element)
* <i>per-</i> “along”	<i>ara-, ero-</i> “along”
* <i>p<sup>r</sup>tu-</i> “ford, river-crossing”	<i>rit-</i> (toponymic element)
* <i>reġ-</i> “to direct, rule”	(1) <i>rekaa<sup>n</sup>tiiś</i> (G sg. part.) <sup>7</sup>
	(2) <i>rai-</i> “king”, <i>rino-</i> “queenly”
* <i>t(e)-, ti-</i> “at”	<i>tī-</i> “at” <sup>8</sup>
* <i>t<sup>r</sup>tīyo-</i> “third”	<i>tīirtoos-</i> (onomastic element)
* <i>ups-</i> “high”	<i>uśn(i)-</i> “high, noble”

<sup>6</sup> As noted in the above, distinction should be made in connection with the reflexes of this PIE root between vocabulary words and onomastic elements.

<sup>7</sup> Note that alongside evidence for preservation of palatal \*ġ as a voiced velar there is also evidence for its incidental loss.

<sup>8</sup> Related to Anatolian *tī-* as in Kültepe-Kanesh *tī-Smurna* “at Smyrna” and Lydian *tī-Sardi<sub>1</sub>* “at Sardis” on the one hand and Dutch *t(e)-* as in *t(e)huis* “at home” and *thans < te-hants* “directly, now (lit.: at hand)”, and ultimately derived from PIE \**de-* “at” with reflexes in Celtic, see Pokorny 1959 or 1994, 181-182.

It may be a somewhat redundant observation, after our classification of the Southwest Iberian or Tartessian language as Celtic, that, like the latter, it definitely belongs to the Indo-European group of languages. But this has been doubted for so long that it is almost impossible to bring about an overkill of the evidence in the matter.

NOUN			
	sg.		pl.
N	—		-i, -es
A	-n		
D	-i, -e(i)		-po
G	-s		
PRONOUN			
	sg.		pl.
N(m/f)	<i>koi, kuoi</i>		
A	<i>ista</i>		
N-A(n)	<i>kotu</i>		
D	<i>ile, ai, e</i>		<i>epo</i>
G			
VERB			
		active	middle-passive
pres/fut.	3rd pers. sg.	<i>poti, poiati</i>	
	3rd pers. pl.		
past tense	3rd pers. sg.	<i>iru</i>	
	3rd pers. pl.	<i>poi<sup>nt</sup>, poir; ir&lt;u&gt;s</i>	<i>po<sup>nto</sup></i>
participle		<i>reka<sup>nt</sup>-</i>	

Table I: Overview of the evidence for (pro)nominal declension and verbal conjugation.

Examples of nominal declension

N sg.: *ana* (a-stem), *acerto* (o-stem), *anor* (*anira*), *Astánapolon*, *kena*, *Numat*, *Ravarmar* (c-stems)

A sg.: *m<sup>n</sup>uteman* (a-stem), *sol-an*

D sg.: *Altusielnai*, *Astapopirnai*, *Elnai*, *eromarenai*, *Lokonanenai*, *maremanai*, *Tirtosiemanai* (a-stems), *Airikalte*, *Atanerte*, *eromareí*, *eromare*, *Kalte*, *Romate*, *uśne* (i-stems), *Arkui*, *Koreli*, *latiui* (o-stem), *arune*, *Be<sup>n</sup>tasioni*, *ken(a)i/kenti*, *Marti*, *Topiarite* (c-stems)

G sg.: *arkas* (a-stem), *reka<sup>n</sup>tiś* (c-stem)

N pl.: *Betisai* (a-stem), *inkolo<sup>i</sup>*, *ipoi*, *Libiani*, *Marenti*, *Sapoi*, *Vartoi* (o-stems), *Aratetunpites* (c-stem)

D pl.: *Lokopo*, *Nirapo* (c-stems)

Distinction of the various endings and stems in accordance with Delamarre (2003, 342-346). For a handy overview of the Celtiberian nominal declension, see Jordán Cólera (1998, 33-34), and note that with respect to the A(m/f) sg. Southwest Iberian, with *-n*, is more closely related to Gaulish than Celtiberian, which applies *-m* for the same function. The same holds true for the D pl. in *-po*, which is closer to Gaulish *-bo* than Celtiberian *-bos*.

As far as verbal conjugation is concerned, Jordán Cólera 1998, 88-89 presents ample evidence for the fact that, like in Southwest Iberian, the 3rd pers. sg. of the pres./fut. is marked in Celtiberian as well by the primary ending in *-ti* (*ampi-tiśeti*, *aśekati*, *auseti*, *capiseti*, *cuati*, *ropiśeti*, *uersoniti*), whereas the pl. counterpart, of which we so far lack evidence in Southwest Iberian, conform Jordán 1998, 91 in the latter language is represented by the expected primary ending in *-nti* (*pionti*, *sisonti*), which also applies to Gaulish *dugiionti* “they venerate” (Meid 2010, 21; cf. Delamarre 2003, 337: Alise-Saint-Reine, L-13). Of the secondary endings in *-t* and *-nt* for the 3rd pers. sg. and pl. of the past tense, evidence for the first in our view is still lacking in Southwest Iberian, but traceable in Celtiberian in form of *sistat* “he has placed” as recorded for the inscription from Peñalba de Villastar (K.3.3; see Meid 1994, 36; 1996, 15-16, 18; Jordán Cólera 2004, 148), whereas the first, again, is abundantly represented in Gaulish (*αυουωτ*, *auuot* “he has made”, Delamarre 2003, 331-332: Alise-Saint-Reine, G-257, Caudebec, L-22, and Saint-Germain-Sources-Seine, G-271; *legasit* “he has offered”, Delamarre 2003, 336, Séraucourt, L-79; *neat* “he has deposited”, Delamarre 2003, 331: Argenton-sur-Creuse, L-78; etc.) and the second turns up at least once here (*senant* “they have accomplished”, see Delamarre 2003, 335: Paris L-14). Comparative evidence for the 3rd pers. pl. of the past tense of the middle-passive in *-nto* in Southwest Iberian from Celtiberian as produced by Jordán Cólera 1998, 91-92, in form of *ausanto* (K.1.3, 01) and *eśianto* (K.0.14

or *íes*-bronze), can in the latter case now be positively confirmed (see Woudhuizen 2015). Furthermore, it deserves our attention that the 3rd pers. sg. of the past tense of the verb *i-* “to dedicate”, *iru*, and its 3rd pers. pl. counterpart *ir<u>s* have irreproachable counterparts in Gaulish *ieuru* or εΙΟΥΡΩ and *iourus*, respectively, whereas the first mentioned form though used for the expression of the plural is represented by *íro* in a Celtiberian inscription from Sasamón (K.14.1). Finally, participles in *-nt-* are, to the best of my knowledge, as yet not recorded for Celtiberian and Gaulish.

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## REVIEW

Beresford, J., *The Ancient Sailing Season* (series: Mnemosyne Supplements. History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity, vol. 351), Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013. Pp. xv, 364. ISBN 9789004223523; E-ISBN: 9789004241947. Price € 131.00/\$182.00

In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod, a confessed landlubber (though both his father and brother were seafarers), warns his brother Perses to sail, at the end of October:

εἰ δέ σε ναυτιλῆς δυσπεμφέλου ἴμερος αἰρεῖ·  
 εὖτ' ἂν Πληιάδες σθένος ὄβριμιον Ὠρίωνος  
 φεύγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον,  
 δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θύιουσιν ἄηται·  
 καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆας ἔχειν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,  
 γῆν δ' ἐργάζεσθαι μεμνημένος ὧς σε κελεύω.  
 νῆα δ' ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσαι πυκάσαι τε λίθοισιν  
 πάντοθεν, ὄφρ' ἴσχωσ' ἀνέμων μένος ὕγρον ἀέντων,  
 χεῖμαρον ἐξερύσας, ἵνα μὴ πύθη Διὸς ὄμβρος.  
 ὄπλα δ' ἐπάρμενα πάντα τεῶ ἐγκάθεο οἴκῳ,  
 εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο·

(“Haul up your ship upon the land and pack it closely with stones all round to keep off the power of the winds which blow damply, and draw out the bilge-plug so that the rain of heaven may not rot it. Put away all the tackle (χείμαρος) and fittings in your house, and stow the sails of the seagoing ship neatly, and hang up the well-shaped rudder over the smoke”: Hes. *Op.* 618-628). Somewhat further, in line 660, Hesiod confesses, telling he crossed from Boeotia to Euboeia:

τόσσόν τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμφων·

“Such is all my experience of many-pegged ships (νηῶν...πολυγόμφων)”. In between these fragments Hesiod warns Perses against the dangers of maritime trade generally and going out at sea in person specifically. He gives advice for the right time to go out at sea (around fifty days after the solstice, sc. from the end of June to about the end of August: Hes. *Op.* 663), because then the winds are steady and the wind is harmless (Hes. *Op.* 670). There are people who go out in spring, he says (Hes. *Op.* 681-683), but:

ἀρπακτός· χαλεπῶς κε φύγοις κακόν· ...

“such a sailing is snatched, and you will hardly avoid mischief” (Hes. *Op.* 684).

Many have believed (and some still do, I fear) that such were, largely, the guidelines most ancient mariners acted upon, sometimes widening the time frame from April through November. Until only a few decades ago, many scholars were convinced there really was a “good season” to sail as well as, necessarily, a “bad season” or even a “closed season”: of this Beresford presents (p. 3) a fine example from Rougé, J. 1981: *Ships and Fleets of the Ancient Mediterranean*, Middletown, CT, 15-16. Even McCormick, M. 2001: *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge, 461, still argued that early mediaeval mariners were more likely to put onto winter seas than their Greek and Roman predecessors. Yet, about the same time this traditional picture was seriously attacked. First Morton, J. 2001: *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*, Leiden/Boston and next Arnaud, P. 2005: *Les routes de la navigation antique: itinéraires en Méditerranée*, Paris, convincingly argued that, in fact, navigation also took place in winter, largely thanks to (enhanced) capabilities of many ships (not all ships! and by no means at all costs). In the book under scrutiny Beresford (p. 6) largely comes to the same conclusion: “[W]intertime seafaring on the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean was not only possible but was commonplace and large numbers of vessels and mariners routinely made voyages onto what has, for too long, been regarded as a ‘closed sea’”.

Beresford explores his subject in six chapters, excluding the introduction (“The State of Modern Scholarship”: 1-7) and the conclusion. In chapter one (“The Textual Evidence”: 9-52), Beresford considers the ancient texts relating to seafaring, starting with, indeed, Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, notably Vegetius’ *Epitome rei militaris* (an important text for the believers in a closed season, written at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries AD), and an edict issued by Emperor Gratian in AD 380 and preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*. The latter text is directed at shipping state-owned supplies from Africa. Beresford argues that, reading these texts superficially, one might be justified to support the traditional view. Perhaps, however, this view might be understandable for the Archaic and even the early Classical periods in the Mediterranean, but, amongst others, the evolution of ships and regional variations are neglected in it. “[T]hat the sailing season remained virtually unchanged across the broad span of antiquity ... appears unrealistic given such important technological, economic, political and military developments, ...” (Beresford, 13). An apt and important observation, moreover one supported by relatively vast documentary evidence.

Chapter two (53-105) discusses “The Mediterranean Climatic Regime”. As weather and seas are essential to understand (Graeco-Roman) seafaring, Beresford pays much attention to phenomena like winds, currents, visibility, and the many various other meteorological variations (one might say the various Mediterranean microclimates), notably those occurring in winter. To do this, he relies to a large extent on the five volumes that comprise the currently most

recent *Mediterranean Pilot* (1978-2000, Taunton, various editions), issued by the British Admiralty, and the many specialist charts these contain. It is a fundamentally sound choice, as are the other Admiralty sources he uses.

Next Beresford turns, in chapter three (107-172), to “Ships and Sails”. In fact, this is an essential chapter, in which Beresford adduces much evidence, both from experimental archaeological experiments (the Kyrenia II ship and the reconstruction of the Athenian trireme, the “Olympias”) and from literature. Especially as regards the later element I was somewhat disappointed, because on this point this volume shows some significant lacunae (even more because Beresford almost exclusively uses works written in English). Even so, references to papers from an essential book as Hocker, F.A./C.A. Ward (eds.) 2004: *The Philosophy of Shipbuilding – Conceptual Approaches to the Study of Wooden Ships*, College Station, TX [series: Ed Rachal Foundation Nautical Archaeology Series] are lacking, just like recent works on (Archaic Greek) sewn plank ships (e.g. the fundamental Kahanov, Y./P. Pomey 2004: The Greek Sewn Shipbuilding Tradition and Ma’agan Mikhael ship: A Comparison with Mediterranean Parallels from the Sixth to the Fourth Centuries BC, *The Mariner’s Mirror* 90, 6-28). Also the absence of Basch, L. 1987: *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, Athènes, though in several respects perhaps outdated but still important, is to be regretted, just like that of works in German or French (e.g. from the journal *Archaeonautica* a still important paper like Pomey, P./A. Tchernia 1978: Le tonnage maximum des navires de commerce romains, *Archaeonautica* 2, 233-251, [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/nauti\\_0154-1854\\_1978\\_num\\_2\\_1\\_875](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/nauti_0154-1854_1978_num_2_1_875)). It might, perhaps, be argued that Beresford’s book is about the sailing season and not about ships, but exactly because the evolution of ships is at the heart of his working thesis such omissions are vital: he weakens his argument needlessly.

After these first three chapters, the following (chapter four, 173-212, “Navigation”) is, in fact plain sailing. Beresford amply demonstrates that the ancient mariners had access to sufficient means to navigate accurately in almost all weather conditions, certainly if they more or less kept to the coastlines and/or chose the right period to sail a particular route. Chapter five (213-235), “The Sailing Season of the Indian Ocean” and chapter six (237-264) “Ancient Pirates and Fishermen” (to some extent perhaps ‘bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble’) are, more or less, a (tasty) dessert. Very good reading, but not essential for our understanding of the ancient Greek and Roman sailing seasons – especially the long time suggested period of the *mare clausum*.

In the “Conclusion” (265-275), Beresford resumes his theory. Though the Mediterranean may, potentially, be a perilous environment for the mariner, it did not keep the ancient mariners from sailing on it. Looking uncritically at ancient seasonal seafaring calendars, we might be tempted to believe in a, more or less official, period of ‘closed season’ for seafaring. However: “For most of the lit-

erate elites of antiquity, as indeed for the majority of the land-based population of the Graeco-Roman world, the sea was an element both alien and dangerous” (Beresford, 266), those who navigated it were “viewed with suspicion and regarded as socially and morally suspect” (*ibidem*). Nevertheless, societies relied – more or less – on these same men to provide for necessities of life, though in fact basically ignorant of how they managed to do so. The mariners themselves relied both on their navigational skills and the strength and seaworthiness of their ships. Notably during the Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods a huge evolution in shipbuilding took place, largely overlooked by the literate elites that continued to adhere to, by then, already completely obsolete views.

As indicated above, notably regarding chapter three, I am not completely happy with Beresford’s work. That is not because I do not believe in his theory: on the contrary! I think that Beresford weakens an altogether feasible theory by applying insufficient ribs (though they are available) to make his ship as sturdy and seaworthy as possible (to try a marine-oriented metaphor). The evolution of shipbuilding is, indeed, an attractive (and, I think, realistic) concept, as is the evolution of seafaring in total. Like it is not today, seafaring was also no static occupation before the invention of the compass and, e.g., the journeys of exploration in the 15th and 16th centuries AD: those men stood, indeed, on the shoulders of giants. Beresford describes their efforts lucidly and entertainingly. As usual in Brill’s editions, the book is well taken care of, with good maps and pictures, a large though (as already indicated) regrettably incomplete bibliography, and a sufficient index. Equally usual in a Brill’s edition is that its price might, regrettably, well be forbidding for the interested reader. I find that a pity: this work deserves the widest possible audience.

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## REVIEW

Binsbergen, Wim M.J. van 2012: Before the Presocratics. Cyclicity, Transformation, and Element Cosmology: The Case of Transcontinental Pre- or protohistoric Cosmological Substrates linking Africa, Eurasia and North America; special issue of *QUEST: An African Journal of Philosophy/Revue Africaine de Philosophie*, Vol. 23-24, No. 1-2, 2009-2010, Haarlem: Shikanda, ISBN/EAN 978-90-78382-15-7; 398 pp, 58 figures, 17 tables, bibliography, index of authors. Price 80 EURO.

This publication, a special issue of *QUEST* in honour of the 65th birthday of the author, is without doubt based on a set of very controversial ideas. The author, Wim M.J. van Binsbergen (henceforth B), in a postscript, delivered with the review volume, himself already acknowledges that he expects a dismissive reception of the book in most scholarly circles. Unluckily, as the reviewer established after a quick search on the internet, there hardly are any reviews available at all on this book. That is to be regretted, because in spite of the controversial contents of this volume, it deserves a serious review. B, who is well known for his anti-Eurocentric and (however critical) Afrocentric worldview, tries in this publication to trace the evolution of thought from the Upper Palaeolithic onwards. He denies the originality of western philosophy, especially the system of Presocratics like Empedocles of four elements as immutable and irreducible parallel components of reality.

B claims that we can reconstruct modes of thought of the remote past predicated on the fundamental unity of Palaeolithic Anatomically Modern Humans (AMH). The rise of philosophy in Ancient Greece was an aberration of an ancient and widespread cosmological model, which was developed in Eurasia, Africa, and N. America from the Upper Palaeolithic onwards (9-10). Two alternatives (“working hypotheses”) are presented. Firstly, that a transformative cycle of elements could have been originated only from the West Asian Bronze Age or secondly, that its transcontinental transmission may be even more recent. B. tries to prove his points with two case studies, sc. case 1 (Chapter 2) “The pre- and protohistory of mankala board-games and geomantic divination” and case 2 (Chapter 3) “The puzzling clan system of the Nkoya people of South Central Africa: A triadic, catalytic transformation cycle of elements in disguise?”, in which B compares their cosmology of six basic dimensions with the East Asian *yì jīng* elements and the

five elements of Taoism. This transformative cycle of elements could possibly be dated to Upper Palaeolithic.

The remaining chapters are concerned with “Long-range, transcontinental manifestations of a transformation cycle of elements” (Chapter 4), “The Presocratics in Western Eurasia: Four immutable elemental categories as the norm throughout Western Eurasia for the last two millennia” (Chapter 5), “Exploring the long-range pre- and protohistory of element cosmologies: Steps in the unfolding of human thought faculties” (Chapter 6), “*Yi Jing* and West Asia: A partial vindication of Terrien de Lacouperie” (Chapter 7), “Further discussion of transcontinental relationships with a view of assessing our overall Working Hypothesis” (Chapter 8) and “Conclusions: Diachronic varieties of the transformation cycle of elements and their global distribution” (Chapter 9). A large bibliography and an index of authors cited conclude this publication.

The best part of the book are the two case studies in which B shows his excellent expertise in sub-Sahara Africa. Some further remarks of B are very interesting, for instance regarding Shamanism in early Greek poetry (111), which can also be found in the very early fragments of the Arimaspea of Aristeeus of Proconessus. However, the rest of this very interesting and provocative book is unluckily hampered by the fact that B, although a well-known and respected anthropologist, is not a specialist in all the fields presented in this study (a fact that he himself acknowledges on p. 20). His lack of knowledge in archaeology, palaeontology, and climate science painfully surfaces on several places. For instance, his claim that south-eastern Europe in the Bronze Age was an economic and cultural backwater (175) is contradicted by the fact that the earliest recovered metallurgy in the world was practised at the site of Varna, already in the preceding Chalcolithic period and exactly in this region.

In several chapters, B adduces Upper Palaeolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Age direct transatlantic contacts between Africa and North/South America (100, note 59; 142; 267-268; 274; and 292), for which there is no archaeological evidence at all and which is mostly based on the popular ideas of Thor Heyerdahl (225) and other more or less controversial authors like John Sorenson and Carl Johannessen, all of them authors who do not take into account that if something is possible in principle, this alone does not mean that it did happen in reality. To prove that something really happened requires sound historical or archaeological, but at least scientific evidence, like a possible contact between Eurasia and America in the Upper Palaeolithic (Hamilton/Buchanan 2010, 8). Achilles was never a sea god in the Black Sea area (153), but was a god of the Milesian Greek colonists in this area taken from their home city. The Neolithic period did not start in 14 ka BP (183) but 4000 years later. Regarding the flood myths all over the world, these probably originated from distant memories of climatic changes in the Pleistocene and have nothing to do with the proto-elements of water, land, heaven, and earth (182). The Bronze Age is treated as one unchanging period (232),

disregarding the subdivision of this period with its many cultural changes and migrations. The megalithic structures in Europe from the Neolithic age have nothing to do with those in the Iron Age, which are separated by a period of thousands of years and had a completely different function (264). Symbolic thinking was probably not an invention of the Anatomically Modern Humans from the Upper Palaeolithic, but can already be traced back to the Neanderthals from the Middle Palaeolithic (Neves/Serra 2012, 8). Some more ideas of B are hardly supported by any evidence, for instance the existence of Black Africans in the West Asian Bronze age (232), a connection between the Black Sea and Africa in the Neolithic period (247), and the connection of Basque with Chinese.

Moreover, accusations of racism in early 20th century publications, like the title of the periodical *Ex Oriente Lux* (175), are a little bit farfetched. Disturbing is the fact that not all subjects treated in the introduction found their way, in some form or another, in the conclusion. Finally, the reviewer has the impression that B sometimes uses a lot of outdated literature, moreover sometimes very controversial at that. It may seem that all these remarks indicate an extremely negative opinion of this book. However, its central thesis is sufficiently interesting to deserve to be further developed, but equally deserves a (much) better archaeological and historical foundation. Maybe B should, to that end, collaborate with specialists in specific fields, like in his earlier collaboration with F. Woudhuizen (Binsbergen/Woudhuizen 2011).

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## REVIEW

Helena Bodin and Ragnar Hedlund (eds.) 2013: *Byzantine Gardens and Beyond* (series: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 13), Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 256 pp. ISBN 9789155486273. SEK 289.00.

What immediately strikes one upon opening this book are the many beautiful full colour illustrations accompanying each of the nine papers. Seven of these papers were presented in 2011 at a symposium organised by the Nordic Byzantine Network, with the Swedish Collegium of Advanced Studies situated in the Botanical Garden of Uppsala providing an appropriate venue. Just as the symposium, the volume aims to bring together different perspectives on Byzantine garden culture, taking Byzantium as a starting point for discussing a wide range of topics from different disciplines, languages, and periods. With papers from Byzantine Studies, Archaeology, Landscape Architecture, and Literary Studies, using sources in Greek, Slavic, Arabic, and Swedish languages, a multifaceted image is presented of the Byzantine garden and its significance beyond the temporal and geographical boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. It is for the first time that the Byzantine garden is studied in such an extensive and varied way.

Ingela Nilsson (Uppsala University) opens her paper “Nature Controlled by Artistry: the Poetics of the Garden in Byzantium” with the violation of a garden and all that it symbolises. In his account of the capture of Thessalonike by the Normans (1185) Eustathios, at the time archbishop of Thessalonike, describes how the Latins destroy his garden, the full impact of which can only be understood if one takes into account the cultural value of gardens in Byzantium. By means of a number of Byzantine texts, Nilsson explores this cultural value of the garden with its associations of peace, harmony, and eroticism, and introduces motifs that recur in other papers in the volume. The next paper, too, can be regarded as presenting a backdrop for the other articles: Antony Littlewood (University of Western Ontario) brings together an impressive amount of literary, archaeological, and visual sources so as to paint a vivid picture of virtually every aspect of Byzantine garden culture, demonstrating what we know – and do not know – about gardens and gardening in Byzantium. With its extensive bibliographical references, this paper provides a convenient introduction to Byzantine garden culture. In “A Homeric Garden in Tenth-Century Constantinople: John

Geometres' Rhetorical Ekphraseis of his Estate" Kristoffel Demoen (Ghent University) takes the reader to the literary world of tenth-century Byzantium. Demoen reads two letters by Geometres on his garden against the background of ancient literature and rhetorical instructions, both of which were of great importance for Byzantine literature of the time. Demoen's interpretation focuses on the references to classical literature and the way Geometres refers to and foregrounds himself as an author. He demonstrates how Geometres alludes to various works of ancient literature, with a central role reserved for the gardens found in Homeric epic, and draws an analogy between gardening and writing, between the pleasure of the garden and the verbal pleasure of his own rhetoric.

The next four papers move from real gardens and gardens in secular literature to the symbolic and metaphorical meaning of gardens in religious contexts. Helena Bodin (Stockholm University) examines the complex functions and ambiguous meanings of the garden of the Theotokos in Byzantine hymnography: the garden of the Theotokos is presented as a fulfilment of its old testament *typos*, the Paradise of Genesis; used as a metaphor and metonymy; and associated with the literary *topos* of the *locus amoenus* and the literary motif of the garden as a place of love-making. In a hymn one or more of these literary devices can be at work at the same time, always paradoxically playing with the enclosed garden's possibility of being opened. Staying within the realm of Byzantine orthodoxy, Jørgen Bakke (University of Bergen) explores the role of gardens as visualizations of spiritual objects of devotion in his paper "The Vanished Gardens of Byzantium: Gardening, Visual Culture, and Devotion in the Byzantine Orthodox Tradition". Bakke starts from the assumption that 'devotional gardening' can be considered to be analogous to venerating icons and proposes studying Christian visual and verbal images of enclosed gardens not, or not only, as physical gardens of the terrestrial world but as recollections of the prototype of a garden, the spiritual garden of Paradise. The paper "Guarding and Gardening: Syria from Byzantine to Islamic Rule" by Olof Heilo (University of Vienna) moves from Christian to Muslim Gardens of Paradise, seeking their Byzantine roots. Heilo explores how the Umayyads after conquering former Byzantine provinces strove to legitimate their rule by depicting themselves as warriors and keepers of peace, as gardeners of the terrestrial Paradise in Syria, while at the same time searching for a religious legitimation of their power. Per-Arne Bodin's (Stockholm University) paper, too, takes the reader beyond Byzantium, focusing on the garden as a *topos* in Russian Medieval Culture. The paper focuses on two texts, a letter by the Novgorodian archbishop Vasilii and "The Story of Two Monks from Novgorod", both of which describe Paradise as a terrestrial garden and provide it with a geographical dimension. Connecting this image of Paradise with the idea of a church interior as a garden and with Russian icons featuring gardens, Bodin concludes that the garden plays a role in the complex and ambiguous Russian discourse on the relationship between heaven and earth. Its ontological status, with Paradise both existing and not, being real and symbolic at the

same time, has much in common with the status of icons. A similar parallel between gardens and icons was proposed by Jørgen Bakke, which is indicative of the volume's coherence.

The final two papers return to Littlewood's tangible Byzantine garden and address the physical and practical reception of Byzantine plants and plant names in Western Europe. In "Beyond Byzantium: Swedish Medieval Herbalism and Plant Names" Inger Larsson (Stockholm University) traces foreign influences on Swedish herbalism. After identifying various ninth-century sources from a monastic context, Larsson admits that the next step back to the Byzantine and late antique sources is a difficult one. It is, however, likely that much classical knowledge had been transmitted and amplified with contemporary knowledge by the Byzantines. In the second part of the paper Larsson traces many Swedish plant names back to their Latin and Greek roots, attributing to Byzantine authors, compilers and translators the role of mediators in the process of conveying this classical knowledge from the South to the North. Kjell Lundquist (Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Alnarp) discusses "White and Red Lilies from Constantinople", exploring how 'Byzantine' the "Lilium album Byzantinum" and "Lilium rubrum Byzantinum" actually were, both of which were popular in late sixteenth-century Western Europe. Lundquist traces the real and symbolic presence of lilies in Byzantium, only to conclude that the sixteenth-century label 'Byzantine' served first of all as a trademark, referring to the place where the flower had been discovered and purchased.

Taken together, these nine papers present a (literally) colourful and vivid image of real, literary, and symbolic Byzantine gardens, while at the same time addressing their physical and conceptual reception at various times and places. Despite the wide variety of topics there is a considerable amount of coherence, not in the least due to Littlewood's programmatic paper. This coherence is manifest not only in recurrent themes but also in recurrent bibliographical references, which are therefore presented in one collective bibliography. As such the volume is not only a valuable contribution to the fields of, among others, Byzantine history and garden history, but also a pleasure to read.

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## REVIEW

Stone, Shelley C.: *The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery* (series: Morgantina Studies, Vol. VI), Princeton, NJ, 2014, text and catalogue xxxvi, 485 pages, 143 plates. ISBN 9780691156729. Price \$ 175.

Shelley Stone's *The Hellenistic and Roman Fine Pottery* is an impressive piece of work, providing a highly detailed overview of Hellenistic and Roman fine ware attested at the Sicilian site of Morgantina. S.'s presentation of the material, derived from 42 deposits and contexts and datable from the late 4th century BC to the 1st century AD, is comprehensive and richly illustrated. This fine new book in the Morgantina Studies series represents the definite presentation of the Hellenistic and Roman fineware of Morgantina and will substantially increase our understanding of inland Sicilian pottery production and consumption during this time frame.

The sizeable volume contains seven chapters; I: History and Archaeology of Morgantina, II: The Later 4th and 3rd centuries BC, III: Republican Morgantina: Black- and Red-Gloss Wares after 211 BC to ca. 35-25 BC, IV: Imported Early Italian Sigillata and South Italian Regional Sigillatas, V: Pottery with Moldmade Decoration, VI: Thin-Walled Pottery, VII: Catalogue. Additionally, four appendices are included, respectively detailing the evidence for pottery manufacture at Morgantina, the provenance of the site's ceramics, a comparison of Morgantina's Hellenistic pottery with that of tomb material from Lipari, and finally the Morgantina silver treasure. Each chapter is subdivided into a number of sections, which logically follow one another and together discuss the chronological, morphological, and typological development of Hellenistic and Roman fineware attested at Morgantina. After an introduction to the history and archaeology of Morgantina, the order of chapters II to IV is primarily chronological and the discussion of the attested fineware moves from the late 4th century BC to the first half of the 1st century AD. Chapters V and VI do not adhere to this chronological ordering and are stand-alone discussions of specifically defined categories of material; pottery with mould-made decoration and thin-walled pottery. Finally, chapter VII, presents the pottery catalogue. Entries are organized per ware group; e.g. black-gloss ware, Campana C, red-gloss pottery or early Italian terra sigillata. All chapters are headed by an introductory section in which the material under discussion is framed within a wider context (relevant deposits/contexts from

Morgantina and Sicily containing examples of the ceramic category under discussion are briefly discussed) and general developments and trends are surveyed. These sections are extremely valuable for the reader by providing a more general overview of how the ceramic material attested at Morgantina fits local, regional, and cross-regional trajectories of ceramic distribution. Equally, before the typological and chronological discussion of individual shapes each specific ware or material category (e.g. chapter III, section 3, Campana C Black-Gloss pottery, or chapter V, section 2, Medallion Wares) is introduced, and developments both specific to Morgantina and the wider region are summarized. Taken together these sections form the most interpretative part of the book (a point to which I will return later) and will be of most use to those students and scholars interested in the general development of ceramic production and consumption at Morgantina.

Of great importance to the work of S., is the decision to include in one volume both the Hellenistic and Roman fineware corpus. By not giving in to the specialist tendency for subdivision, S. is able to present a truly diachronic overview of fineware distribution at Morgantina from the late 4th century BC to the 1st century AD. The recent publication of the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial fineware of Knidos, published by Patrica Kögler (2010), has opted for a similar diachronic approach and also reaped the benefits of this by being able to compare and contrast ceramic developments between traditionally established and often artificially separated timeframes. S.'s decision to include both Hellenistic and Roman pottery in a single volume has greatly enhanced the explanatory power of her work making it of interest not only to ceramic specialists but also the wider scholarly community engaged in the Hellenistic and Roman epochs. She is, for example, able to point to potential dietary differences visible within 3rd century BC and Republican material and a continuation of ceramic traditions of the 3rd century BC next to the Campana C repertoire that was inspired by the Italian mainland.

Chapter I, History and Archaeology of Morgantina, is divided into four sections. These sections sketch the history of Morgantina, introduce the pottery deposits and contexts utilised, and discuss the dominant fineware fabrics attested at the site. Section one sets out the methodology of S.'s approach and establishes how the catalogue is build up. The terminology utilised is discussed and the differences between archaeological deposits and contexts employed by the author discussed. We learn that this book, together with an upcoming volume on the utilitarian pottery of Morgantina, publishes around 75% of the inventoried ceramics. Sadly no statistics are given about how this corpus of material relates to the total quantity of pottery retrieved from the site. Importantly, however, it is mentioned that certain classes of material, e.g. vases with molded decoration, are overrepresented in the catalogue. As with most pottery catalogues, one therefore needs to be careful in taking the presented data at face value, as being representative of actual ancient patterns of distribution, consumption and discard. S. is right to point this out to the reader but could have perhaps made clearer (if such

data are available) the relationship between the corpus of material presented and that retrieved from the archaeological record.

The history of Morgantina is very thoroughly discussed in section two of chapter I, dealing primarily with the archaeological evidence for occupation at Morgantina from *ca.* 340 BC to *ca.* 50 AD. S. focusses on three phases within the city's occupational history. The second half of the 4th century and the 3rd century BC are defined as the Hellenistic phase of Morgantina. The 2nd and 1st centuries BC are labelled the Republican phase, and the last quarter of the 1st century AD the Roman Imperial phase. This history section is of interest to the ceramic enthusiast not only for the wider context it provides but also because S. takes the opportunity to point out certain trends and developments as seen within the wider context of Morgantina's history. We learn, for example, that between 211 BC and the end of the 2nd century BC the shape repertoire from Morgantina changed from Hellenistic/Greek to Republican Roman/Italian mainland. Or, that large amounts of Italian thin walled ware arrived at Morgantina together with eastern red slip pottery during the 1st century BC, attesting to the prosperity of the community. Observations like these dot the historical overview presented by S.

Section 3 of chapter I is equally important in that it presents a discussion of the deposits and contexts utilised. All are individually discussed and summarized in tabular form. All the catalogue entries are linked in this section to the deposits or contexts they stem from, and the dating evidence of each deposit/context is discussed in detail. Section 4 of the same chapter goes on to discuss local/regional pottery production at Morgantina. We learn that 80% of the catalogued material dated to the 4th-3rd centuries BC is classified as Fabric I. Fabric I is also found at other Sicilian sites but is thought to include a significant proportion of locally made products. The different local/regional fabrics attested amongst the fineware material are clearly described and the catalogued shapes belonging to this fabric are cross-referenced, facilitating easy access to the reader. This section is very useful in providing an overview of local/regional productions. It is, however, a missed opportunity that S. neglects to frame her discussion more clearly within the wider context of fineware production and consumption at Morgantina. How did the local/regional wares interact, for example, with other imports and how operated the local market? S. does point out certain developments in this respect but does not proceed to discuss what they mean for Morgantina as a community within wider socio-economic, cultural, and geo-political frameworks, connections and interactions.

The core of S.'s book is comprised by chapters II-VI. In these chapters the attested fineware pottery is presented in full. The chapters are set-up identically. A general introduction precedes detailed discussion of individual shapes which are again excellently cross-referenced to the catalogue. The most stimulating parts of these chapters (next to the highly relevant and detailed discussions of individual shapes) are the introductory sections in which the fine pottery of each of the three phases focussed on by S. is set within its Sicilian context. We thus learn

that fineware made in Sicily during the later 4th and 3rd centuries BC exhibits little external influence. Metal ware is identified as being of greater importance in this respect. Sicily was at the same time, however, part of a more general Hellenistic ceramic *koinè*, and Attica in particular is mentioned as a place of reference. S. treads a fine line in this discussion, pointing out the apparent local/regional development of pottery on Sicily but at the same time also the existence of overarching similarities in Hellenistic pottery production and consumption. Her observations in this respect are, however, very important and in line with recent research from elsewhere. Similar trajectories can, for example, be identified at Ephesus (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991), Sagalassos (van der Enden *et alii* 2014), and Corinth (Pemberton 2003).

Chapter II of the book is primarily concerned with a discussion and overview of the black-gloss fineware dated to the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Local/regional black-gloss makes up 85% of the catalogued material, and relatively little pottery appears to have been imported from elsewhere. In her discussion of the shape repertoire associated with this category of material S. makes some interesting and important observations, potentially of great relevance to a wider understanding of the pottery production, distribution and consumption in Hellenistic Sicily and beyond. We learn, for example, that plates are scarce in Hellenistic deposits at Morgantina, which contrasts with the situation in Republican times. This scarcity of plates has also been observed at other Hellenistic sites (Ilion, Berlin 1999; Gordion, Stewart 2010; Sagalassos, van der Enden *et alii* 2014). Cups on the other hand are dominantly present. As elsewhere echinus bowls are also commonly attested among the Hellenistic ceramic repertoire. S. suggests these vessels may have been used for drinking instead of food consumption, which is the commonly suggested interpretation of this shape (Rotroff 1997, 161; Stewart 2010, 196). This thought is intriguing, although the incurving lip of the vessel might not be ideal for beverage consumption. Amongst the Hellenistic pottery of Gordion, for example, few traditional cup shapes are attested; echinus or incurving rim bowls are, however, present in abundance (Stewart 2010). Could it be that these were also used for beverage consumption? In terms of decorated fineware, it appears that Morgantina primarily imported examples of such products but also locally produced them. Scattered throughout the discussions of individual vessels shapes are thus interesting observations by S. on ceramic production, distribution, and use. It is observations such as those outlined in the above that provide us with preliminary insights into the existence of socio-cultural differences, patterns of use, economic contacts, etc., in short the world behind the pot.

S.'s chapter III zooms in on black and red gloss pottery dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Once again the introductory section of this chapter is very important and makes some astute observations. The evidence is scanty for the first half of the 2nd century BC. After the destruction of 211 BC, Morgantina appears to not have produced any pottery but instead imported most of its requirements. S. is able, as mentioned already, to point to an important development in the pro-

duction, distribution, and consumption of pottery. During the early 2nd century BC ceramic traditions followed those of the preceding Hellenistic phase. From the second half of the 2nd century onwards, however, a shift has been identified by S. Fineware now follows developments on the Italian mainland as seen in the production of Campana C in eastern Sicily. Despite this, Greek Hellenistic influences can still be identified in the import of mould-made bowls and appliqué vases from Asia Minor during the second half of the 2nd century BC and the arrival of ESA from the Levant during the 1st century BC. Important changes in the shape repertoire between the Hellenistic and Roman periods have also been identified by S. Shape diversity in Morgantina's Hellenistic phase was, for example, much greater. The already mentioned increased use of plates in the Republican period and the decline of handled cups are two other significant conclusions by S. and suggestive of important dietary and cultural changes.

S.'s discussion of the individual wares and shapes subsumed under the heading of black and red gloss pottery is extensive, thorough, and authoritative. Campana C is, for example, extensively discussed and the local chronology of the Ware detailed. Campana C was locally manufactured at Morgantina during the 1st century BC as demonstrated by wasters and kilns. In her discussion of Campana C at Morgantina, S. makes a number of interesting observations. She is able to demonstrate that the shape repertoire, though limited, is closely related to contemporary Republican red-gloss fineware, demonstrating that Republican red-gloss developed from local traditions and was influenced less by the Eastern Mediterranean area, e.g. the arrival of ESA at Morgantina during the second and third quarters of the 1st century BC. The continuing presence of certain local Hellenistic shape elements further support S.'s case. Local/regionally manufactured red-gloss ware was most common at Morgantina.

Chapter IV deals with the fineware of Morgantina's last period of occupation, the latter part of the 1st century BC and the first half of the 1st century AD. Evidence for this period is scant and finewares were no longer manufactured at Morgantina. Imported sigillata attested at the site encompasses primarily Italian sigillata and chapter IV presents a detailed discussion of the chronology of the ware, its occurrence in Sicily and Morgantina, and the shape repertoire attested. S. suggests that Augustan veterans in northern and eastern Sicily may have facilitated the spread and acceptance of the ware on the island.

Chapters V and VI of S.'s book focus on mould-made and thin-walled pottery. In the case of mould-made pottery, chapter V discusses its appearance at Morgantina from the late 4th century BC to the first half of the 1st century AD. An extensive introduction introduces the different mould-made products identified at Morgantina and their chronology. Medallion wares are identified as the most common class of mould-made pottery at Morgantina. They were popular from the second half of the 3rd century to the first half of the 2nd century BC. Though well attested in her pottery catalogue S. does a good job in pointing out that in reality medallion wares were much less common. Chapter V goes into considerable detail discussing the chronology and appearance of the medallion

cups attested at Morgantina. Other products discussed extensively in this chapter are the so-called Megarian bowls and early relief wares in Italian sigillata. The discussion of these products is again highly detailed and informative, and focuses not only on Morgantina but also the wider Sicilian context. Chapter VI, much briefer in its set-up, does the same for the category of thin-walled pottery, dateable at Morgantina to the 1st century BC and 1st century AD.

S.'s final chapter, Chapter VII, encompasses the pottery catalogue itself. The catalogue is headed by a thorough introduction explaining its format and layout. A list of terms and abbreviations is also included for the convenience of the reader. The layout of the catalogue entries is logical, consistent, and easily cross referenced with the text and image sections of the book. Splendid illustrations and photographs accompany the catalogue.

S.'s Hellenistic and Roman fine pottery of Morgantina in sum is a highly detailed, well-written and well-researched publication. It presents a thorough overview of fineware identified at Morgantina and dated to the late 4th century BC-1st century AD. The book clearly is of great interest to ceramic specialists and archaeologists working on eastern Sicily. Undoubtedly the book will become an important reference work to scholars working in the area. As we have seen the book not only makes an important contribution with regards to presenting the fabrics and morphological repertoire of the finewares attested at Morgantina but also puts forwards some interesting observations regarding the production, distribution, and use of pottery, and associated wider socio-economic and geo-political level implications. If the book has one major flaw, however, it is the way in which it engages with and builds on the latter.

Reading through the pages one is struck by the sheer volume of data and detail. One is, however, also left guessing as to the aim and intentions of the author in writing this book. Is the purpose of this book to present a thorough overview of the Hellenistic and Roman fineware of Morgantina or does it aspire to something more? S. does not set out a clear answer to this question; in fact she is rather silent on the matter. The book itself speaks volumes, however. Despite the inclusion of explanatory introductory sections and a section on the wider historical and archaeological context of Morgantina and eastern Sicily, the book is primarily a typological and chronological discussion of the fineware attested at Morgantina. The introductions, although making brief observations on wider trends visible within the data, are primarily concerned with a discussion of archaeological deposits and contexts in Morgantina and across Sicily. Attention is primarily focussed in these sections on pointing out the occurrence of similar wares and shapes elsewhere. Little attempt at interpreting and contextualising this wealth of data and detail is made, and it is in this respect that S.' book is found wanting.

S.'s book makes a major contribution to our knowledge about Hellenistic and Roman pottery at Morgantina and in eastern Sicily. The data assembled and presented has the potential to substantially increase our understanding of a local community's involvement in the production, consumption, and distribution of

pottery and how this interconnects with wider socio-economic, cultural, and geo-political processes. The book unfortunately, however, does not directly engage with such topics and it is left to the reader to distil from the text the scattered references to wider trends, developments, and fashions. The choice, by the author, to present the material within the traditional format of the 'classic' pottery catalogue (with a core focus on data description and presentation) is, in the eyes of the reviewer, a missed opportunity and limits the explanatory power of this important piece of research. It makes S.'s book particularly inaccessible to non-pottery specialists, in particular those scholars, historians or archaeologists, interested in socio-economic history and cultural development. The reviewer would have liked S. to make an attempt at the wider interpretation of her data through the survey of general trends and developments and integration of the material in a reconstruction of the socio-economic, cultural, and geo-political context in which Morgantina was situated. It would, for example, be of great importance to get a better understanding of potential cultural associations reflected in the tableware repertoire of Morgantina or the way in which local products interacted or competed with imports on the market. How was Morgantina similar or different to other sites in eastern Sicily, and elsewhere, and what does this mean for patterns of interaction and exchange to which the site was connected? Such questions remain largely unanswered in this volume or are buried beneath the mass of primarily descriptive data presented. It is unfortunate that S. has not followed the lead of Patricia Kögler who in her book on Knidos has recently made a successful attempt to revamp the traditional pottery catalogue and found a successful balance between providing a vital and necessary descriptive overview of the data and the inclusion of significant interpretation and discussion. It is the latter that is mostly missing from S.' work, some sort of conclusion about ceramic production, consumption, and distribution at Morgantina, the balance between local production and import and the socio-economic, cultural and geo-political developments that lie behind the documented evidence. A more clearer and separate attempt at this (à la Kögler) would have significantly enlarged the importance of S.'s work and increase its audience beyond the ceramic specialist interested in the particular area or material category. Despite these shortcomings, S.'s book remains a highly important contribution to a greater understanding of Hellenistic and Roman pottery in the Central Mediterranean, and it will no doubt become a central reference work for scholars working on eastern Sicily. The wealth of data provided, its clear setting within a wider Sicilian archaeological context, and the excellent illustrations all combine to make this book highly recommendable.

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## REVIEW

Jorrit Kelder, Günay Uslu, and Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu (eds.) 2012: *Troy. City, Homer, Turkey*, Zwolle/Amsterdam, 184 pp. ISBN 978 90 400 0973 4 [Dutch edition: ISBN 978 90 400 0750 7; Turkish edition: ISBN 978 90 663 0001 9]. Price 24.95 EURO.

The work to be reviewed here is the English version of the catalogue of the exhibition held in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam from 7 December 2012 to 5 May 2013 in commemoration of 400 years of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Turkey. It is beautifully illustrated with numerous color plates and well edited. The contents divided into 9 chapters with contributions by various authors covers the entire history of Troy, from its beginning at the outset of the Early Bronze Age to its ‘Nachleben’ in modern times. In the following, I will focus on the first 4 chapters, covering the history of Troy during the Bronze Age and earliest phase of the Early Iron Age (pp. 12-75).

Chapter 1 entitled *The Story of Troy* sets out with a contribution by Irene J.F. de Jong about the poetry of Homer as preserved in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and its promise of eternal renown, the typically Indo-European concept of *kleos afthiton*. In the next section, Jorrit Kelder discusses the origins of the Trojan cycle. It is duly remarked here that the Homeric tradition about the Trojan war, although written down in the 6th century BC, has a much longer history as an epic tradition handed over from one generation of bards to the other and ultimately originates in the Mycenaean period (ca. 1400-1200 BC). This conclusion is based not only on the analysis of the language, but also on the mention of objects which are clearly of Late Bronze Age date, like the boar’s tusk helmet. To underline the Bronze Age nature of the cycle of the Trojan war, Willemijn Waal rightly draws our attention in an additional note to a phrase from the songs of Istanuwa as preserved in the archives of the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Ḫattusa and which can positively be assigned to the Arzawan language as spoken in the Late Bronze Age in the province of Ḫapalla, situated in the Sangarios basin. This particular phrase confronts us with the opening line of what may well have been an Arzawan Wilusiad or *Iliad* and runs as follows in translation: “When they came from steep Wilusa (= Troy)” (note that the verb is not in the 3rd person singular *†awita*, but plural *awienta*). In the third section, Willemijn Waal sets the Homeric *Iliad* in its proper Near Eastern context and points out some astonish-

ingly detailed parallels between the *Iliad* on the one hand and the epic of Gilgamesh on the other hand.

Chapter 2 about *The Archaeology of Troy* begins with a lucid discussion by Gert Jan van Wijngaarden of the archaeological layers from Troy I to Troy V of the Early to Middle Bronze Age, and by the same author together with Wendy Richter of Troy VI and VIIa covering the latest stage of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age. From this overview it is clear that Troy was not occupied before the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, *ca.* 3000 BC. One of the highlights of Troy I is the orthostat from the citadel's southern gate with the depiction of a human face, presumably representing a deity. It belongs to the Indo-European tradition of erecting so-called statue menhirs. From Troy II originates the famous treasure wrongly attributed by the excavator Heinrich Schliemann to the Homeric king of Troy, Priamos. Instead of during the Early Bronze Age, this king, if not a figment of Homer's imagination, ruled during the Late Bronze Age, the two possibilities for Homeric Troy suggested in the recent literature being Troy VIIh or VIIa (see below). One of the controversies about Troy VI is if it was not confined to the citadel but had a lower city of some note. The latter point of view is defended by the excavator of Troy in the years 1988 to 2005, Manfred Korfmann, whereas the evidence presented by Korfmann in this respect is heavily attacked and marginalized by his former colleague at the university of Tübingen, Frank Kolb. It may be true that, because of the fame of Homer and the Trojan war, every archaeological find at Troy receives more attention than similar finds in other excavations, but I think the evidence for a lower city at Troy presented by Korfmann and his team is valid, and, related to this issue, the function of Troy as a hub of maritime trade between the Aegean and the Black Sea may reasonably be inferred from the relevant material evidence at hand. As far as script is concerned, much attention is paid to a seal with a Luwian hieroglyphic legend found in a layer of Troy VIIb dating to the 12th century BC. On the basis of the parallels, this seal must have belonged to a Hittite scribe who was active in the 13th century BC and therefore the object has obviously been secondarily been disposed of in a later layer. For some reason not mentioned in this connection are the Linear A inscriptions, one of the scripts of Minoan Crete, presumably to be assigned to the period of Troy VI and published by Louis Godart in 1994 and Paul Faure in 1996. The destruction of Troy VIIh, which represents the most flourishing period of the city, is generally attributed to an earthquake, whereas that of Troy VIIa, which clearly shows evidence of decline, to human intervention. After Troy VIIb the city was deserted from *ca.* 900-700 BC, precisely the period in which Homer is supposed to have been active, and as such this provides us with yet another argument in favor of the view that the poet drew from an earlier source, *in casu* a Late Bronze Age bardic tradition. The final contribution to chapter 2 is the one of Floris van den Eijnde, who discusses the period of Troy after the hiatus of *ca.* 900-700 BC. He takes the references to the Phrygians in the Homeric epics as evidence of their post-Bronze Age date, because the Phrygians are generally assumed to have entered

the region of the Sangarios basin only after the fall of the Hittite empire *ca.* 1190 BC. In reality, however, the population drift of Phrygians and Thracians from Europe into the Anatolian peninsula already started in an early phase of the Late Bronze Age as deducible from the evidence for Phrygian and Thracian onomastics among the personal names of the Kaska, a population group inhabiting the southern Pontic littoral, in the Hittite documents. It is due to this population drift that the Hittites, whose realm included the Black Sea coast in the Old Hittite period (17th to 16th century BC), were unable to control the latter zone during the entire period of their later history (Woudhuizen 2012). As such, therefore, the Homeric references to Phrygians in the Sangarios basin are not anachronistic but chronologically adequate within the entire Late Bronze Age setting of the story.

Chapter 3 about *Troy and its Neighbours* starts with a contribution by Willemijn Waal about the Hittites. Of chief importance in this section is the so-called Alaksandus treaty, a treaty between the Hittite great king Muwatallis (1295-1271 BC) and his vassal Alaksandus, king of Wilusa. There can be little doubt, namely, that the name *Alaksandus* is the Hittite rendering of Greek *Alexandros*, the name of one of the sons of the Trojan king Priamos in the Homeric epics also known as Paris who plays a crucial role in the onset to the Trojan War by his abduction of Helena, the wife of the Spartan king Menelaus. In this treaty furthermore mention is made of the Wilusian god *Appaliunas*, no doubt the Hittite rendering of Greek *Apollon* who according to Homer sided with the Trojans. In this manner, then, we arrive at the following three identifications: (1) Wilusa = (W)ilios, (2) Alaksandus = Alexandros/Paris, and (3) Appaliunas = Apollon. Now, in my opinion, this is too much evidence in favor of the Bronze Age setting of the Homeric epics than to be dismissed as mere coincidence. In the second section, Alwin Kloekhorst discusses the evidence of relevance to the nature of the language spoken in Bronze Age Troy. After discarding various options, among which are Luwian and Phrygian – the latter of which he unjustifiably rules out before the period of the upheavals at the end of the Bronze Age (see above my remarks on the Phrygian and Thracian population drift from Europe into Anatolia from an early phase in the Late Bronze Age onwards) –, between the lines he actually maintains that the language of the Trojans is of a non-Indo-European type. This view, however, is extremely unlikely against the backdrop of the archaeological evidence, according to which, as we have seen, there is no Neolithic layer before Troy I and Troy I is characterized by a typical Indo-European statue menhir (see above). What is more, it also seems to be ruled out by the relevant linguistic data from the Late Bronze Age sources, like the fact that the place-name *Wilusa* bears testimony of a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root *\*wel-* “grass” in like manner as Hittite *wēllu-* “meadow”, that the alternative reference to the region of the Troad, *Tarwisa*, likely comes into consideration as a reflex of Proto-Indo-European *\*dóru-* “wood, tree” in like manner as Hittite *tāru-* of the same meaning (Mallory/Adams 2007, 163-164; 156), and that the divine name *Appaliunas* is based on Proto-Indo-European *\*apelo-*

“strength” (Pokorny 1994, 52). Therefore, the suggestion that the language of the Trojans is of a non-Indo-European nature may safely be dismissed. The third section of chapter 3 is by Jorrit Kelder, again, who now focuses on the Mycenaean Greeks. Key to this section is the fact that in various Hittite texts from the 13th century BC the king of Aḫḫiyawa or the Akhaians is referred to as a great king (LUGAL.GAL), which is a prerequisite of only a few rulers at the time. This brings to mind the Homeric tradition that the king of Mycenae, Agamemnon, could muster a pan-Greek force by calling on the service of the various vassal-kings in his realm as evidenced by book II of the *Iliad*, the so-called catalogue of the ships. Surely, therefore, the latter document is founded in the Late Bronze Age political reality. As duly notified, part of this reality was the archaeologically demonstrated colonization of Miletus on the western coast of Anatolia by the Mycenaean Greeks, which brought them in direct contact with the Hittites. As soon as this bridgehead was lost to the Greeks, the Hittites deleted the title great king in reference to the Akhaians as in the Sausgamuwa treaty from the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC).

Chapter 4 on *Homer and Troy* opens with a third section by Jorrit Kelder, this time about the critical issue of the historical reality of the Trojan war. Rightly it is pointed out in a note by Willemijn Waal that a war between the Hittites and the Akhaian Greeks about Wilusa or (W)ilios may well be referred to in a Hittite text known as the Tawagalawas letter. It is generally assumed that this letter dates from the reign of Ḫattusilis (1267-1239 BC), but according to the view of a minority headed by Oliver Gurney (2002) it rather should be assigned to the reign of Muwatallis II, the Hittite king of the Alaksandus treaty already mentioned in the above and presumably to be identified with the Motylos of Greek tradition, who hosted Paris in Carian Samylia after the latter’s abduction of Helena. Two theories about the dating of the Trojan war have been put forward: Wilhelm Dörpfeld proposed the end of Troy VIh (*ca.* 1280 BC), which, as we noted above, is generally attributed to an earthquake, and Carl Blegen suggested the end of Troy VIIa (*ca.* 1190 BC), which is generally attributed to human intervention or war. Kelder seems hesitant to choose between these two options, but rightly stresses that by *ca.* 1190 BC the Mycenaean palaces had been razed to the ground and therefore, by implication, their rulers were no longer capable to partake in a pan-Greek coalition to fight against Troy. By means of deduction, then, the end of Troy VIh seems the better candidate, and the Akhaian besiegers may well have profited from the damage the earthquake caused to the Trojan walls. Indeed, Fritz Schachermeyr (1950, 189-203) explained the myth of the Trojan horse as a reference to Poseidon, the earth-shaker who is also the protecting deity of the horse – a suggestion Kelder duly refers to. What in snooker terms clinches the frame is that the end of Troy VIa coincides with the evidence from the Tawagalawas letter – if only dated to the reign of Muwatallis II. In the margin, it may be noted that Kelder makes a slight mistake in his discussion of Hittite evidence about Wilusa: its king Walmus is not mentioned in the Manapatarḫundas letter from the reign of Muwatallis II but in the so-called

Milawata letter from the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV. The second section of chapter 4 is by Floris van den Eijnde, again. He is a follower of Moses Finley, who dates the Homeric epics in the 'Homeric period' of ca. 900-700 BC, when Troy, as we have noted in the above, was deserted. This approach leads him to the assumption of a monstrous construct like the "Homeric mud brick hut-palaces" in order to patch literary things up with archaeological evidence of Early Iron Age houses in Greece. As opposed to this, the Mycenologist John Chadwick speaks of "luxurious stone-built palaces" as the fitting habitats of Homeric kings (Chadwick 1988, 180) – i.e. the palaces actually found in Late Bronze Age Greece. The third and final section is from the hand of Mathieu de Bakker and deals with the Homeric description of Troy and the Trojans.

This collection of papers on Troy offers a valuable overview of the scientific research in the field and provides indispensable background information for visitors of the highly interesting exhibition about Troy in the Allard Pierson Museum to keep a vivid memory of it or for those who missed the exhibition but are nonetheless interested in the topic. The editors and contributors are therefore to be congratulated with this fine publication.

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